Inauguration of the Patcham Down Indian Forces Cremation Memorial

Tony McClenaghan

A small number of I.M.H.S. members joined a gathering of about 200 people at The Chattri on a sunny but windy Sunday, 26th September 2010, to witness the inauguration of the Cremation Memorial.[1]

The existence of The Chattri, and its background, is well known to most members but nevertheless bears repeating.[2] During the First World War 12,000 Indian soldiers, wounded on the Western Front, were hospitalized at sites around Brighton. A total of seventy-four succumbed to their wounds. Of these, the fifty-three Hindu and Sikh soldiers who died were taken to a place on the Sussex Downs near Patcham, on the edge of Brighton, where they were cremated. The twenty-one Muslim soldiers were taken to a purpose-built burial ground near to the Shah Jehan Mosque, in Woking, Surrey.

After the war, two monuments were erected in the Brighton area to commemorate the part played by the Indian Army and the ultimate sacrifice paid by Indian soldiers. One was the Southern Gateway to the Royal Pavilion in Brighton, which had been used as a hospital for Indian soldiers. The other was The Chattri. Erected on the exact spot where the Hindu and Sikh bodies were cremated, it was designed by E.C. Henriques from Mumbai and unveiled by The Prince of Wales on 21st February 1921. Until now the only inscription at the Patcham Down site was on The Chattri itself – in Hindi and English:

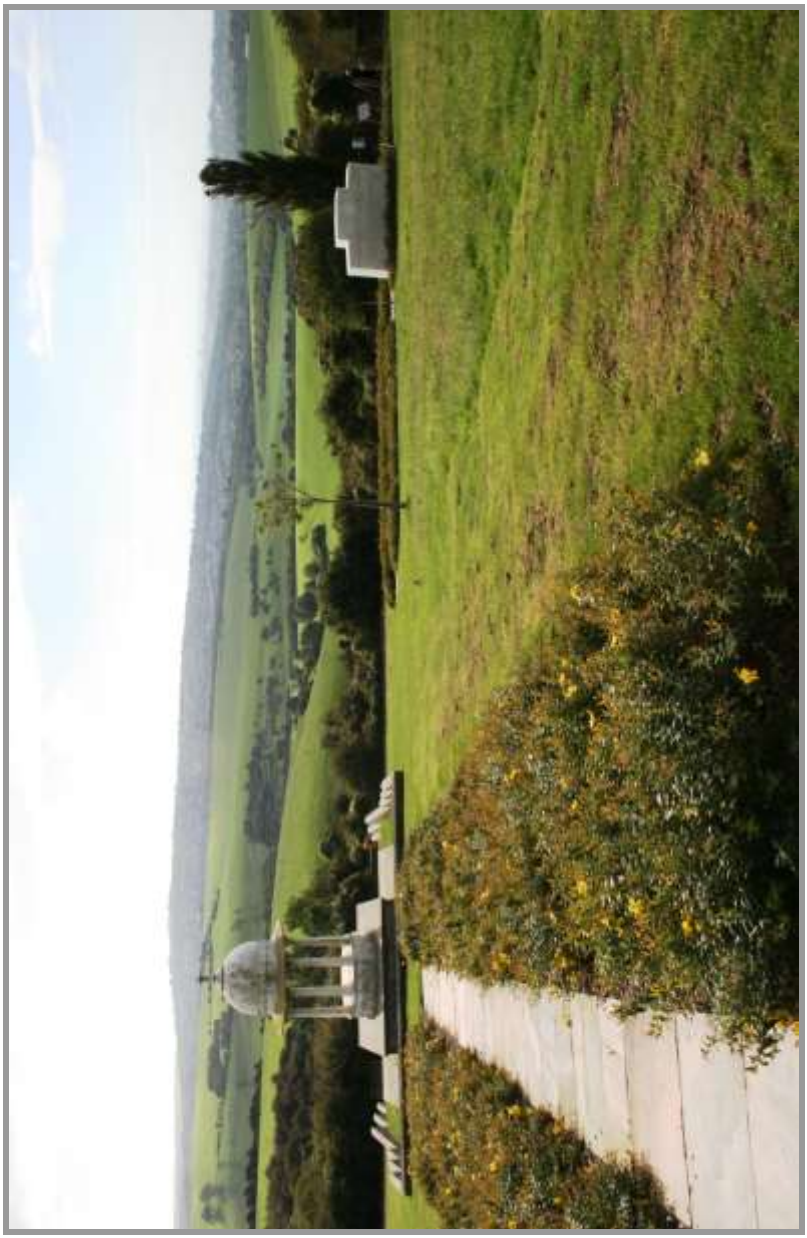
> *To the memory of all the Indian soldiers who gave their lives for the King-Emperor in the Great War, this monument, erected on the site of the funeral pyre where the Hindus and Sikhs who died in hospital in Brighton, passed through the fire, is in grateful admiration and brotherly affection dedicated.*

