

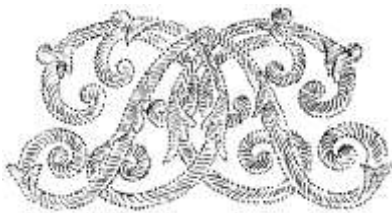
5th Punjab Cavalry, Punjab Frontier Force Group of Officers and Non-Commissioned Officers – c. 1902-1903

The 5th Punjab Cavalry personnel, illustrated on page 104, form part of a larger group including four British officers, eight Indian officers and thirty-two dafadars who were assembled for a photographic session, most probably at the regimental depot in Kohat in December 1902.¹ The handwritten caption states: ‘BOs, NOs and Duffadars who went with the Regiment to Delhi Durbar.’

The ‘Delhi Durbar’ in the caption refers to the January 1903 Coronation Durbar held in honour of H.M. King Edward VII. Another important Durbar was held in Delhi eight years later in 1911 to celebrate the coronation of H.M. King George V. On other occasions, durbars were held locally, or exceptionally at a regional centre if the agenda was particularly important. In the case of the Punjab Frontier Force regiments, this would have been Lahore, administrative seat of the Government of the Punjab.

The military contingent at the Delhi Durbar of 1903 included seven full regiments of Indian Army cavalry and three composite regiments, one of the latter formed from elements of the Corps of Guides Cavalry and the 5th Punjab Cavalry. The granting of medals to the military contingent was parsimonious albeit relatively democratic, insofar as they were distributed across all ranks. From a total of 140 gold medals and 2,567 silver medals, three of the latter were given to the 5th Punjab Cavalry representatives. Those selected for this

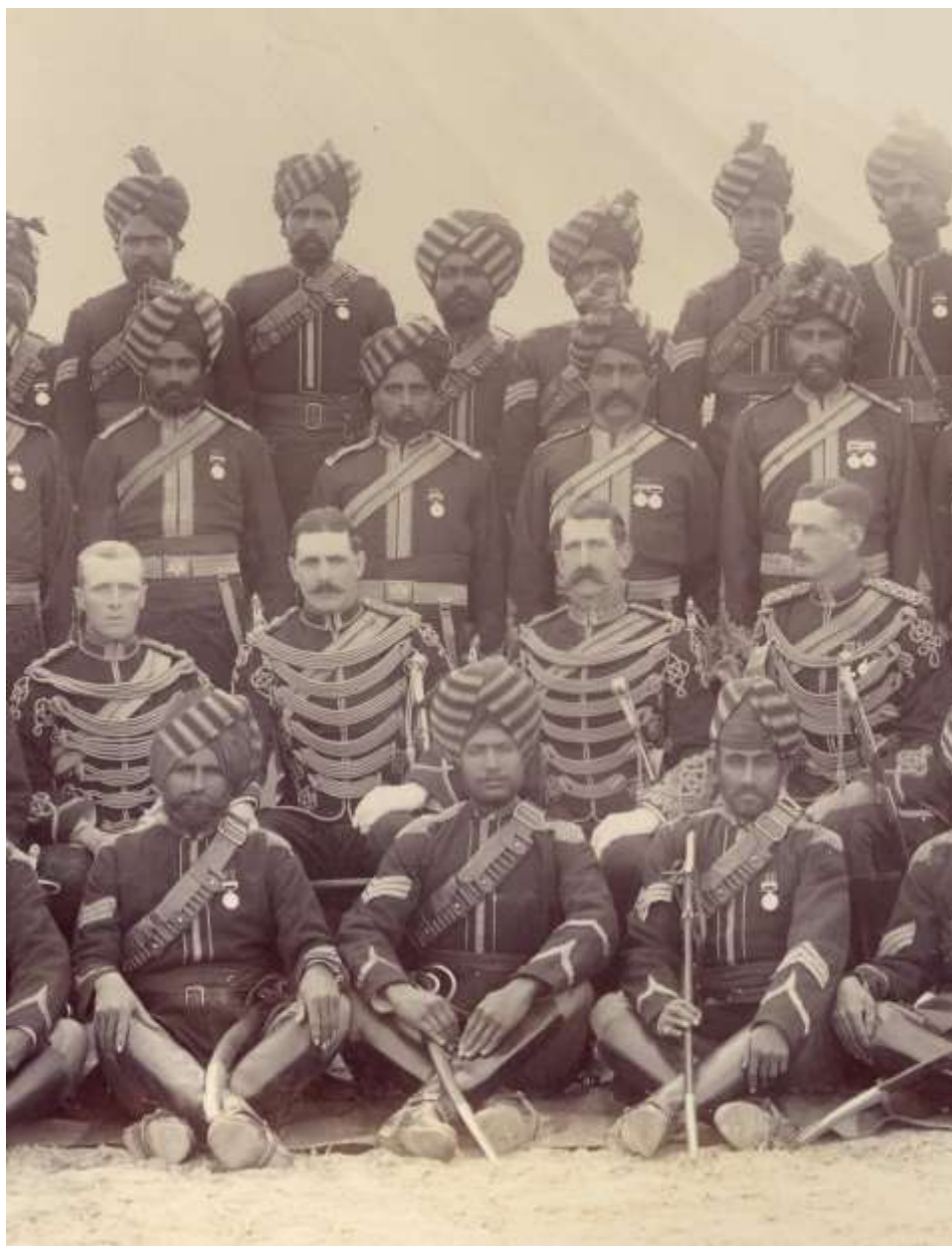
honour were Major H. Templer, Risaldar Abdul Kadir Khan, and Lance-Dafadar Mayhar Ali.



PUNJAB CAVALRY CYPHER

There is little visual evidence of regimental badges in this photograph other than the waist belt plates worn by the Indian officers. However, these distinctive badges are, on their own, sufficient to positively identify the regiment. They bear the Punjab Cavalry cypher (monogram ‘PC’ doubled and reversed) above the Roman numeral ‘V.’ The number in the title of the 5th Punjab Cavalry changed to ‘25’ in 1903 – and although the month of the change is not known, it was probably too early for the new number to appear on the belt plates in this 1903 Durbar group.

¹ The complete photograph is too large to feature in ‘*Durbar*’ in adequate detail.





Taking a close look at the photograph, it is quite surprising to see that the belt plate of the Indian officer standing second from the left is actually worn upside down (as in the lower of these two illustrations). It is even more surprising that this error, which one might consider to be exceptional, is repeated by another officer in the same group (but not shown in the edited photograph on p. 104).

Both types of sword that can be identified in the photograph are typical of the patterns known to have been used by the 5th Punjab Cavalry at the turn of the century. The British officers carry a distinctive Marmeluke Regimental Pattern sabre. The Indian officers and other ranks carry a 1821 Light Cavalry Regimental Pattern sabre, typically preferred by Indian Army cavalry regiments for cutting and slashing.

In 1891, two squadrons of the 5th Punjab Cavalry served with the force commanded by Sir William Lockhart, K.C.B., C.S.I., in operations to suppress a *jihad* in the Miranzai Valley and on the Heights of Samana. Those who took part in this so-called Second Miranzai Expedition were eligible for the India General Service (1854) medal with clasp 'Samana 1891', which the larger part of the Indian officers and dafadars in the photograph are wearing. The 5th Punjab Cavalry was also present in operations in Waziristan in 1901-02, for which the majority of its personnel qualified for the India General Service (1895) medal. However, the clasp for this service was not authorized until March 1902, and so the medal/clasp had not been distributed when this photograph was taken.

Although the caption does not include any names, two of the four British officers have been tentatively identified. Second from right, sporting a fine moustache, is Major Henry Templer, second-in-command at the time and the regiment's senior officer at the Delhi Durbar celebrations. He was not entitled to wear any decorations or medals, his only campaign service being the First Miranzai Expedition of 1891 for which no medal or clasp was authorised. Note the additional embroidery on the collar and cuffs of his tunic.

The officer seated next to him, with the Distinguished Service Order, is Captain Alexander Edward McBarnet. He is also wearing the India General Service (1854) with the single clasp 'N.E. Frontier 1891' for service in the

expedition to Manipur in 1891, prior to joining the 5th Punjab Cavalry, and the medal for the coronation of H.M. Edward VII (1902). He was granted the D.S.O., and mentioned in dispatches (G.G.O. No. 611 of 4th July 1902) for service in Waziristan in 1901-02 (his medal and clasp was not yet distributed). With effect from 15th June 1903, Captain Bernet was attached to the South Waziristan Scouts as officiating second-in-command, and the following year he was appointed to the Royal Victorian Order (M.V.O. 4th Class, 12 Aug 1904).

Taking account of campaign medals, the only Indian officer who has been positively identified in the photograph is Ressaïdar Kundal Khan, standing on the right, wearing the India General Service medal (1854) with clasps for 'Jowaki 1877-78' and 'Samana 1891,' and the Afghanistan 1878-80 medal with clasps for 'Charasia' and 'Kabul.' He retired in September 1905.

Although Risaldar-Major Kesar Singh was currently serving as senior Indian officer of the 5th Punjab Cavalry when the Delhi Durbar photograph was taken, he does not appear in it. He joined the regiment as a sowar in 1866, and retired as risaldar-major of the regiment on 30th April 1903. In the conventional manner for retiring officers of his rank and status, he was granted the honorary British rank of captain. His decorations included the 1st Class Order of British India, with the title *Sardar Bahadur*, (18th October 1900), and the 3rd Class Indian Order of Merit with effect from 14th December 1879 for gallantry in the vicinity of Kabul during the Second Afghanistan War (Dafadar Kesar Singh, 5th Punjab Cavalry, G.G.O. No. 252 of 23rd April 1880).

The photograph of Kesar Singh on page 107 was taken circa June 1897 in London, where he was one of the Indian Army Contingent that attended the celebrations commemorating the diamond jubilee of H.M. Queen Victoria. Soon afterwards, on 13th August 1897, he was appointed to the 2nd Class Order of British India with the honorary title *Bahadur*, one of a number of similar supplementary awards granted to Indian officers for their loyal attendance. He is wearing the badge of the Order of Merit together with two campaign medals: India General Service (1854) with the single clasp 'Jowaki 1877-78'; Afghanistan 1878-80 with two clasps 'Charasia' and 'Kabul.' It may be noted that the *zari* or gold thread embroidery on the sleeves and collar of the risaldar-major's *kurta* is similar to that on Major Templer's jacket, and that he is wearing his waist belt plate the right way up.

Thanks are due to Sean Weir for permission to reproduce the 5th Cavalry photograph, Brian Turner for identifying the sword patterns, and Ashok Nath for permission to reproduce the sketch of the 5th Cavalry cypher (from *zari* or gold thread embroidery on a dress pouch). The photograph of Risaldar-Major Kesar Singh was reproduced in *The Navy & Army Illustrated* (10th Dec. 1897).



RISALDAR-MAJOR KESAR SINGH, *SARDAR BAHADUR*, I.O.M.,
5TH REGIMENT OF CAVALRY, PUNJAB FRONTIER FORCE

The Military Seminary at Addiscombe: The Masters and Other Characters

Tim Ash

In the article I produced on the East India Company's Military Seminary at Addiscombe (*Durbar*, Autumn 2009, pp.118-129), little or nothing was written regarding the Staff who were the teachers or 'masters' of the Cadets. In this present article it is my intention to name just a few of these men, as well as some of the other colourful characters who made Addiscombe what it was – a successful college of training for young officers of the East India Company's armies from 1809 to 1861.



REV. JONATHAN CAPE

Dr. James Andrews was the first Headmaster and Superintendent, appointed in 1809. He had a kindly manner and was much respected by the Cadets. He resigned in 1822 and was succeeded by Jonathan Cape who had taken his degree in 1816 and was appointed an Assistant Professor at the Naval College at Portsmouth before moving to Addiscombe. When he first came to Addiscombe it is reported that he was insulted by several of the Cadets. However it was soon shown that he was not a man to be trifled with, and no more is heard of this incident. He appeared to the Cadets as of a cold and unsympathetic nature but by his firmness and calmness he was adept at managing them. He always maintained strict discipline with the least possible effort. One Cadet wrote of him: 'To Jonathan Cape especially do I attribute the excellent tone and principles governing the Cadets at all times during the time I was at Addiscombe.'

Cape, who came from the North, had a strong Northumbrian accent, dry and hard as a ship's biscuit, and was scarcely musical. At the entrance examination, potential Cadets had to write from his dictation. For the spoken word 'head' one aspiring Cadet wrote 'heed.' When confronted afterwards by Cape, who then asked him how he would spell the word 'heed' he replied 'h-e-e-d' and Jonathan Cape tapped his head and said, 'Yer heed,

man!’ at which the aspiring Cadet burst out laughing, at the same time spelling out ‘h-e-a-d..’ Cape smiled at the young chap before him and said, ‘It was yer only meestake, y’ve passed!’

Cape was a bachelor and therefore well off, and fully appreciated a good dinner. He had his wine cellars arranged with mathematical precision, so that he had no difficulty in bringing up his wines with great promptitude. He had, it was reported, been rather a gay dog in his younger days, and it is said that he was once nearly engaged. But on bidding his adieu to his lady love, he was caught kissing the parlour maid while returning along the passage through the hall!

On one occasion Jonathan Cape complained to the Orderly Officer that the Cadets had come into his office in a very disorderly fashion. ‘Oh!’ said the Officer, ‘you know, Mr Cape, that boys will be boys.’ ‘Yes,’ said Cape, ‘that is quite true, but then officers ought to be officers.’ On another occasion, so the story goes, Cape asked one of the Cadets, ‘Which is the most difficult Cape to get round?’ He received the prompt reply, ‘Cape Jonathan, Sir.’

Jonathan Cape retired in 1861 when Addiscombe finally closed, having served for forty-nine years – most of them as headmaster. There can hardly have been a Cadet who had not some memory of him.

Mr. Bowles, teacher of Hindustani, was at Addiscombe for thirty years. He was only nineteen years of age when he joined the Staff, and therefore not



much older than the Cadets he was to instruct in Hindustani. He was a quaint, emotionless, unchanging man, the joke of the Seminary. He had never been to India and had an unfortunate and pronounced way of rendering the language. It was in this way that he obtained his sobriquet, for he was in the habit of pronouncing ‘char’, the Hindustani for ‘four’, as ‘Chaw’ – and his name being Charles, the nickname stuck to him. Occasionally a Cadet would ask him the Hindustani for ‘94’, and Chaw would instantly fall into the trap. With a smack of the lips at the beginning and end, the simple reply ‘char-ran-we’ was pronounced by him as ‘chaw-ran-away!’ A particular incident was called the

‘Great Mouse Affair.’ The Cadets were about to enjoy an hour or two of instruction in Hindustani from Chaw, a man whom everyone liked and everyone teased. As the Cadets were marched into the class-room, a mouse was spotted. The Cadets chased the animal and managed to catch it. But what to do with the poor wee beastie now it had been captured? ‘Tie it to Chaw’s chair,’ suggested

some genius, an idea that met with rapturous acclaim. String was found and the mouse was tied by its leg to the stool. Perfect silence reigned. The Master of Oriental Language stalked into the room, and as Bowles sat down the mouse squeaked. ‘Mr. Corporal,’ said Bowles, ‘someone is making squeaking noises.’ No one came forward to admit to the crime. The room was silent, Bowles, in some agitation lent more heavily back on his stool than usual, and the wretched mouse produced its largest and final squeak before expiring! This attracted Bowles to the real performer whose death agonies he witnessed. He was more touched by the little animal’s sufferings (for he was a most kind-hearted man) than annoyed at being trifled with.

The Reverend Alfred Wrigley was appointed in 1841. He was not an amusing man. He had little sense of humour and was not of a genial disposition. He was in the habit of acting in a very methodical manner. Directly he entered a classroom during the cold winter months, he would approach the fire and poke it. Having completed this, he would order some windows to be opened allowing cold air, if not wind, to blow in on the already shivering



Cadets. One cold winter’s day, with a view to at least postponing the opening of the windows, a Cadet, previous to Wrigley’s arrival, set to work to heat the handle of the poker. Wrigley did not enjoy the hot handle of the poker, but neither did the Cadet enjoy the extra drill which followed!

Wrigley, though wanting in humour, had a few stock jokes which he repeated frequently. He would inform those Cadets likely to be troublesome that his form of repression was of a fourfold nature: first, expostulation; second, postulation; third, change of location; fourth, evacuation. He seldom had recourse to the fourth, as being turned out of study by him meant long days of extra drill for the unruly Cadet. For many years he had charge of the Second Class and the young Cadets at the head of that Class had to

study ‘Statics.’ When prepared for examination they had to appear before Jonathan Cape, and when they returned ‘passed’ Wrigley’s invariable remark was: ‘Now, of course, you are in an ecstatic (ex-Static) state.’

An amusing story is told of Wrigley. It appears that there was a Cadet who was struck one night with a sudden and brilliant idea – nothing less than having his eyebrows shaved off so that they might grow in a manner similar to one of the most successful Cadet in the College. He suddenly cried out, ‘Will anyone

shave my eyebrows?’ Two of his friends promptly agreed to oblige, and within seconds the Cadet’s well-marked eyebrows were no more. ‘Shave over the nose,’ he explained, ‘I want to have my eyebrows like ----’s.’ His wishes were carried out, and he retired to rest, happy in the thought of good work thoroughly done. The Cadet’s expression next morning was most ludicrous. When Wrigley as usual was walking up and down the class-room he stopped short, and without saying a word stared at the Cadet for some time. He then ordered him off to drill, reporting him to the Staff-Major for ‘making faces!’ Wrigley remained at Addiscombe until 1861 when the Seminary was closed.

Every now and then the Cadets played pranks in Chapel, which were very far from being proper; but the fact that the Hall, called the Chapel, was frequently used for secular functions may be urged as extenuation, in a slight degree, for the irreverence of what occasionally occurred.

One night at about 9 p.m. the Cadets were as usual marched to evening prayers in the Chapel. On each side were benches rising higher at the back, with a passage between leading to a raised platform, on which was a reading desk on one side and a chair for the Orderly Officer on the other. Access to this platform was obtained by a separate flight of stairs and a door on the right. On the left side a corresponding door led to a small room used by the Chaplain as a vestry.

The Cadets marched in and filed off into their respective benches. Then there was a long pause until at last the platform door opened and the Chaplain walked hurriedly to his vestry. He seemed to take more than the usual time putting on his surplice, and when the Cadets’ curiosity had become somewhat excited – out came the Chaplain without his surplice, and with hat and umbrella in hand. He walked to the Orderly Officer who rose to receive him, and after a short conversation, walked out. The Officer motioned to the Senior Corporal to march out the Cadets; they paraded below and marched off to barracks, considerably exercised in their minds as to what unusual circumstances had occurred.

Next morning on parade the Cadets were informed that, while they were in study, some persons, supposedly Cadets, had obtained access to the Chapel and vestry, and there had amused themselves sowing up the sleeves of the Chaplain’s surplice! No doubt it must have been amusing to them (at that age) to picture his struggles with his surplice half on; but the view of the authorities was that it was a very serious breach of discipline. As the culprits could not be discovered, the whole College had to spend the afternoons on extra drill till further orders. At the end of a week, however, three of the older Cadets, touched doubtless by the unmerited sufferings of others, asked permission to fall out on parade and speak to the Orderly Officer, and gave themselves up as the miscreants. They were at once placed under arrest and

given extra drill for a further month.

Another time, when for some unknown reason the senior Cadets resolved to show their displeasure, word was passed round to sing only the 1st and 3rd lines of each verse of the hymn. The result was remarkable. The first line was sung with all the vigour of 150 youthful and healthy lungs, while at the second line there was a dead silence broken only by the Chaplain's voice and the accompanying musical instruments. The third line was sung at the top of their voices, and again at the fourth line not a sound was heard from the Cadets. Of course there was a great row about it.

Talbot Ritherdon was probably the most prominent military figure at Addiscombe during a period of over twenty-seven years. He had seen little military service. From 1817 to 1819 he was a Cadet at Addiscombe before obtaining a commission in the Bombay Artillery. He became a 1st Lieutenant on 19th April 1821 and served for three years in India before being appointed Assistant Adjutant at Addiscombe on 5th May 1824, with the 'local rank' of Captain. He resigned his commission as lieutenant on 28th June 1825. He was a portly and pompous fellow. When he appeared on the forenoon parade, he strutted to and fro with the air of a leader of armies.



Ritherdon obtained the sobriquet of 'Old Staff.' The circular swing of his right leg, the clank of his steel scabbard and spurs, and his stentorian words of command were grand to see and hear; but the effect on the saucy Cadets whom they were intended to overawe was not always the one desired. Cadets brought before him for some scrape, who wished to secure his favourable consideration of their case, remembered that if they called him 'Colonel Ritherdon' they were pretty sure to get off with a

light punishment. A Cadet once unwisely ventured 'Admiral Ritherdon.' This was considered to be somewhat over the top and the culprit caught it heavily!

It was on Review Days that Ritherdon, Staff Major in his heyday, was seen to best advantage in his Cocked Hat. The Parade has just been handed over by the Orderly Officer to his charge. It is apparent that another sort of inspiration is now at work. 'Parade! 'Shon!' Every file looking to his front. 'S-t-e-a-d-y.' His voice, indeed his whole frame trembles with emotion. Then

comes a sudden explosion. ‘How,’ and again, ‘How,’ making the echoes ring. The first ‘How’ signifies ‘March,’ the second ‘Halt.’ The effect of the whole thing is to bring the line some six paces nearer to the amazed spectators. ‘Rear rank, take open order! How!’ And with this the Staff Major, his naturally pale face reddened with excitement and the exertion of shouting, proceeds to inspect the line, pausing in front of each member of it, eyeing the youths in turn from top to toe, adjusting a waist belt here, a loose button there, and from time to time stepping back a step or two, so as to better observe doubtful dress or firelocks brought too much to the front. The ranks closed, the line re-dressed, and the tremulous voice raised entreatingly, ‘Every file looking to his front! S-t-e-a-d-y every file!’ and the Command is handed over to the Lieutenant-Governor.

An opportunity to see Old Staff to advantage was on Sundays when marching the Cadets to morning service. Upon arrival at the Church they were drawn up just outside, preparatory to being marched in, and then it was a sight to see Major Ritherdon caracoling on horseback among the grave stones.

Colonel Sir Ephraim Stannus was appointed to Addiscombe in March 1834, the second Lieutenant-Governor of the College. He had entered the Service in 1800 and was posted to the Bombay European Regiment with which he saw considerable service. In 1815 he was Military Secretary to General Lawrence. During 1819 Sir William Keir had the command of an expedition to the Persian Gulf against the pirate port of Ras al Khaimah, and again in 1820 Stannus was Assistant Adjutant-General under Major-Gen. Smith in his expedition to the Coast of Arabia against the Quwasim pirates of Ras al Khaimah and also in the second attack on the Beni Bu Ali on the Oman coast.¹



COLONEL SIR E. STANNUS

In 1834, on his appointment to Addiscombe, Lord Hill, Commander-in-Chief, appointed Stannus a Brevet Colonel in H.M.’s Service and the honour of a knighthood was conferred upon him on 9th May 1837. Stannus was a splendid looking man, with a tall soldier-like presence. He had plenty of very fine white hair, and it was a habit of his, when irritated by the misdemeanour or bad conduct of a Cadet being

¹ See Orders & Medals Research Society, *Miscellany of Honours 1998*, p.3: ‘War in the Gulf and not a Medal in Sight.’

brought before him, to take off his spectacles and to comb his hair with them, sometimes indulging in strong language!

Notwithstanding his quickness of temper and use of strong language, Sir Ephraim Stannus was a favourite with the Cadets. During the greater part of his time at Addiscombe, the Cadets seem to have been quiet, well behaved and busy, but during the latter part insubordination increased, partly possibly due to the declining health of Stannus and the consequent lack of supervision. He died suddenly on the 21st October 1850, and Major Ritherdon carried out the duties of Lieutenant-Governor during the remainder of that term.



SIR FRED. ABBOTT, WIFE AND DAUGHTER

The next Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Frederick Abbott, was appointed on 8th January 1851 – three years after retiring from active military service. Born on 13th June 1805, he was educated at Warfield in Berkshire, entered Addiscombe in 1822 and was commissioned into the Engineers. He was a strong and active man. During his time at Addiscombe as a Cadet, he distinguished himself in a row with the Croydon toughs who used to waylay and ill-treat any Cadet who ventured into the town on their own.

Abbott had a distinguished career in India, particularly during the Afghan Campaign of 1842 where he received the brevet promotion of Major, and with the Army of the Sutlej in 1846. He retired in 1847, at which point Lord Harding wrote to him:

I cannot, however, allow you to retire from India without expressing my sense of loss which the East India Company's service will sustain by your retirement... in peace your conduct was regulated by the most anxious spirit of carefulness and integrity in the expenditure of public money and in the efficiency of the public works; and when the war broke out you hastened to join the army. I knew I could not confide in any officer better than in yourself the important operation of making the arrangements for the passage of the Sutlej, one of the most difficult rivers in the world over which it was absolutely necessary that we should have the means of entering the Punjab.

Abbot's character was rather different from that of his predecessor,

Stannus, as he was quiet, well spoken and treated the Cadets with courteous manners in contrast to the roughness of speech of his predecessor. This gave rise to a suspicion among the Cadets that Abbot was using this as a cover for some sinister motive of his own making.

Major Ritherdon remained as Staff Officer during the first term following the appointment of Colonel Abbott, but at the end of the term he sent in a



COLONEL T. DONNELLY

Medical Certificate and retired. Some three months later, on the 19th November 1851, Major Thomas Donnelly (later Colonel) was appointed Staff Officer in which post he remained until the College was disbanded in 1861. He became a great favourite with the Cadets.

Donnelly was born in Ireland 1801 and entered the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich as a Cadet in 1818. He was sent to Bombay and posted to the 9th Native Infantry in 1819. He subsequently transferred to the Grenadier Regiment, or 1st Bombay Native Infantry, and was

promoted to Captain in July 1830. He served as a volunteer in Arabia and later in the Scinde Campaign in 1843, and in the following year he was engaged in the Southern Maratha campaign. In 1849, while serving as Deputy Adjutant-General of the Bombay Army, his health finally broke down and he was obliged to leave India. Two years later he was appointed to Addiscombe.