Eighty-nine years later the original inspiration for the memorial site has been fulfilled thanks to the combined efforts of The Chattri Memorial Group, The Commonwealth War Graves Commission and Brighton & Hove City Council.

---

[1] The photograph on the following page shows the new C.W.G.C. memorial alongside the Chattri on the Patcham Down, overlooking Brighton, with the English Channel in the distance.

[2] A comprehensive article by Tom Donovan on the Indian Army memorials on the Patcham Down was published in *Durbar*, Vol. 26 No. 2, Summer 2009. It includes details of the fifty-three Hindu and Sikh soldiers and followers cremated there.



In a simple but moving ceremony, largely arranged by I.M.H.S. and Chattri Memorial Group members Tom Donovan and Simon Doherty, along with Davinder Dhillon, the new memorial was inaugurated. A piper from 1st Battalion, Royal Gurkha Rifles played a number of airs before and during the ceremony while Last Post and Reveille were played by a trumpeter of the Royal British Legion. Wreaths were laid by the High Commissioner for India, the Lord Lieutenant of Sussex, the High Sheriff of East Sussex, the Mayor of Brighton and Hove, the Nepalese Military Attaché, the Director-General of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission and a representative of the Royal Air Force. A final wreath was also laid by Jamal Singh Johal, grandson of Subedar Manta Singh, 15th Ludhiana Sikhs, whose name appears on the new memorial.

An elegant but simple design, the memorial is constructed of Portland Stone. In the centre at the top, in Hindi, Gurmukhi and English, is the inscription:

IN HONOUR OF THESE SOLDIERS OF THE INDIAN ARMY

WHOSE MORTAL REMAINS WERE COMMITTED TO FIRE

Beneath, on five tablets, are the names of the fifty-three soldiers and followers.

THE CREMATION MEMORIAL

Northumberland Fusiliers and Abbottabad 1879

Omer Tarin

Fell cholera follows where'ere we go,
Will we never shake off this cursèd foe;
He revels and riots in his deathly pranks,
And old comrades faces we miss from the ranks.[1]

The question of the tragic demise of seven British privates in Abbottabad was raised by the writer in the correspondence columns of Durbar (Volume 26, No. 4, Winter 2009, page 208). It arose from the discovery of a hitherto unrecorded memorial in the Old Christian Cemetery there. To recapitulate:

> ... we took up a team of *mazdoors* (day labourers) to clear the undergrowth and discovered a 'mystery monument' …. Hidden in a clump of rough grass was a short stone obelisk with a partly indecipherable inscription…

Details of the names of the unfortunate privates, together with fragments of the text accompanying their names, were provided, and members of the Society were asked whether they could identify the privates – but to no avail. However, during the course of an ongoing project to record the early military memorials in Abbottabad and environs, a significant discovery was made in the archives of St Luke's Church at Abbottabad.[2] A contemporary record was made by a certain Rev. Henry Corbyn,[3] chaplain of St. Luke's in 1879, to the effect that the men listed on the obelisk were all from the 1st Battalion of the 5th Foot and that they died during an outbreak of cholera in June of that year.[4]

---

[1] Private H. Cooper, *What the Fusiliers Did, an account of the part taken by the 1st Battalion, 5th Northumberland Fusiliers, in the Afghan campaigns of 1878-79 and 1879-80*, published privately in Lahore in 1880 (reprinted by the Naval & Military Press), pp.84-87. These four lines are from a poem of twenty-three verses composed by Sergeant Hoolihan of the 5th Northumberland Fusiliers, entitled 'The Death March of the British from Afghanistan, A.D. 1879' which is included in Private Cooper's useful little book.