An amusing characteristic of Colonel Donnelly is recounted by a distinguished officer who was once an Orderly Officer at Addiscombe. If one expressed the view that the Cadets were behaving well, he quite agreed. 'Yes, it is extraordinary what a nice set of well behaved young gentleman they all are!' But if one complained of their conduct, his rejoinder invariably was: 'Upon my word! The more I see of these youngsters the less I like them. Aye! - and the only way to treat them is to put their noses to the grindstone! Aye! - and keep them there!'

Smoking by the Cadets was strictly prohibited. On one occasion, when a Cadet was reported to Donnelly for smoking, the Cadet began to argue the matter contending that there was no harm in it. 'That may be,' said the

Colonel, 'but that has nothing to do with the matter in hand. You are punished, in fact not for smoking, but for disobeying the order that you should not smoke.'

The establishment at Addiscombe, at the time when Sir Frederick Abbott became Lieutenant-Governor of the College, included the following leading figures:

Public examiner	Sir Charles Pasley	
Hindustani examiner	Prof. Horace H. Wilson	
<i>Professors</i>		
Mathematics	Rev. Jonathan Cape	Rev. Alfred Wrigley
	Rev. W. H. Johnstone	Rev. Robert Inchbald
	Arthur Dusautoy, Esq.	
Fortification	Major W. Jacob, R.A.	Lieut. Cook, R.N.
Civil Drawing	T. H. Fielding, Esq.	J. C. Schetky, Esq.
Military Drawing	Captain W. A. Tate	
Military Surveying	Major Jackson	
Hindustani	Richard Haughton Esq.	Charles Bowles, Esq.
French	M. Leon Contanseau	
<i>Lecturers</i>		
Geology	D. T. Ansted, Esq.	
Chemistry	Professor Solly	
Staff Captain	Major Ritherdon	
Doctor	Westall	
Instructor in Fencing	Mr H. Angelo, Junr.	
Steward & Purveyor	Mr. R. J. Leeds	
Sergeant Major	David Bruce	

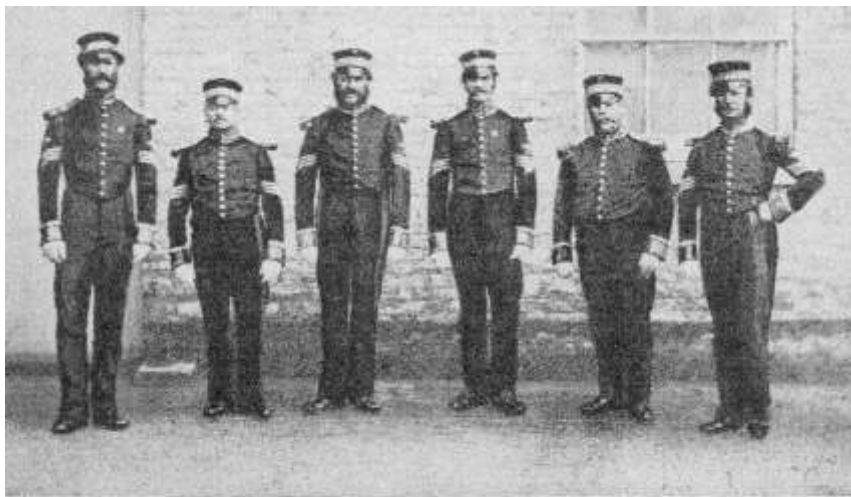
Between this time and the closing of Addiscombe in 1861, there were many changes to the Staff, and there were also a number of 'other ranks' who were instrumental in converting young boys into successful officers of the East India Company's armies.

In 1856 there were six sergeants. At the head of them was Sergeant-Major David Bruce, nick-named 'Darby' by the Cadets. He was a short and portly man and, though somewhat severe and self-important, was good natured and a favourite with the Cadets. A preferred pastime was to go into his office and get possession of his sword-belt, place within its embrace no fewer than three

Cadets, and quietly await his coming. This joke would never fail to irritate the Sergeant-Major. David Bruce was one day supervising a drill, and as one of the companies wheeled into line, he called out to Cadet 'P' in the front rank, 'Mr "P" - look up! What do you want to be looking at your toes for?' to which Cadet 'P', who was not a stickler for discipline, replied 'Ah, Darby, you're jealous, you haven't seen your own toes in twenty years!'

Prior to Sergeant-Major Bruce, the post was held by Sergeant-Major Lumber, a fine, big, reticent and close shaven old soldier, rather sardonic and very pious. He was a reliable and steady man, admirably fitted for his by-no-means-easy post. Though there were some jokes about his piety, never a word was heard to his disadvantage. He was deemed incorruptible and nicknamed the 'Centurion Cornelius.'

The other sergeants were Reid, Murray, Cook, Foye and Malster. The first named, Reid, was not well liked by the Cadets. He was considered untrustworthy and by no means straightforward. He was chiefly employed in the lithographic department and in keeping the accounts of the College.



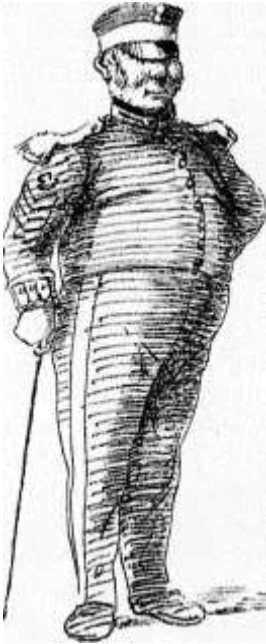
SERGEANT-MAJOR and 5 SERGEANTS:

Malster, Murray, Reid, Foye, Sgt-Major Bruce, Cook.

Sergeant Murray, alias Squasher, was a short, pudgy man. He was somewhat fond of his glass of ale and, although kind hearted and generally indisposed to give annoyance to the Cadets, was at times cranky and is reported on several occasions to have given notice of irregularities to the Orderly Officer which he

would not have done had he been in his right mind. He had a weakness for drink, which threatened every now and then to sever his connection with the College, especially when after a bout he reappeared with an unmistakable cut across his face. When explaining that this had occurred by his accidentally tripping over a kerb-stone in the dark (being of course as sober as a judge), a Cadet solemnly enquired whether the kerbstone had jumped up and hit him on the face. One of his duties was to supervise the Cadets on extra drill, which consisted of marching round the drill-ground in heavy marching order. On these occasions it was the Cadets' idea to go round the parade-ground as fast as possible, so as to keep poor Squasher on the trot, an exercise for which he was eminently unfit!

An amusing story relating to Squasher was told by a Cadet. 'I remember that



'SQUASHER'

on one occasion I thought fit to test the quality of the College discipline and headed a young mutiny. I was one of a party whom, I regret to say, I frequently joined through being misunderstood. In fact, the extra drill squad sergeant, Murray, fine old Squasher, was in command and for some time he manoeuvred us skilfully, getting more and more purpled. Then, Satan having entered into me, whenever our lawful commander gave an order I, in low but distinct tones, gave a different one, and the Cadets carried out mine. "Support arms!" shouted poor old Squasher. "Slope!" said I, reckless of the future, and slope it was; and so we went on until Murray, to prevent bursting, so great was his astonishment and fury, rushed off to report the matter to the Orderly Officer on duty. As it happened this Orderly Officer was not to be trifled with. Captain William Olpherts³ was a master in the putting down of mutinies, as many rebels found to their cost in 1857. This gallant officer explained in the most forcible language that,

according to the articles of war, I ought in justice to be at once led out and shot. So impressive was the speech, and so terrible did the apparently incensed Orderly Officer seem, that I almost believed my last hour had come. I have

³ Later General Sir William Olpherts, V.C., K.C.B., Royal Artillery, the redoubtable 'Hell Fire Jack Olpherts' of Indian Mutiny fame.

never wished to mutiny since then.’

Sergeant Thomas Cook, although he had never been in the army, was by far the smartest of the non-commissioned officers. He grew up in the College, having been employed as a lad to clean the boots, thereafter becoming a bugler. In about 1848, he was appointed Sergeant and when ‘Darby’ Bruce retired, a couple of years before the College ceased to exist in 1861, he became Sergeant-Major. As a Sergeant, Cook looked after the library. In 1857 he married Miss Nancy Colyer, a nurse in the hospital.

Sergeant John Foye was appointed in August 1854 and remained at Addiscombe until it closed in 1861. Shortly afterwards, Sergeant Malster, a fine handsome man, was appointed. He was a good fellow, generally much liked.

Sergeant Honeygold, usually called ‘Jack,’ was an Irishman, a kindly but somewhat irascible old soldier, well set up but with rather a swagger. It was difficult to take Jack seriously and at drill the Cadets used to chafe him. One of the mild jokes was to tell him that his word of command ‘As you were!’ was not intelligible, and in fact was not English. When fairly goaded with this, Jack used to roar furiously, ‘When I says “As you were!” I means “As you was!” If

you don’t understand good grammar, go and lorn it!’ He believed this to be the end of the matter, but it was of course received with laughter. He would then swear that he would report the squad to the Orderly Officer. This he considered was conclusive, but it was of course again received with laughter by the Cadets. He was really a kindly old fellow but, when stung to the point beyond endurance, he used to button his coat, expand his manly chest and exclaim: ‘I’ll bet you tuppence I’ll report you!’ and he would dash off the drill-ground, heading straight for the officers quarters. The Cadets realised the game was up!



‘MOTHER ROSE’

It is now time to speak of ‘Mother’ Rose, for whom every Addiscombe Cadet who came across her had a soft spot in his heart. At one time, her cottage was denounced by the Addiscombe authorities

and was placed out of bounds. However the Lieutenant-Governor eventually realised that Mother Rose’s cottage was a far more salubrious place for the

cadets to meet than, for example, 'The Leslie Arms' or 'The Black Horse' inns. Mother Rose was born Dorcas Letts, the daughter of a farm labourer. She married John Rose, also a farm labourer, hence her name of Mother Rose. From



MOTHER ROSE'S COTTAGE

her cottage she used to sell to the Cadets milk, eggs, bread and butter etc., but no beer or spirituous liquors. The Cadets were allowed to smoke at her cottage, and many of them took refuge there. The influence she exercised over the minds of the Cadets was great and always in a good direction, and they owed her a debt of gratitude. That a woman of her class should be able to retain the respect and affection of such a vast number of Cadets shows in the clearest light that she was a woman of a fine nature.



"PADDY"

Another character who used to sell his wares to the Cadets was 'Paddy' Fitzgibbon, a small diminutive Irishman. His wife's name was Biddy, and it is reputed that she used to thrash him if he displeased her! He used to carry a basket containing oranges and a tin box with nuts and gingerbread for sale to the Cadets.

There was a further group of traders who sold various items of food, or performed services for the Cadets. These were known as 'Tarts,' 'Mother Crust' and the 'Barber.' Old 'Tarts' was one of Addiscombe's strangest characters. His real name was Joe Ridger, and he had a small shop in Croydon. He

was allowed to visit Addiscombe daily, where he sold light refreshments. While

waiting for the Cadets to come 'into his clutches' he used to take a small ball from his pocket which he would bounce against the wall



"TARTS", "MOTHER CRUST"
AND THE BARBER

to pass the time. He had only one eye, the other one he had lost in a fight where his opponent had thrown lime in his face! It is related how on one occasion, on return from India, a Cadet on seeing 'Tarts' said to him, 'Ah Tarts, you don't remember me!' 'Oh, yes Sir, I do,' replied Tarts. 'You owe me five shillings.' His arm outstretched to receive the coins into his itching hands.

'Mother Crust' was an elderly woman who used to take up a position not far from 'Tarts' with a wheel barrow and sell bread and butter to the Cadets. Her real name was Knight. Then there was the barber Byron Clark who, in addition to cutting the hair of the Cadets, also sold them cheap pomades and scents. His duties must have been light, as the Cadets were allowed to

wear their hair much longer than was usual in the army.

I hope this brief article may help Members to understand a little of how Addiscombe operated. There is much more that could be written, of a more serious nature, and I trust you will allow that mantle to pass to other shoulders.

Editor's note

This article has been compiled from Colonel H.M. Vibart's *Addiscombe, Its Heroes and Men of Note* (Archibald Constable & Co., London 1894), from which the illustrations have also been taken. At the close of the book is a listing of several hundred Cadets who served at Addiscombe. There is also a section entitled 'A Brief Record of the Services of Distinguished Officers,' in which the services of eighty-six officers are detailed. Some of these records cover several pages and are a useful source of biographical data.

**Surgeon-General Aylmer Martin Crofts, C.I.E., I.M.S., the
Maharaja of Gwalior, and the bell of the “Empress of India”**

Aylmer Martin Crofts was born on 25th May 1854 in Blackrock, County Cork, Ireland and educated at Cork and Edinburgh universities. He joined the Indian Medical Service as a qualified surgeon in March 1877 and was posted to the 10th Bengal (D.C.O) Lancers as officiating medical officer. In this post he served in the Second Afghanistan War with the Khaibar and Kandahar Field Forces, including the affair with the Ghilzais at and near Jagalak, for which he received the campaign medal. He accompanied the 10th Lancers to Egypt in 1882 and was present at the actions of Kassassin and Tel-el-Kebir, for which he received the campaign medal with clasp and the Khedive's bronze star. In 1884, and by now established as the regiment's permanent M.O., he participated in a minor Frontier expedition in the Zhob Valley for which no medals were granted. This was his last field service with the 10th Lancers.

In November 1886, Surgeon Crofts received the important civil appointment of Residency Surgeon at Gwalior – where he was to remain for many years. In the early days, his duties included tutoring the young Maharaja Scindia with whom he developed a close relationship. He was advanced to Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel in March 1897, and made C.I.E. on 24th May 1900. He served in the Third China War in 1900-1901 as senior medical officer on the hospital ship *Gwalior* which had been presented to the Government of India by the intensely loyal Maharaja of Gwalior. For his service in China, Lieut.-Colonel Crofts receive the medal without clasp.

His direct association with Gwalior ended in June 1905 when he became Residency Surgeon of Kotah and Ghalawar. This was only short term as in the following October he was appointed Administrative Medical Officer of the newly-created North West Frontier Provinces. He was further advanced to Surgeon-General in April 1911, and was appointed Director of Medical Services of the 2nd Rawalpindi Division. He was not in good health and went on protracted leave to Europe in June 1912 prior to retirement in May 1914.

Within one week of hostilities breaking out in August 1914, the Maharaja of Gwalior mooted the idea of presenting the Government of India with a hospital ship. His experiences of the China expedition fourteen years earlier convinced him of the value of rendering this sort of voluntary aid. A number of other loyal Indian princes expressed the intention of supporting the endeavour.

It was arranged from the beginning that His Highness would supervise the management of the ship and pay all expenses himself so long as she remained in commission. When the time came to dismantle her, an account of all expenditure would be prepared and circulated amongst the subscribers, who would contribute towards it, not necessarily in any fixed proportion, but entirely according to their own will.¹

The preferred choice of senior medical officer for the ship was Surgeon-General Crofts, this no doubt being Gwalior's idea. However, Crofts was still in poor health and was compelled to refuse the post. He died of heart failure in London on 12th March 1915. His career had been distinguished.² Apart from his membership of the Order of the Indian Empire, he was an honorary associate of the Order of St. John, holding the Knight's Cross of the order, and was a member of the Order of Philippe the Magnanimous (Hesse), of which he also held the Knight's Cross. On 2nd March 1913 he had been appointed Honorary Surgeon to H.M. the King, and he was in receipt of an additional good service pension during the last year of his life.

The ship selected by the princes was the 6,000 ton *Empress of India* – plying the North Pacific and North Atlantic routes for the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. She was one of the fastest luxury liners of her time, built in 1891 in Barrow-in-Furness by the Naval Construction and Armaments Company. The Director of the Royal Indian Marine acted for the Maharajah of Gwalior in the mechanics of buying the ship.

When she was first taken over, the [ship's] navigation and engine-room staff was the same as when she ran for the Canadian Pacific Railway Company: Captain H.A. Hailey R.N.R., and officers, Chief Engineer J.J. Mark, with a Chinese crew. These officers were, however, called up for war and transport service of an active nature. The ship was then handed over to Captain James Wilson R.N.R., of the British India Company's service, with Mr Colin W. Bain as Chief Engineer. A crew of Bombay lascars, Punjabi firemen, and Gaonese saloon boys was substituted for the Chinese.³

The conversion of the *Empress of India*, overseen by the Indian Navy, took place in the Bombay dockyards, and included the installation of 300 beds. It was completed in four months. On 28th November 1914, the ship was renamed *Loyalty* by Lady Willingdon, wife of the Governor of Bombay, and sailed for the Persian Gulf on the very next day. The hospital staff (i.e. excluding the

¹ *Gwalior's Part in the War*, p.90

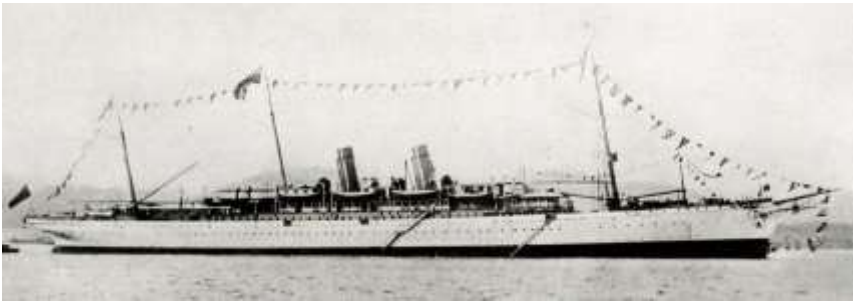
² The officer in medical charge of the *Loyalty* was Lt.-Col. John William Watson, IMS.

³ *Gwalior's Part in the War*, p.95. The British Mercantile Marine provided the deck officers.

ship's crew) numbered ninety-four. A handful had been lent by the Government of India, but the majority of them were recruited from the states of Gwalior, Indore, Dhar and Bharatpur, or locally in Bombay.

The cost of buying and fitting out the *Loyalty* added up to approximately £120,000, and the expense of her upkeep for four years amounted to an additional £360,000. She was ready to perform her new role in December 1914, taking her place as one of the Indian hospital ships based in Bombay. She served in this capacity until November 1918, with the exception of a three month period in 1915 during which she was attached to the Mediterranean Field Force and based in Southampton.

In all she did forty voyages, three of which were to England, sixteen to Suez, eighteen to the Persian Gulf, and three to British East Africa. During these voyages she carried 15,510 patients – British, Australians, Indians, West Indians, and Chinese; and German, Turkish and Arab prisoners of war.⁴



THE HOSPITAL SHIP *LOYALTY*

Apart from the routine of caring for and transporting casualties, the *Loyalty* was involved in several incidents at sea involving the rescue of crews from ships in difficulty, and on one occasion she rendered assistance to a lighthouse crew in the Red Sea. A particularly notable event occurred on 1st August 1915, near Ushant, when she was making her way from Alexandria and Malta to Southampton with a full compliment of British casualties from the Dardenelles. A German submarine had shelled and torpedoed the s.s. *Ben Vorlich* and sunk

⁴ Ibid., p.93

the s.s. *Clintonia*. This action was witnessed by the *Loyalty* from a distance of one-and-a-half miles, and she was able to rescue the crew of the *Ben Vorlich*.

When the *Loyalty* was decommissioned in November 1918 at the end of her useful life, the strength of the medical compliment, excluding ‘menial’ ranks,



CAPTAIN V.M. PHATAK

was fifty-five – of whom just over two-thirds were men from Gwalior. To express his appreciation, the Maharajah rewarded them with the ‘Gwalior Medal’ and a purse. Captain Vinayak Mahadeo Phatak, who had been on the *Loyalty* since October 1914, received the ‘Gwalior Gold Medal.’ The ship’s bell, from the original “Empress of India,” was taken by the Maharajah of Gwalior to honour a pledge made during the visit of Lord Hardinge to Gwalior in December 1915. His promise on that occasion was to present the bell to St. Peter’s Church ‘in loving memory of his life-long friend Surgeon-General Aylmer Crofts.’

The presentation of the ship’s bell from the *Empress of India* took place on the first anniversary of the Armistice in 1919. Its installation in the belfry of St. Peter’s Church, with the blessing of the Bishop of

Nagpour, is commemorated by the large brass plaque illustrated on the following page.

Sources:

Hodson’s Horse 1857-1922, Major F.G. Cardew OBE (Blackwood, Edinburgh & London 1928); *Hodson’s Horse, nominal roll of officers who have served with the regiment 1857-1928* (reprinted from official army lists, Lahore 1929); *Indian Army List*, Jan. 1896 ed. (war services section); *Gwalior’s Part in the War*, Mohammad Rafiullah (compiler) (Foreign Department, Government of Gwalior, printed by Hazell, Watson & Viney, London 1920); *The British Medical Journal*, 1st May 1915, obit. (p.786). The photograph of the plaque was kindly provided by Captain Roddy Sale.



UPON EARTH PEACE GOODWILL AMONG MEN.

TO THE GLORY OF GOD AND THE TRIUMPH OF RIGHT OVER MIGHT
 THE BELL OF THE GOOD SHIP THE "EMPRESS OF INDIA" WHICH THROUGHOUT
 THE GREAT WAR, 1914-1918, THE RULING PRINCES AND CHIEFS OF INDIA HAD
 COMMISSIONED AS THE HOSPITAL SHIP "LOYALTY" WAS PROMISED
 TO ST. PETER'S CHURCH, MORAR, BY
 LIEUT. GENERAL HIS HIGHNESS SIR MADHO RAO SCINDIA, ALIJAH BAHADUR,
 G.C.S.I., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., A.D.C.,
 IN LOVING MEMORY OF HIS LIFE-LONG FRIEND SURGEON GENERAL AYLMER CROFTS, C.I.E.
 ON HIS EXCELLENCY LORD HARDINGE'S VISIT TO GWALIOR, CHRISTMAS 1915.
 PRESENTED TO THE RESIDENCY FOR THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE ARMISTICE
 AND INSTALLED IN THE BELFRY, WITH THE BLESSING OF
 THE RIGHT REVEREND THE BISHOP OF NAGPUR TO COMMEMORATE THE
 INAUGURATION OF PEACE, ANNO DOMINI MDCCCXIX

**Honorary Captain and Risaldar-Major Gunda Singh, *Sardar Bahadur*,
O.B.I., I.O.M., A.D.C., 19th Bengal Lancers (Fane's Horse)**

The photograph of a long-serving Indian cavalry officer on page 128, sent in by Keith Steward, was reproduced in the 17th January 1903 edition of *The Navy & Army Illustrated* as part of an article describing the Coronation Durbar held in Delhi on 1st January 1903.¹ Although the images in this periodical are generally of great interest, they are not always contemporary to the date of publication and the captions are often inadequate and occasionally misleading, as in Gunda Singh's case. In the caption under Gunda Singh's image, he is described incorrectly as 'On the Personal Staff, A Native A.D.C. to the Viceroy.' He was definitely not on the 'Personal Staff' at Delhi in 1903. Furthermore, at no time in his career had he been an A.D.C. to the Viceroy.

Gunda Singh Datt [sic] was born in 1830 in the village of Zaffarwal Dattan, in the Rayva *tehsil* of Sialkot district. Although he was a Mohiyal Brahmin, he was raised as a Sikh, a practice often followed in Mohiyal families at the time.² He enlisted in the 4th Punjab Cavalry as a dafadar in November 1852, and served in several expeditions under Brig.-Gen. N.B. Chamberlain on the North-West Frontier in 1855-56. He transferred to the 1st Sikh Irregular Cavalry when it was raised in August 1857 and was present in its first action at Gogaira the following month when it dispersed a force of 10,000 Kharral rebels. He was with the regiment in operations leading to the capture of Lucknow in March 1858 and was admitted to the 3rd Class Order of Merit in the rank of Kot-Dafadar, sanctioned retrospectively in 1868.

At the capture of Lucknow, Gunda Sing was in the vanguard of the advance to the Dilkhoosha on 5th March 1858, and again at Mooshabagh on 21st March when he was instrumental in saving Lieutenant Robert Sandeman's life. At Mooshabagh, the 1st Sikh Cavalry, to which Lieutenant Sandeman was attached, had been sent in pursuit of a body of the enemy. On approaching a *nullah*, they were received by a volley of musketry from a party of the enemy concealed within it. Captain Frederick Wale,³ commanding the regiment, was mortally wounded, and the rest of the regiment charged down into the *nullah*.

¹ An earlier portrait of Gunda Singh was published in Hudson's history of Fane's Horse.

² Hudson records him, incorrectly, as a Jat Sikh.

³ Frederick Wale raised the 1st Sikh Irregular Cavalry, known during his tenure of command as 'Captain Wale's Corps of Punjab Horse,' or 'Wale's Horse' for short. It later became 11th K.E.O. Lancers (Probyn's Horse).



ON THE PERSONAL STAFF.

A Native A.D.C. to the Viceroy.

In the fight that ensued, Lieutenant Sandeman observed one of his men on the ground being cut to pieces by two of the enemy. He charged them, but as he came up to them his horse put its foot into a hole and threw him. The rebel pair then turned on Sandeman who received a sword cut on his *pagri*. He also received two other sword cuts, one on the wrist and the other on the leg. It was at this moment that Gunda Singh went to the Lieutenant's help and assisted him against the two men – both of whom were killed.⁴

Ganda Singh was attached to the Oudh Police after the capture of Lucknow, and was commissioned on 1st August 1858. He served with the 3rd and 5th Regiments of Oudh Police Cavalry in the pacification of Oudh including actions at Bainswara, Sundeela and Sailimpore and along the Nepal Frontier.

In 1860 he volunteered for Fane's Horse (later 19th Bengal Lancers) in order to participate in the North China campaign, during which he saved the life of Sir Charles MacGregor, at the time a lieutenant in Fane's Horse. He remained with the 19th Lancers for the remainder of his active service. He took part in Lord Roberts' famous march from Kabul to Kandahar during the 2nd Afghanistan War and distinguished himself in the battle fought at Kandahar in September 1880. By now a risaldar, he was appointed to the 2nd Class Order of British India on 5th June 1881. He advanced to the 1st Class on 10th May 1888, and became risaldar-major and 'Native A.D.C. to the C-in-C India' on 1st January 1889. Upon retirement on 4th May 1894 he was appointed 'Hon. Native A.D.C. to the C-in-C India' remaining thus until November 1902. On 22nd December 1894, he was awarded the rank of Honorary Captain.