[2] Thanks are again due to the Rev. Riaz Mobarek, Vicar of St Luke's at Abbottabad, for extending his fullest cooperation at all times and making church records available.

[3] Rev. Henry Fisher Corbyn was buried at the O.C.C., Abbottabad in 1903, and his grave is still physically verifiable. He was the son of Frederick William Corbyn, Garrison Surgeon at Fort William, Calcutta, and his wife Emma. He was born on 21st July 1833 and baptized on 5th March 1834, at St John's Church, Calcutta (British Library, *India Office Records*, shelf mark N/I/38 folio 37).

[4] For an interesting study of various contagious diseases at that time, as well as an analysis of measures taken by the Government in India to check and prevent them, see:

Armed with the knowledge that the seven 'privates' were from the 5th Foot, an approach was made to the regimental museum which, fortunately, is still alive and thriving. Mrs Lesley Frater, on the staff of The Fusiliers Museum of Northumberland, very generously made available extracts from early copies of the regimental journal *St. George's Gazette*[5] which includes, inter al, a serialized transcript of the regiment's Digest of Services.[6] Mrs Frater also provided a transcript of the diary made by Sergeant G. Mustill, also of the 5th Fusiliers, of his experiences in Afghanistan and on the North-West Frontier from 1878 to 1880 (see f/n 8 below), and pointed out the book published by Private Cooper (see f/n 1 above). From these sources, it has been possible to discover what the 1st Battalion was doing in Abbottabad in 1879, and something of the circumstances surrounding the outbreak of cholera there.

The 1st Battalion of H.M.'s 5th (Northumberland Fusiliers) Regiment of Foot, having previously served in India during the Mutiny campaign, returned there in 1866 and remained until November 1880. Although the battalion was not present at any of the major battles of the 2nd Afghanistan War, it served extensively in the country and on the lines of communication, and in consequence the regiment received the honour 'Afghanistan 1878-80.'

The battalion was stationed in the hills at Chakrata when it received a telegram on 8th October 1878 warning it for service in Afghanistan. According to the regiment's Digest of Services, time expired men who had left for the port of embarkation were recalled. Ten days later the battalion marched out with a strength of 775 all ranks, leaving its women and children with the depot.

On the 7th November, the battalion marched into Lawrencepore where it joined Brigadier-General Doran's 1st Brigade, Hasan Abdal Field Force which became, on 20th November, the 2nd Brigade, 2nd Division of Lieutenant-General Sir Sam Browne's Peshawar Field Force. After a period of relative inactivity at Nowshera and Peshawar, the battalion joined its divisional headquarters at Jumrood on 13th December 1878 and was employed for the next three months on convoy duty up the Khyber Pass and in several expeditions against dissident tribal groups.

On 21st March 1879, the battalion moved from Jumrood up the Khyber Pass and into camp at Basawal. It remained here more than two months, with

---

Mark Harrison, *Public Health in British India, Anglo-Indian Preventive Medicine 1859-1914* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1994).

[5] The title of the journal derives from the regimental device (see page 165 below).

[6] The Digest for the period under review appears in the *St George's Gazette* of 31st October 1889.

company detachments at Dakka, Bara Kab and Markoh. The first mention of cholera in the battalion appears in the Digest of Services on 3rd May 1878. It occurred at the battalion's H.Q. at Basawal.

> A draft of 1 Sergeant, 1 Corporal, 158 Men and 1 Woman, transfers from the 2nd Battalion, landed in India on the 20th February, and 1 Boy from the Regimental Depot landed in India on the 4th April; of this number 1 Sergeant, 1 Corporal and 101 Men joined the Headquarters on the 3rd May, and were at once placed in Cholera Camp, having brought one case of cholera with them.[7]

Whether or not the isolation of this 2nd Battalion draft was effective is a matter of conjecture, but cholera broke out in the ranks at Basawal and was not shaken off for several months. In his diary, Sergeant G. Mustill of the 5th Fusiliers records the events of May 1879 in some detail.