As a reward for his loyal services to the Government of India, Ganga Singh was granted large tracts of agricultural land. Furthermore, the village of Ganda Singh Wala on the periphery of Amritsar is named after him. He was president of the first All India Mohiyal Conference, held in 1902 at Lahore. He attended the Coronation Durbar held in Delhi in January 1903 as one of the large contingent of Mutiny veterans. Five months later he passed away.

Main sources:

Gen. Sir H. Hudson GCB, *History of the 19th K.G.O.'s Lancers 1858-1921* (Aldershot 1937); Bengal Army List (various); Indian Army List (various); Wikipedia, 'Ganda Singh Datt, 26 Dec 2009'; India Office Records, L/Mil/5/126, 'Distribution List of Delhi Durbar Medals 1903.'

Memoirs of the Second World War

⁴ G.O. No. 530 of 2nd June 1868.

Major Shaukat Hyat Khan

Omer Tarin and Neal Dando

In many cases, the memoirs of individuals who have lived through memorable or eventful times constitute valuable reference material for historians; and memoirs of war experiences can provide valuable and exciting accounts of 'combat-as-lived' for military historians.

The Second World War remains a major interest to historians and enthusiasts of military history. Yet the theoretical boundaries can be confusing or controversial, as has been remarked upon by historians.¹ There may be alternative perspectives from the point of view of the opposing nations, or different angles drawn by 'post-colonial' and 'post-independence' revisionist histories from places such as South Asia, where the rights and wrongs of the War are often debated by nationalist/propagandist academics.

Italy began her war in the Mediterranean on the 10th June 1940, against Britain and the ailing French. Britain was soon without Allies in the theatre, and yet it was vital to hold on to territories in Egypt, the Sudan and Palestine for economic, political and military reasons. There was also a substantial threat of Axis intervention in Iraq, Syria and Persia.

With the British Expeditionary Force [BEF] heavily engaged in Europe (and soon to be defeated), it was logical that allies from the Empire would be called upon to assist the weak British forces in East and North Africa and the Middle East. Thus, 5th Indian Division landed in the Sudan in September 1939 and one month later joined Gazelle Force in bitterly-fought operations against the well-entrenched Italian garrisons. 4th Indian Division took part in Operation Compass in December 1940, the first major Allied military operation of the Western Desert campaign. In May 1941, 8th Indian Division entered Iraq, an area of great strategic importance, and the following August took control of vital oil installations in Persia. 10th Indian Division helped to defeat the Vichy French in Syria in June/July 1941 before moving to North Africa in 1942 where it fought in several major engagements in June, from the Sidi Rezegh and Bel Hamid 'Boxes' to the Ruweisat Ridge. The 4th, 8th and 10th Indian Divisions continued on into Italy and fought throughout the bitter and much underrated campaign in dreadful weather conditions, and in the face of savage German

¹ Such as N. Smart (ed.), *The Second World War* (Ashgate Publishing, Aldershot 2006).

resistance. The 5th Indian Division headed back east and joined the campaign to retake Burma from another equally formidable foe.²

Personal memoirs play a vital role in highlighting the details of the past. They capture the minutiae of day-to-day existence, of life within a tank, truck or platoon, of the climate and terrain, and perhaps most graphically, the highs and lows of combat for those who actually had to do the fighting. No official history or regimental war diary can match the feelings and reasoning described by the participants.

The authors of this article are presently involved in a research project that, inter al, has so far reviewed sixty-four battlefield memoirs spread over three years of fighting in North Africa. Not surprisingly, the accounts vary. The experiences of those who were on the escarpment at Sidi Rezegh are quite different from those who later fought in the Tunisian hills.³ Some memoirs were written within a year of the events they describe, such as tank subaltern Brian Stone's *Prisoner from Alamein* (1943) or war correspondent Alex Clifford's account of Operation Crusader (1942).⁴ Others were written forty or fifty years after the events, such as Herb Ashby's record of his time with 2nd-48th Battalion, 2nd Australian Imperial Force. Yet the memories remain as fresh as ever.⁵ Other commonwealth units have received some representation, with published memoirs by Australian and New Zealand participants, and a useful insight is given about South African units in Carel Birkby's *Uncle George*.⁶

² The WW2 establishments of the divisions, brigades and regiments/corps of the Indian Army are laid out in comprehensive detail, accompanied by useful narratives, in IMHS member Chris Kempton's highly recommended three volume work: *Loyalty & Honour, the Indian Army Sept. 1939 - Aug 1947* (The Military Press, Milton Keynes 2003).

³ P. Stainforth, *Wings of the Wind – Active Service with the 1st Parachute Brigade* (Grafton Books, London 1988, originally written in 1949); J.P. Kenneally, *The Honour and the Shame* (Headline Review, London 2007 – originally published 1991). These two reflect the years in which they were written, but are nevertheless equally telling. G. Cox, *A Tale of Two Battles – A Personal Memoir of Crete and the Western Desert 1941* (William Kimber, 1987). Cox was an Intelligence Officer with 2nd NZ Div in 1941.

⁴ B. Stone, *Prisoner from Alamein* (H.F. & G. Witherby, London 1944); A. Clifford, *Crusader* (George G. Harrap, London 1942). Stone does not name his regiment, but he certainly fought at Gazala, and was wounded and captured just prior to Third Alamein.

⁵ P. Dornan, *The Last Man Standing - Herb Ashby and the Battle of El Alamein* (Allen & Unwin, 2006). The 2 A.I.F. was raised for World War II service.

⁶ C. Birkby, *Uncle George - The Boer Boyhood, Letters and Battles of Lieutenant-General George Edwin Brink* (Jonathan Ball, Johannesburg 1987). Brink commanded the 5th South African Infantry Brigade at Sidi Rezegh in 1941.

At least eight men of the Royal Tank Regiment have provided a wealth of detail for some of the key tank battles. The infantry regiments as a whole are represented by at least twelve works by commissioned officers, and another eight are of a more general nature. Although officers were the most prolific recorders, several graphic memoirs were written by other ranks.⁷

Interesting issues crop up when one compares the frontline combatants. For example, both infantry and tank units at Gazala in 1942 were constantly forced to make sudden night moves and changes of position, which exhausted them beyond measure. Company commander Dan Billany (from an un-named infantry battalion but likely to be part of the ill-fated 150th Brigade) felt that it weakened the resolve to fight, while Stuart Hamilton of 8th RTR said the moves simply added to the burden of his unit's seventeen tank combats of that battle.⁸ In their view, this contributed greatly to the outcome of Gazala, though their morale remained undaunted and they wished only for a rest before returning to the battle.

Researchers of WW2 are fortunate to have such a wide base of memoirs on which to call. However, huge gaps remain. In terms of this category of source material, there were many different units, both at the front and in support, whose experiences have been overlooked. Some specific phases of the campaign have never been described in any detail. Indian formations which served in the Middle East theatre remain largely unrepresented, beyond John Master's autobiography and the anecdotal memoirs provided in *The Tiger Kills*,⁹ and very little has come out of the Indian subcontinent – especially from what used to be the north-western reaches of British India - today's independent Pakistan.

A notable exception is the recollection of his war experiences made by the late Major Shaukat Hyat Khan (1915-1998) who, after hostilities ended in 1946,

⁷ These include J. Holland, *Together We Stand, Turning the Tide in the west – North Africa 1942-1943*. Harper-Collins. London. 2006; and J. Lucas, *War in the Desert – The Eighth Army at El Alamein* (Arms & Armour Press, London 1982). Both are excellent for their oral history/memoir details.

⁸ D. Billany, *The Trap* (originally published in 1950, reprinted by Panther Books, London 1964); S. Hamilton, *Armoured Odyssey – 8th Royal Tank Regiment in the Western Desert 1941-1942* (Tom Donovan, London 1995). Dan Billany died in Italy.

⁹ J. Masters, *Bugles And A Tiger* (Buchan & Enright, London 1986, originally written in 1956); J. Masters, *The Road Past Mandalay* (Cassell, London 2003 – orig. published in 1961). Anon, *The Tiger Kills* (H.M.S.O., London 1944).

went on to make a considerable name for himself as a freedom activist and a prominent, early Pakistani politician. When his memoirs were published,¹⁰ Professor Dr. Akbar S. Ahmed (then a Fellow of Selwyn College Cambridge, and a well-known authority on Pakistani history) opined:

Pakistani society in South Asia is characterized by people of action; few write [about their lives/experiences]...and Shaukat Hyat Khan's book is important on several counts. Firstly, it is a remarkable story of a remarkable man whose long life has seen both the high noon of the British Empire and its demise, the struggle for Pakistan, the creation of Pakistan...[right down to] the present *malaise* of the 1980s and 1990s. For the last half century the author has been either at the centre of where the action was, or near the centre, and therefore is in a position to comment meaningfully.¹¹

The larger part of the *Memoirs* concerns events leading up to the creation of Pakistan and subsequent decades of Pakistani political history. But one chapter is of special interest to military historians concerned with the activities of the Indian Army circa 1939-45, and it is this chapter that we purport to take up here, and share.¹²

Shaukat Hyat Khan (hereafter 'SHK') was born on 23rd September 1915, the eldest son of *Sirdar* (later Sir) Sikandar Hyat Khan (1892-1942) one of the most prominent Punjabi Muslim statesmen of British India. The family was amongst the privileged Punjabi landed elite, of the Khattar tribe,¹³ and resident at its ancestral seat, Wah, since at least the 17th century.¹⁴ SHK's family had a

¹⁰ Shaukat Hyat Khan, *The Nation that Lost its Soul – The Memoirs of Shaukat Hyat Khan* (Jang Publishers, Lahore 1995); hereafter referred to as *Memoirs*.

¹¹ *Memoirs*, forward, p.i

¹² *Memoirs*, Chapter 2, pp.17-78

¹³ The origins of the Khattars (not to be confused with the Khattak Pathans), a large and prominent tribe of the Northern Punjab, with some scattered populations in other parts, are rather obscure and controversial. There are four main hypotheses as to their antecedents. It seems most probable that they are originally of Hindu Kashatriya/Rajput descent (like their neighbours the Gakkhars, Ghebas, Jodhras, Tiwanas, Noons, Janjuas, Khokhars and others) who later converted to Islam around the 11th and 12th centuries. It is likely that some admixture of Afghan/Central Asian blood took place at this time. According to the earliest existing records, until the early 20th century the Khattars themselves accepted Kashatriya/Rajput ancestry, but gradually began to give other accounts of their roots, due to various political reasons. Whatever the case, the general military recruitment term of 'Punjabi Musalmans' or 'Punjabi Mussulumans' (PMs) remains the best one to describe the host of indigenous tribes and races of the Punjab.

¹⁴ 'The memory of Jalal Khan's humble village is lost in the palace and *serai* built close

strong tradition of military service. His grandfather, *Nawab* Muhammad Hyat Khan, C.S.I. (1833-1901), served as an aide and troop officer with the immortal John Nicholson on the Punjab Frontier and at Delhi in 1857,¹⁵ and was later a native aide to Lord Roberts of Kandahar during the Second Afghan War; while his father also served in the British India Army during World War I. Indeed he was one of the first Indian officers to receive the King's Commission.¹⁶ Many other relatives also served in various branches of the military and, naturally enough, despite being a somewhat molly-coddled child, SHK was also expected to serve a military apprenticeship in due course of time. He introduces himself in his *Memoirs* as follows:

‘I was rather weak and easygoing ... [the] spoilt darling of the family. Therefore it almost amounted to a shock when, on the day the family were celebrating my success in the Senior Cambridge examinations [equivalent to the present O-Levels], my father turned round to me and asked why I had not thought of joining the army... His argument was that a bit of kicking around in the army would make a man out of me, and I would be keeping up an old family tradition.’¹⁷

It was thus decided, with the sole *proviso* on the part of the young SHK that he would be allowed to go for the Indian Air Force. This was accepted, and SHK began to take flying lessons at a local flying club in Lahore, while attending college there and at the same time cramming for the general selection exam. Unfortunately – or, perhaps, fortunately from our perspective – SHK failed to qualify for the Air Force and was advised by his father to try again. At this point, SHK narrates a very interesting anecdote, which is quite revealing about his father Sir Sikandar's highly-principled political career and in stark contrast to the sort of nepotism which sadly seems to prevail in the post-partition Pakistani ‘establishment.’

at hand by the Emperor Shah Jehan...’ See Griffin and Massey, *Chiefs and Families of Note of the Punjab*, Vol. II, (reprint of the original 1899 edition, Lahore 1910); p.341.

¹⁵ For details of his career and service with Nicholson please see: L.J. Trotter, *A Life of John Nicholson* (London 1891).

¹⁶ Sir Sikandar was a captain with the 2/67th Punjabis, later the 1/2nd Punjab Regiment. For more details of his army service, see Field-Marshal Sir Archibald Percival Wavell, GCB, KCB, CB, CMG (later Lord Wavell), ‘Sir Sikandar: The Soldier’ in *Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, A Tribute to the Soldier-Statesman of the Punjab*, edited by B.R. Rallia Ram, Prof. D.C Sharma, Dr Jai Paul, V.P Varma and Prof. L.R. Nair (special memorial publication of the Government of the Punjab, Lahore, 1943); pp.33-34.

¹⁷ This quotation from the *Memoirs*, and those that follow, are given parenthetically – and they all occur between pages 17 and 47.

Sir Sikandar was Acting Governor of the Punjab at the time (c. 1933-34) and, during that summer at Simla, the Commander-in-Chief was invited to a private family dinner at Government House there. While making arrangements for that dinner, Sir Sikandar issued strict orders that his son SHK should not come in to join the family and guests that night, as the C-in-C might inadvertently ask him about his result and, being a close family friend, might feel bound to help out SHK by offering him a place in the forces out of his own quota. In any case, the C-in-C was spared this embarrassment and, soon, SHK reappeared for the selection exams and was selected for the army on his own merits. 'I was destined to join the Indian Military Academy (IMA) at Dehra Dun,' he remarks.

'[The facilities at Dehra Dun]... at that time consisted of four residential blocks, two old ones belonging to a [former] Railway Officers' Institute situated there before creation of the IMA, and two new ones to accommodate the balance of 150 cadets who comprised the five terms. The classes were held in the old Railway Institute building.'

SHK was, like almost all of the young gentleman-cadets at the IMA, deeply moved and influenced by the academy's motto, given by the then C-in-C India, Field Marshal Sir Philip Chetwode:

The safety, honour and welfare of your country comes first, always and every time; the honour, welfare and comfort of the men you command comes next; your own ease, comfort and safety comes last, always and every time.

A brave ethic indeed for young men from some of the premier 'martial' families of British India, one they held on to throughout the hard years of World War II and even subsequently, at partition in 1947 and the inception of the 'new', sovereign Indian and Pakistani armies.

After some hard, grueling years, SHK came up for graduation along with his batch. This seems to have been a very memorable moment, or occasion, of his youth:

'The day we were granted commission still lingers in my memory. In the morning, we marched past General Lord Gort, Director Military Training, later to be the commander of the ill-fated British Expeditionary Force in Europe...We got a month's leave and were commissioned in the army with effect from August 1936, getting a year's ante-date to match us in seniority with

our age group from Sandhurst.¹⁸ [Thereafter, for a short period]... we had to join a British regiment for a year... two Indian and two British officers were posted as “Unattached Officers” [probationers]... I purposely asked for and got my posting with the Northamptonshire Regiment (the 48th) who were, at that time, engaged against the famous Fakir of Ipi in the Waziristan operations, [based] at Razmak. This service was excellent training...’

SHK’s descriptions of Razmak and Waziristan and the campaigning there, albeit brief, make fascinating reading; and soon enough, he is thinking about which Indian regiment to opt for. His exuberant and rather derring-do approach inclined him to the cavalry. When his training on the North-West Frontier came to an end:

‘...my dear friend of college days and the IMA, the late Leslie (Doggie) Sawhney got me posted to his regiment, the 16th Light Cavalry (originally the 1st Madras Lancers and the senior-most regiment of the Indian Cavalry)... The Regiment was [then] in Peshawar and I got two months’ privilege leave before joining.’¹⁹

A very hectic and wild holiday ensued. On reporting to his regiment, he was proudly dined in to the mess ‘as a new member of the family’, and put through the customary ‘tests’ of his mettle (described with refreshing candour) as an officer of a prestigious Indian cavalry regiment with a long tradition. Having passed these tests with flying colours, SHK was soon entrusted with a rather sensitive issue, which also says something about the changing attitudes of the British *Raj* during the 1930s and, interestingly enough, the *esprit de corps* and comparatively open mind-set of the army vis-à-vis the more strait-laced civilian set-up:

‘In those days the Peshawar Club did not admit Indian Members. This colour bar incensed the 16th Cavalry. Colonel Williams²⁰ refused to lend horses [to the Peshawar Hunt]... [and] as his embargo meant literally the closing down of the Peshawar Vale Hunt, the [Peshawar] Club’s Executive Committee asked for a joint meeting, hoping our delegation would consist of British officers. On the contrary, Bill Williams nominated all Indians and gave them clear instructions to withdraw our regiment’s cooperation should the going prove rough. The

¹⁸ The actual date of commissioning was 15 Jul 1937, with ‘service for promotion’ backdated to 30 Aug 1936 (Indian Army List, April 1943 ed.).

¹⁹ SHK was posted to the 16th Lt Cavy on 30 Aug 1938. Lieut. Sawhny [sic] had joined the regiment almost exactly one year earlier, on 31 Aug 1937 (October 1939 IA List).

²⁰ Lieut.-Colonel A.H. ‘Bill’ Williams MC, commanding the regiment at the time, was an international polo player.

result was a foregone conclusion... the doors of the Peshawar Club were thrown open.’

A lovely, idyllic few years thus ensued: *shikar*, playing polo, steeple-chasing and lots of leave; dancing with fair maidens at balls replete with fine champagne. It is a vision of peacetime soldering in India that is now long gone. It lives on only in nostalgic memories and old memoirs. Soon enough, this idyllic world was to be shattered.

‘I was at Simla... when Hitler invaded Poland in 1939. Within a few hours we were all recalled from leave. My father, who was the Premier of the Punjab, took up the Allied cause and made an impassioned speech... If the Punjab could help win the War, it would build up a strong moral case for a free India.’

On his way down from Simla to rejoin his regiment, at Kalka railway station, SHK had the first of several singular wartime adventures:

‘Soon after I was on my way... The only other person on the railcar was a young politician who had enrolled himself in the Army, in the Indian Reserve of Officers,²¹ and was being posted as a Censor Officer at Karachi... He was not at all excited about the prospect and sat glumly in his seat... When we arrived at Kalka, where we had to change from the narrow to the broad gauge train, we found a German traveling in the same compartment, oblivious to the fact that we had just declared war against his country. The German was carrying a revolver which made my political friend even more nervous... the next morning, at Lahore Railway Station, I handed the German to the officer in charge of the Line of Communication Unit and cajoled my other companion into a train for Karachi. Thereafter I took the Khyber Mail to Peshawar.’

On getting to Peshawar, ‘nothing exciting’ was happening and the monotony of service was only broken when the regiment was called out to aid the civil authority in Waziristan, chasing so-called tribal raiders. But SHK was not expected to bide his time like that, while a world war was on.

‘The routine bored me and I was extremely keen to enter the War and since I was a qualified pilot, I responded to a call in Divisional Routine to join the Indian Air Force.’

However, on going to join up at the Walton Air Training College in Lahore, SHK found things rather difficult, and various problems with the staff emerged. Things became so bad that he was hauled up before the district

²¹ More correctly known as the Army in India Reserve of Officers.

commander, Major-General Sir Chauncy Strettel.²² After hearing his side of the story, Sir Chauncy thought it best to return SHK to his regiment and thereafter to ban the seconding of any officers from his division to the Walton College.

The tenacious SHK was not prepared to be denied a chance to strike a blow against the Axis. He promptly ‘...applied for transfer to any cavalry regiment going overseas next.’ Almost immediately he got a posting to Skinner’s Horse (1st Duke of York’s Own Cavalry). It was not yet sure if he would actually join the force planning to leave for the front from Rawalpindi, but providence stepped in, in SHK’s estimation, in the form of the kindly and immensely dignified risaldar-major *sahib*, who convinced the C.O. that he should allow him to go along. Having a son of the Punjab Premier with them would be a strong boost to the morale of the Indian other ranks,²³ and so SHK got his dearest wish. Very soon, they were marching out of Rawalpindi:

‘We left Pindi for an unknown destination on [an] afternoon of July 1941.²⁴ We had been served a farewell breakfast at the Signals Mess but our luncheon had been missed in the excitement of getting our baggage and vehicles loaded on to the troop train... It was a relief when, at 3:30 p.m, we moved off. The regimental bands of Pindi piped us out by playing “Auld Lang Syne.”’

Later on, the regiment embarked for the Middle East from Karachi on the troopship *HMS Devonshire* and, after a rather rough and uneasy journey in which they nearly shot down a Blenheim Medium Bomber sent out to escort

²² Major-General Sir Chauncy Batho Dashwood Strettell, KCIE, CB.

²³ The risaldar-major’s influence must have certainly carried some weight with the CO but it is quite certain, too, that the ‘powers that be’ were already considering this idea before, with the concurrence of SHK’s father, who was then out on a whirlwind tour of the Punjab, stepping up war-recruitment in various districts, stopping at the remotest villages of the Northern Punjab districts especially, as well as the Sikh country – in Attock, Rawalpindi, Chakwal/Jehlum, parts of Shahpur/Sargodha, even the Hazara district of the NWFP, where he was very popular. He was incessantly talking to elders of tribes and clans and village headmen, encouraging young men from the ‘military castes’ to come forward, attending village fairs and local competitive meets (such as *kabbadi* wrestling, tent-pegging competitions and so on) and pleading his cause. The Punjab responded heroically. Some very interesting photos of this recruitment drive between 1939 and 1942, when Sir Sikandar died, are to be found in the late Javed Salim Khan Collection, in the Image Archives at the British Empire and Commonwealth Museum, Bristol, UK (accession/ref no. 2006/016).

²⁴ SHK was made temporary captain with effect from 16 Jul 1941 (Indian Army List, April 1943 ed.). This was presumably linked to the mobilization of his regiment.

them, they finally reached Port Sudan, at that time in the possession of Somaliland, a 'God-forsaken place.' They gradually began to acclimatize themselves and get to know the 'flat and featureless desert' that lay around them. Meanwhile, the enemy had moved into a watering place called Mekli Wells and things took a more serious turn:

'Two squadrons of the Sudan Defence Force (SDF) and two of ours were ordered to cut them off. "A" Squadron commanded by Major Craddock Watson was to move out first, later to be joined by "B" Squadron under Major Denzil Holder... The CO ordered me to join "A" Squadron as second-in-command. I was told to take care of the squadron should it become necessary or if Craddock was incapacitated for any reason.'

They reached their place of rendezvous with the SDF at 3 p.m the next day but there were no signs of them. The Mekli Wells were surrounded by low, jagged hills and scrub country, rather like the Attock area where SHK came from, and he suggested to the squadron commander that they should send out a fighting patrol to check for the enemy, and he then led this. When they returned at sundown, General Messervy²⁵ arrived at their HQ and he explained that the SDF had failed to materialize and he had ordered their "B" Squadron to come up and to become their right flank, and together, they were to block the only pass through which the enemy could escape. Meanwhile, "A" squadron put up camp for night and awaited "B" Squadron.

Things, however, became worse next day as "B" Squadron, on coming up, almost walked into a trap set up by the Italians. In trying to warn them, SHK and a small patrol of two, Havildar Arjun Singh and Dafadar Mumtaz, found themselves entrapped. SHK tried to get his men out of this situation, whilst chewing up the day's cipher key which he had been carrying. Arjun Singh barely made it, with a wounded shoulder, but poor Mumtaz was killed.²⁶ SHK hid himself and nearly escaped notice but for an Italian motorcyclist blundering on top of him. He was now a prisoner of war, a POW.

Shaukat Hyat's observation of people and surroundings, and his interest in them, certainly doesn't flag. He goes on to describe his brief captivity in these rather laconic terms:

²⁵ Major-General (later Lieut. General Sir) F.W. Messervy; commanded 4th Indian Division from 27th April to 30th December 1941.

²⁶ 'Dafadar Mumtaz' may have been inaccurately recorded by SHK as his name cannot be traced in the Commonwealth War Graves Commission's records.

‘On reaching the enemy HQ, I was confined to a small tent and looking at my stocking tops I found them soaked with blood. As it happened, I had been wounded in the leg... The next day they gave me some macaroni accompanied by a long harangue by an Italian count from Brescia, who could speak some English. He played on my nationalist feelings... [but on] my negative attitude, I was denied any more amenities in the form of food and drink.’

For three days, he was kept in a dark cell at Asmara and was visited by the local Gestapo chief, who interrogated him to no avail. They eventually realized that he was wounded and his wound was turning septic. So they allowed him a doctor at last, and he seems to have been a rather interesting individual:

‘His qualifications were those of a Veterinary Surgeon but he had more interesting experiences to his credit. He had been working as a first aid man to Al Capone’s gang in the United States. He spoke English with an American accent and his stories of gangsterdom were most entertaining.’

Taken to a forlorn concentration camp at Forte Cordona, on the Abyssinian border, he eventually recovered sufficient strength to join up with some other POWs in an attempt an escape. They began to dig a secret tunnel, but freedom from captivity came before this was completed.

Many more varied and fascinating descriptions and accounts follow: of Amba Alagi, of his visit to wartime England, of returning to the fighting in the Middle East, of Staff College training at Haifa, his father’s visit to the frontline Indian troops along with Churchill, and so on. The crisp and direct writing and the ‘human interest’ angle never fail.

SHK’s military career was cut short, alas, by his distinguished father’s untimely demise in December 1942; and he had to return to India to take up his mantle and to embark upon his own rather different political destiny. Yet, he always remained a soldier in many ways, and in later life often regretted that, due to the change in his circumstances, he never could have a chance to strike a ‘blow’ at Rommel in the North African desert, whither he was bound when he was recalled home.