> Every night some of the enemy would try to get into our camp and try to steal cattle and [unclear], and often they got what they did not bargain for – that being a lead bullet. One young man of my Regiment [Private Ashton] was caught by the enemy out of camp at night and cut to pieces. The weather was very hot. Sand storms and flies and then last of all came the cholera which soon put down several of our men in their last resting place. On 26th May the Ameer of Cabul came into [unclear] and signed the treaty for peace, and when the news reached camp it caused a great sensation. On the 29th we received orders that the regiment was to retire to India, but we still had to linger on, roasted every day. On the 30th, I was taken into the hospital with fever and am sorry to say great numbers were laying with fever and cholera.[8]

The battalion remained in Basawal until a peace treaty brought the first phase of the 2nd Afghanistan War to a close. Thereafter it marched out in stages on the 3rd, 4th and 5th June on its return to India, but this was not achieved without incident. On the 8th June, as elements of the battalion emerged from the Khyber Pass, there was a skirmish with a band of marauders on the Mackerson Road. It was a hard slog in searing-hot weather. The story is taken up by Private Cooper:

> We started off again on the morning of the 11th [June], marching day after day until we arrived at Hassan Abdul [sic]. The march this far has been extremely fatiguing, on account of the intense heat, which at times was over 130º in the tents. I am sorry to say we lost many men on the road from cholera, and as no

[7] *St. George's Gazette*, 31 Oct 1889; p.62 ('Digest of Services')
[8] Diary of Sergeant G. Mustill, 5th Fusiliers (transcript headed 'Notes on the Afghan Campaign 1878-79 & 1880' provided by The Fusiliers Museum of Northumberland).

> coffins could be procured for the bodies, they were each sewn up in a blanket and buried near the road side with nothing but a stone to mark their graves.[9]

Having marched across the Indus and left Afghanistan well behind it, the entire battalion finally reached Abbottabad by 21st June 1879, the stretched out companies marching in over a three day period. Private Cooper was glad to get there.

> Next morning we marched to Abbottabad, which is a beautiful place, full of fine trees. A splendid little English church stands near the centre of it, which puts one in mind of the country villages at home. We pitched our tents in rear of the cantonments, on a nice grassy piece of ground which was as level and well kept as a gentleman's lawn. We now thought we were rid of that foul disease cholera, but unfortunately during the two days we stayed there several fresh cases occurred; all of which, I am sorry to say, proved fatal. Two of these cases were very lamentable indeed. On the evening of the 22nd, a man named Bodycott took the disease and was at once carried to the cholera tent. His brother who had gone to attend him was also stricken down shortly afterwards, and within a few hours both of them were dead, and next morning they were buried side by side. Both of them were fine looking men, and were much respected by their comrades.[10 & 11]

No cases of cholera had occurred in Abbottabad prior to the arrival of the 5th Fusiliers, but before long it was not only the soldiers that were succumbing to the disease. Cases began to appear among the local inhabitants, and this caused a concerned European resident to write an indignant letter to the editor of the *Pioneer* newspaper:

> Sir, – The 5th Fusiliers arrived at Abbottabad a few days ago, en route to their new hill station. Instead of encamping on open ground, this Regiment, fresh from the 'cholera wave,' pitched their tents on the parade ground of the 6th Punjab Infantry in a low situation, and almost in the midst of the cantonments. Instantly streets and bazaars were swarming with Soldiers and camp followers, carrying infection wherever they went. What was the consequence: cholera immediately broke out where not a single case had before existed; and Abbottabad is now having its turn of this frightful complaint. Who the gentlemen were who thrust the Regiment down in the middle of a town, I know

---

[9] Private H. Cooper, *What the Fusiliers Did;* p.84

[10] Ibid., pp.87-88. This matches the contemporary record kept by Rev. Corbyn which states that Pte W. Bodycott died on the night of 22nd June and his brother Pte G. Bodycott in the early hours of the 23rd June, upon which day they were buried together.