These few pages of his memoirs remain, however, an enduring testament to his short but eventful military career.



CAPTAIN SHAUKAT HYAT KHAN, CIRCA 1942

Second Afghan War 1878-1880 Indian Officer Casualty Statistics

Rana Chhina

The conflict that came to be known as the Second Afghanistan War was perhaps the largest campaign in which the British Indian Army was involved during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Substantial numbers of Indian and British troops were engaged. The strength of the forces in Afghanistan prior to the final evacuation of Kabul in August 1880, being the maximum strength attained during the war, was 64,952, with 140 guns:¹

	<i>British Officers</i>	<i>All Others</i>
British Army	711	17,548
Indian Army	542	46,151

This brief article is based upon a return prepared by the Statistical Branch of the Office of the Surgeon-General, Government of India. It includes figures for Indian officers (Viceroy's Commissioned Officers or VCOs) who were killed in action or died of privations/exposure as a result of the campaign.²

Bengal Army and Punjab F.F. regiments (37 deployed during the campaign)

- killed in action or died of wounds: 16 (2 cavalry, 14 infantry)
- died of disease: 60 (22 cavalry, 38 infantry)
- total died: 76

Madras Army regiments (5 deployed during the campaign):

- killed in action or died of wounds: nil
- died of disease: 1 (infantry)
- total died: 1

Bombay Army regiments (8, plus Sappers, deployed during the campaign):

- killed in action or died of wounds: 16 (3 cavalry, 13 infantry)
- died of disease: 11 (2 cavalry, 9 infantry)
- total died: 27

¹ Anon [attributed to Maj.-Gen. Sir C.M. MacGregor], *The Second Afghan War 1878-80*, Historical Section, GHQ Rawalpindi, 1975. p.684.

² *National Archives of India*, Military Department Proceedings, June 1885, Nos.405-3, 'Casualties among native officers during the Kabul War.'

Overall casualties among VCOs

- killed in action or died of wounds: 32 (5 cavalry, 27 infantry)
- died of disease: 72 (24 cavalry, 48 infantry)
- total died: 104

Number of Indian Army regiments that served in Afghanistan

- 64 infantry regiments averaging 14 VCOs = 896 officers
- 24 cavalry regiments averaging 12 VCOs = 288 officers
- 5 artillery batteries with an average 2 VCOs = 10 officers
- Total VCOs: 1194
- 32 were killed in action or died of wounds, a percentage of 3%
- 72 died of disease, a percentage of 6%

Breakdown of VCO casualties by Presidency Army and regiment³

Bengal (incl. PFF)	1878		1879		1880	
	<i>kia/dow</i>	<i>d.o.d.</i>	<i>kia/dow</i>	<i>d.o.d.</i>	<i>kia/dow</i>	<i>d.o.d.</i>
1 Ben. Cavy	---	---	---	3	---	---
3 Ben. Cavy	---	---	---	---	---	1
10 Ben. Lcra	---	---	---	3	---	1
12 Ben. Cavy	---	---	---	2	---	---
13 Ben. Lcra	---	---	1	1	---	---
18 Ben. Cavy	---	---	---	---	---	1
19 Ben. Cavy	---	---	---	1	---	---
2 Native Infy	---	---	---	1	---	---
5 Native Infy	---	---	---	---	---	1
8 Native Infy	---	---	---	---	2	1
11 Native Infy	---	---	---	2	---	---
12 Native Infy	---	1	---	---	---	---
13 Native Infy	---	---	---	---	---	2
17 Native Infy	---	---	---	---	---	1
19 Native Infy	---	---	---	1	---	---
21 Native Infy	---	1	1	1	---	---
23 Native Infy	---	---	---	1	---	---
25 Native Infy	---	---	---	4	---	1
27 Native Infy	---	---	---	1	---	---
29 Native Infy	---	---	---	2	---	---
30 Native Infy	---	---	---	---	---	1
31 Native Infy	---	---	---	---	---	1

³ Ibid. Unit designations are as given in the original document.

The Tale of George Kirkbride

Trevor Kingsley-Curry

Trying to find out more about the former owner of an unidentified Indian Army cavalry mess dress bought on impulse at an auction eventually led to an intriguing story. The mess jacket, navy blue with light blue facings and carrying a captain's rank badges, bore no traces of ever having carried any regimental collar badges. An initial search through Indian Army Dress Regulations covering the period between 1903 and 1939 came up with several units that could have worn those facings (it was later realised that the facing colour was, in fact, French grey).

Finally a thorough search of the pockets revealed a cloth name tag screwed up in the bottom corner of one breast pocket. This identified the outfit as having been tailored by Hawkes & Co. of Savile Row for '18526 Captain George Kirkbride.' But the label was not dated and did not name a regiment.

A search of the Indian Army records at Kew indicated that, at one stage of his army career, Captain Kirkbride had served in the 34th Prince Albert Victor's Own Poona Horse. But further research, mainly in Indian Army Lists between 1918 and 1946, has revealed a much more colourful career than that just of a cavalry officer

George Kirkbride was born on 16th April 1894, in time to be old enough to have fought in the 1914-18 War. He was commissioned into the Army Service Corps on 1st June 1915, arriving in France on 18th August 1915. He remained there for only three months, whence he proceeded to Greek Macedonia, serving in this theatre from 12th December 1915 until 7th August 1917. His army career entered another stage when he applied for a transfer to the Indian Army. His appointment took effect from 17th October 1917, upon arrival in India, and he was posted to the 27th Punjabis as a Lieutenant on probation. While still on probation, he was attached to the 34th Poona Horse from 24th February 1919 and was advanced to Captain on the following 1st June – this being established retrospectively as the date of his substantive rank.

Captain Kirkbride, who was never on the permanent establishment of the 34th Poona Horse, remained with the regiment for only two years. He was evidently marked out for political employment, and by April 1921 he had been provisionally transferred to the Foreign and Political Department as Personal

Assistant to the Resident, Mysore State. His performance must have been satisfactory, as from 22nd April 1922 he was appointed permanently to the Department, and posted as P.A. to the Resident of Hyderabad District, a post he appears to have held for some three years before reverting briefly to regimental life in 1925 with the 10th Queen Victoria's Own Corps of Guides Cavalry (Frontier Force).

Continuing his duties with the Foreign and Political Department, the following year he was sent to Nowshera as Assistant Commissioner, and by April 1927 he was Assistant Commissioner of Mansehra in the North-West Frontier Province. In April 1931 he was appointed Secretary to the Resident at Mysore and Chief Commissioner of Coorg, being transferred to the Supernumerary List of the Indian Army with the substantive rank of Major on 19th May 1933. His next appointment is not known, but his Political Department career appears to have moved forward in steps of three-years, for he took up appointments as Political Assistant of Gilgit (Kashmir) in 1935 and as Political Agent of Malwa in 1938,

He finally achieved his Lieutenant-Colonelcy on the 19th May 1941, by which time he was serving as Political Agent for the Southern Rajputana States. In the April 1945 edition of the India Army List, he is recorded as on the strength of the Political Department, but on leave (without a posting). He presumably retired from military service at Partition in 1947, aged fifty-three, as there is no record of his transfer to the British Army.

Lieutenant-Colonel Kirkbride's medal index card for the First World War shows his entitlement to the 1915 Star, the British War Medal (noted as having been issued by the Government of India) and the Allied Victory Medal - a 'Pip, Squeak and Wilfred' trio. His medals were sent to Grindlay's Bank, Calcutta. Although no records have been found for his entitlement to Second World War medals, it seems likely that he was entitled to the War Medal 1939-45 and the Indian Service Medal 1939-45.

Nothing is known of George Kirkbride's personal life, nor indeed of his specific duties in the Political Service. But from the lives of those who followed a similar career path, it can be reasonably inferred that his time as a Political Officer was not without interest or incident. Sufficient to say here that he was one of the many hundreds of Indian Army officers who gave the best years of their lives to the service of the Crown.

Lieutenant Peter Gill V.C., Royal Artillery

Brian Stevens

In the article entitled ‘Early Memorials in St Peter’s Church, Gwalior’ in the Summer 2010 edition of *Durbar* (Vol.27, No.2, p.91), a question is asked regarding Lieutenant Gill’s connection with the Royal Artillery.

The article does not specify Peter Gill’s parent corps before his appointment as Sergeant-Major of the Regiment of Loodianah. The appointment of a sergeant-major and a quartermaster sergeant to Indian regiments was a peculiar one. It could be held by any European soldier who was recommended by his commanding officer, and was available to any soldier ranking from gunner or private to sergeant. When accepted for such an appointment, they were transferred to what was known as the Town Major’s [of Fort William] List, promoted to the rank of sergeant if not already holding that rank, and posted to the corps in which the vacancy existed. The transferee usually started as a quartermaster sergeant and was advanced to that of sergeant-major when a vacancy occurred either in his current unit or in another, as the case might be. All these appointments were published in General Orders by the Commander-in-Chief, as were those where he was found wanting for some reason and posted back to his parent corps in the rank he held prior to being posted to the Town Major’s List – unless reduced in rank by sentence of a court martial.

Peter Gill was probably in his mid to late thirties at the time of the outbreak of mutiny at Benares in 1857. He had been a tailor in St Pauls, Dublin, before enlisting on 12th May 1842, and he sailed for India on the *Henry*.¹ This puts the spotlight on Gill’s date of birth. It is recorded as 1831 on the Wikipedia website, which can hardly be correct – otherwise he would have been an eleven-year-old tailor when he signed up.² By checking his papers in the India Office Records of the British Library, it should be possible to establish the branch of the service in which he was destined to serve. It would be necessary to trawl through the Bengal General Orders for the 1850’s to find the Order posting him to the Regiment of Loodianah.

When the Honourable East India Company’s so-called European regiments were absorbed by the Royal Army, not all officers and soldiers wished to be liable for service outside India. In the case of the European artillery and infantry, two companies were formed, one infantry and one artillery, absorbing those who did not wish to either take their discharge or transfer to the Royal Army. In the case of the Company

¹ This detail, from the *India Office Records*, shelf mark L/Mil/10/124, has been kindly supplied by Elizabeth Talbot Rice from her reservoir of useful information.

² It is a timely reminder that information from this source must be treated with caution.

of Infantry, this was stationed at Fort William until at least 1871, and gradually wasted out as the men either died or were discharged. The Company of Artillery served in the Madras Presidency and so does not concern us here.

The officers of the former Bengal Artillery were shown in various army lists as being Royal (Bengal) Artillery or Royal Artillery (late Bengal Artillery) and seem to have been mainly employed in India. Those opting for General Service were posted to batteries or companies of the former H.E.I.C. Artillery that had become part of the Royal Artillery, and they reverted to the Home Establishment when these units went home, which in some cases was not until the 1870's.

The Moradabad Levy was ordered to be disbanded in accordance with G.O.G.G. No. 400 (Paragraph 18) of 3rd May 1861, and it would seem that Gill must have been posted to the Royal Artillery about this time. Nevertheless, one would need to check the Bengal Army List from 1861 onwards to be absolutely sure of this.

If, as seems likely, his original corps before transfer to the Town Major's List was the Bengal Artillery, then the Royal Artillery, to which the H.E.I.C.'s regiments of artillery had been transferred, was the obvious choice. However, as an ex-other rank, it is unlikely that he would have served with a battery, not having had the scientific education required by officers of that branch of the service. He would therefore be what is now termed 'extra regimentally employed' hence his posting to the Chinsura Depot, or maybe held on the strength of the Local Service European Infantry Company at Fort William.

His presence at Gwalior may well be explained by an appointment as a commissary or deputy commissary of ordnance (the latter nearly all being former other ranks), responsible for the magazine and artillery stores in Gwalior fort or in the cantonment at Morar some three miles to the east of Gwalior city.

After its recapture in 1858, the fort at Gwalior was retained in British hands until 1886 when it was returned to the Maharajah. When the writer was there in the 1990's, the magazines etc still carried inscriptions and notices in English dating from Gill's time.

A further caution regarding the current Wikipedia website entry for Peter Gill concerns the statement that he was killed in action at Morar on the 26th July 1868. This conflicts with his memorial plaque in St Peter's Church which records that he 'died 24th October 1868.' Furthermore, no record has been found of any military action or civil strife around Gwalior-Morar during 1868, and the plaque remains the most valid record of the nature and date of his demise.

At that time, Morar was garrisoned by a regiment of Indian cavalry and two battalions of Indian infantry together with two full British artillery batteries, the 5th Battery 22nd Brigade and 5th Battery 24th Brigade, together with 8th Battery 22nd Brigade which was an officer-only 'cadre' battery with no other ranks. It might well be that Gill was held on the strength of the latter battery.

The fort at Gwalior ceased to be a station of a British battery between November and December 1862 when 2nd Battery 22nd Brigade marched out. The personnel were mustered at the fort on the 1st November 1862 and marched to Morar shortly afterwards. The battery was mustered again at Morar on 1st December 1862, and on this date it became a field battery under the designation 'B' Battery 22nd Brigade.

The fact that Lieutenant Gill's grave was unmarked, whilst there is a memorial plaque in the church, is somewhat unusual. Under normal circumstances, family or comrades provided a headstone. However, if he was unmarried and had only been in post a short time, perhaps no one knew him well enough to provide this sort of memorial. Yet someone must have cared enough to pay for the plaque. Does the register of interments in the Artillery Lines Cemetery still exist, and has the British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia published a booklet on the cemetery?

As mentioned above, it is more than likely that further information on the life of Peter Gill can be found by consulting the Bengal Army List from 1862 to 1869 or the volumes of General Orders by the Commander-in-Chief for the 1850's, or tracking him down elsewhere in the copious archives of the India Office Records.

The army lists have sections detailing the distribution of the forces by 'Commands' etc. and usually state if a detachment from a unit is located at an out-station such as Gwalior. A fortress of this importance, reputed to be the strongest natural fort in India, must have been garrisoned by several companies of Indian infantry 'on command' from the cantonment at Morar, as well as some British artillery. The lists also contain a section on the Ordnance Commissariat Department, detailing the officers of the Department and the appointments they held including locations. This might confirm whether or not Lieutenant Gill held such an appointment.

CORRESPONDENCE

Neil Walton has written... to say that he has some information on Lieutenant Francis Douglas Grant, mentioned in the Summer 2010 edition of *Durbar* (Vol. 27, No.2, p.85) as having served in Hazara during the so-called Black Mountain Expedition. He was commissioned into the Hampshire Regiment on 5th February 1887, promoted to Lieutenant on 2nd February 1888, appointed to the Bengal Staff Corps and posted to the 1st Punjab Infantry, Punjab Frontier Force. He did not receive any medals or clasps for field service with the 1st Punjab Infantry, but during his time on the strength of this regiment he was attached to the 4th Punjab Infantry. For field service with the latter regiment, he qualified for the India General Service Medal 1854-95 with two clasps 'Hazara 1888' and 'Samana 1891' (albeit named to the 1st Punjab Infantry). He transferred to the 6th Punjab Infantry in 1890, in which he served as a wing

officer, before joining the Military Accounts Department in November 1893 as an Assistant Military Accountant 3rd Class, moving up to the 2nd Class in February 1897. In spite of this sedentary staff assignment, he managed to qualify for the India General Service Medal 1895-1902 with clasp 'Punjab Frontier 1897-98.' The medal is named to the 6th Punjab Infantry although the regiment did not serve on the Frontier during the qualifying period for the clasp. Grant is not listed in the April 1900 Indian Army List, by which time he had presumably retired. Are any members able to shed light on the services for which Lieutenant Grant earned his second medal? Replies to the editor please.

Lieut.-Colonel Neville Poulson has written... 'I have been approached by my old regiment The Baluch Regiment, Indian Army (which is now The Baloch Regiment, Pakistan Army), asking if I can help in the tracing of a painting of Baluchi tribal horsemen (see below). The painting was done by a British artist, and it is understood that the original is on display in a British museum. Sadly, no-one knows the artist's name or the location of the painting.' Can anyone help to track down the painting? Replies to the Editor please.



THE LOST PAINTING OF BALUCHI TRIBAL HORSEMEN

Omer Tarin and Sarkees Najmuddin have written:

'Between 1809 and 1848, a considerable number of European adventurers and deserters took up service in Maharajah Ranjit Singh's *Khalsa* army, which paid well for their services and afforded them considerably more freedom than the H.E.I.C.'s forces. Many of them were not recorded in history, but those about whom some records survive are chiefly found in the well-known volume

by C. Grey and H.L.O. Garrett entitled *European Adventurers of Northern India, 1785-1849* (published 1929).

‘One particularly interesting personality is an adventurer who used the alius Leslie but whose real name was Rattray. ‘As with so many of Ranjit Singh’s officers, Rattray suddenly appears on the stage as a Commandant of a battalion of *khalsa* Infantry in the year 1834... It was soon after this that Rattray encountered Alexander Burnes and Captain John Wood on their way to Kabul’ (Grey & Garrett, pp.307-308). Wood, in his *A Journey to the Source of the River Oxus* (London 1872), pp.159-161, confirms this and gives a rather amusing anecdote about Rattray’s dealings with them.

‘Soon afterwards, circa 1835-36, Rattray left *Khalsa* service and joined that of the Afghan Emir, Dost Muhammad Khan, where it was reported that he probably became a Muslim (Grey & Garrett, p.310). In 1838, according to an intelligence report filed in the Punjab Archives/Records at Lahore, he also quit Dost Muhammad’s service and went off to the wild tribal areas, to make his own fortune. “Mr. Rattray, who was in command of the Ali Masjid fort, has deserted the service of Dost Mohamed and gone to Bajour” (31st December 1838, Punjab Records Book No III, Letter No 5).

‘There is no later record of Rattray, but Grey and Garrett mention there was a rumour about him in Chitral later on, and they speculate: “It is possible that he may have been a discreditable member of that Rattray family which figures so prominently in the Company’s services at that time... he was apparently a trained soldier” (Grey & Garrett p.307). We would be most grateful if any members can provide more information about this enigmatic Rattray, or tell us where we can find it.’ Replies to the editor please.

Asad Ullah Khwaja has sent the following email...

‘I have just finished reading, with great pleasure, an article published in your journal by Omer Salim Khan Tarin and Sarkies Najmuddin, on the life and career of *Nawab Bahadur* Risaldar Sardar Habib Khan Tarin, of Dheri-Talokar, who served in the Bengal Military Police Battalion (Durbar, Vol.27 No.2, Summer 2010, pp.67-74).

‘My family hails originally from Sri Nagar, Kashmir, and has had close ties with the renowned Tarin family of adjacent Hazara area (now in Pakistan) for well over 140 years and I would like to add some further information to that already provided by Messrs Tarin and Najmuddin.

‘Prior to returning to his native area after concluding his military service in Bengal, Habib Khan performed an additional service to the Government. In 1863-64, he escorted a team of Bengali silk-weavers under a *babu* (clerical official) to Kashmir to help set up a silk factory there, on the special request of

the then ruling Maharaja. Some of this information is also given by the much-travelled British officer H.W. Bellew [later Surgeon-General, C.S.I., Bengal Army] in his book *Kashmir and Kashgar: A Narrative of the Journey of the Embassy to Kashgar in 1873-74* (Trubner & Co., London 1875).

‘The Maharaja was very pleased by Habib Khan’s service and, apart from commending him highly to the British Government, he also granted him some land in the Heavenly Vale near Sri Nagar itself, where Habib Khan and family often used to stay during the summers. My late grandfather, who was a young lad then, actually remembered these occasions. Later on, Habib Khan’s son, *Khan Sahib* Majied Khan, obtained a bigger summer residence in Gulmarg, a station much patronised by British/Europeans, which remained with the family until 1947.

‘Even more interestingly, Habib Khan maintained his connection with his old friend and patron, Field-Marshal Lord Napier of Magdala, G.C.B., G.C.S.I. In 1870-71, when Napier was Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army, Habib Khan was granted on his recommendation the title of *Nawab Bahadur* for life (not in perpetuity) as well as a special *Jangi Inam* (war service award/allowance) in “belated recognition” of various services. This information is recorded in the old archives of the Peshawar Division of the then Punjab Government. At the same time, Habib Khan was given special powers as a J.P. and area magistrate in lower Hazara (Haripur plains) to keep an eye on the neighbouring Indus tribal areas on behalf of Government.’

Omer Tarin has added: ‘I can confirm that our principal family seat is still Talokar village, sometimes also referred to as Dheri-Talokar, in the Hazara, formerly Punjab and then the N.W. Frontier Provinces, and now Khyber-Pukhtunkhwa Province. The title *Nawab Bahadur* was indeed conferred on Habib Khan in 1871, and he was appointed a special magistrate in Haripur with a supplementary brief to watch over affairs of the neighbouring Amazai and Madda Khel tribal areas along the Indus. I have copies of official gazette notifications to this effect, as well as a copy of a letter by N.G. Waterfield, Commissioner of the Peshawar Division, mentioning these matters, c 1872.’

Brian Stevens has written

‘Further to Dr. C.S. Sundaram’s excellent article on the Imperial Cadet Corps (*Durbar*, Summer 2010, Vol. 27 No.2), the following notes refer to a very early scheme to recruit Indians of good family into the military service of the H.E.I.C., which one might term a “Corps of Indian Gentlemen.”

‘A G.O.G.G. dated the 12th February 1844, which was notified to the Army in a G.O.C.C. dated the 20th of the same month, authorized the addition to the Governor-General’s Bodyguard of two *ressallahs* (*risalas*) of irregular cavalry.

The following table details the strength in each rank, and the monthly pay in rupees:

<i>Rank</i>		<i>Rupees.</i>	<i>Rank</i>		<i>Rupees</i>
ressaldar	1	200	ressaidar	1	100
naib-ressaldar	1	65	jemadar	1	55
kote-duffadar	1	45	nishanburdar	1	35
duffadars	10	35	nagharras	1	30
trumpeters	2	30	sowars	80	25
horses	100				

‘The two risalas were to be stationed, in the ordinary way, at Sultanpore, Benares or Allahabad, unless they were required for duty with the Governor-General. The reason for being placed at one or other of these stations was that at that time there was no cavalry located between the Bodyguard at Calcutta and the regular regiment at Sultanpore and Benares, although a recently raised regiment of irregular cavalry had been posted to Segowli.

‘It was stated in the General Order that commanding officers of the eight existing regiments of Irregular Cavalry should make known to their respective regiments the substance of the General Order, so that the names of such officers and men wishing to transfer could be transmitted to the officer commanding the Body Guard. However, the intention was to recruit Indians of good family to serve with these new risalas, and it is not clear whether these gentlemen were to provide the eight native officers required, or if they were all to serve as “gentlemen sowars.”

‘A memo from Lord Ellenborough, the Governor-General, dated 25th January 1844, laid out this intention, and a letter dated the 12th February from Fatehpore to the Nawab of Bownie requested him to send a son to do duty with these risalas. As far as I can recall from reading the correspondence some twenty-five years ago, the Nawab declined to send his son.

‘In the event, these risalas were never raised as the military situation in Scinde required additional forces. As a result, a ninth and tenth risala were added to the 6th Bengal Irregular Cavalry which was en route to Scinde. This corps was to be provided with musketoons at the public expense.

‘The augmentation of the Body Guard appears to have been quietly set aside, as was the notion of forming a corps recruited from Indian nobles and gentlemen, although no cancelling General Order has been traced. ‘

GENERAL SECRETARY'S NOTICE

Bill Marsh has stood down as Treasurer after three years in the post. We are most grateful to him for the work he has done. We must now find a successor and I would be grateful if anyone interested in this important (albeit not overly time-consuming) aspect of Society support would contact me as soon as possible at the address on the inside front cover. Given the need to maintain contact with our UK bank as well as interaction between Treasurer and General Secretary, it is preferable that the Treasurer is based in the UK. For the moment, any correspondence relating to finances should please be sent to me.

We lost fifteen members in the latest subscription renewal round but continue to recruit new members as well as welcome back re-joiners. Needless to say we could do with more, and if any member is in a position to introduce a potential new recruit (or recruits) I would be delighted to hear from them. I have been surprised on several occasions recently when potential new members have referred to seeing our web site. We do not at present have one, though I understand others may have set something up which purports to represent the Society. I am now working on rectifying this by creating a Society web site and hope to have something to report to members by the end of the year. My aim is to have a public access web page, which might in itself attract more recruits, with a section reserved for members containing, among other things, an archive of previously published journals. This will, of course, require some form of password access control but I promise you I will keep it as simple as possible. We will also look to see if we can set up a subscription collection mechanism through the web site. If any member has suggestions for other site content, I would be pleased to hear. At the time of writing this note, I have not seen the audited account for the last year but hope this will have been received by the time we circulate the journal at the end of September.

I doubt whether many members will have noticed the difference, but the last journal (Summer 2010) was printed on 90gsm paper, lighter than the previous 100gsm version but with the same surface quality. Although the change may seem insignificant, it has been made in order to keep printing cost under control and achieve the optimum postage rates following yet another increase by the Post Office. I think you will find that the quality of reproduction of images has not been impaired, but the lighter paper also makes it easier to fold the journal and, I think, gives it a neater finish.

Unfortunately the invitation to bid for the photograph of a K.R.R.C. officer (*Durbar*, Spring 2010, p.42) in return for a donation to Society funds attracted no interest. A member of the Military Historical Society has subsequently pitched in with a modest donation, and has accordingly received the photo.

Finally, may I remind all members that the journal is totally dependent on articles submitted by you, the members of the Society, and the Editor needs your support. We continue to produce a top quality journal but I know from my own years in the editorial chair that it is sometimes touch and go as to whether we will have sufficient material to meet the publishing deadline. We are, of course, extremely grateful to those who have submitted articles, particularly the 'regulars,' but everyone has his or her own special niche area of interest and I am sure there must be some really good nuggets out there itching to see the light of day. If the thought of putting pen to paper is a daunting one, then we would be only too pleased to help you knock your preliminary draft into shape before publication.



SAM BROWNE'S CAVALRY
RAWALPINDI 1930

Last night Colonel Gannon stated that on one occasion, many years ago in this mess building, a famous Major General in an advanced state of inebriation was seen trying to light his cigar from a red geranium. This statement was corroborated by Brig, Robertson.

The Piffer
Journal of the P.F.F.
Officer's Assoc., Nov. 1969,
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