[11] Sergeant Muskill recorded in his diary that the Hospital Sergeant and the Orderly Room Sergeant also died very soon after the battalion arrived in Abbottabad.

> not. But I do know that the whole land, with plenty of water, was before them to choose a suitable camping ground as they please.[12]

After only two full days in the town itself, the battalion was ordered to march out three miles along the Cashmere Road to a piece of high ground near the village of Chungi,[13] and here it remained while a road was made leading to Chircula and Lassatahai,[14] two spurs 6,000 feet above sea level on the Dunga-Galli Range about eleven miles north of the town.[15] This was destined to be the battalion's station for the remainder of the summer – which Private Cooper describes more ominously as 'the rainy season.' The weather was already bad while the battalion was in its temporary accommodation at Chungi, and the humid conditions there caused fever and dysentery to break out and cholera to return, taking the lives of several more men.[16]

After a great deal of hard labour clearing trees and levelling the ground, the regiment finally settled into its new tented summer quarters on 2nd September. However there was no respite from the unrelentingly bad weather and an abnormally high incidence of sickness continued to afflict the battalion, although Sergeant Mustill relates that 'the cholera at last left us.'

> By this time the rainy season had set in, and while it lasted there was a great deal of sickness in the Regiment. At one time there was nearly 300 men suffering from fever and dysentery; and besides this we lost several men from colic, which is a disease almost as fatal as cholera. The other British regiments that had returned from the front had either gone into barracks, or to ready-made hill stations where they had nothing to do but pitch their tents and rest quietly for the summer. The 'Old and Bold' being the only Regiment that had to make a station for themselves, and as most of the men were pretty well knocked up by the hardships of the last ten months, this had not been so easily accomplished.[17]

By this time the battalion had already been placed under orders to return to England, and it must have been extremely unwelcome news to hear of the assassination of the British envoy Major Louis Cavagnari and his entire escort at the Kabul Residency. On 15th September 1879, a telegram was received

---

[12] Private H. Cooper, *What the Fusiliers Did;* p.88

[13] In fact, Chungi is a small toll depot on the link road to the Galiyat hill tract of Hazara, which goes on to Murree and then links up to one of the routes to Kashmir [Cashmere].

[14] 'Chircula' might possibly be 'Charuala' and, if so, then these are both small villages in the hills close to Dunga Galli resort, on the Murree Road.

[15] *St. George's Gazette*, 31 Oct 1889; p.62 ('Digest of Services)'

[16] Sergeant Mustill infers that ten men died of cholera at Chungi.

[17] Private H. Cooper, *What the Fusiliers Did;* p.88

from the D.A.Q.M.-General of the Rawalpindi Division warning the battalion for active service. On the 29th October the first two companies marched out of Abbottabad and the rest of the battalion followed soon after.[18]

During the second phase of the 2nd Afghanistan War, the 1-5th Foot served with Brigadier-General W.A. Gib's force at Landi Kotal and in the operations on the Khyber Line in 1880, and later that same year it returned home.

The Digest of Services summarizes the devastating effect of disease on the battalion during 1879 alone:

> The Battalion suffered severely from Cholera during the months of May, June, July and August [1879], there being 21 fatal casualties. The number of deaths during the year were as follows: 2 Officers, 3 Sergeants, 64 Rank and File. Of this number 2 Sergeants and 35 Rank and File died from Cholera. 2nd Lieutenant Godwin died of typhoid fever at Peshawar on the 7th April, and Lieutenant Ogle of remittent fever at Basawal on the 10th April. Private Ashton was found shot and mutilated just outside the Camp at Basawal on the morning of the 20th May.[19]

In closing his account of this part of the Afghanistan campaign, Private Cooper gave due recognition to the many other regiments who suffered severe casualties. 'But the greatest losses of all fell to the lot of some of the Native Regiments, many of them suffering terribly.'

But wars and disease their victims will have,
And no-one on earth can say nay;
No man can prevent the cold hand of grim death
From taking his comrades away.

May their faces and names on your minds be engraved,
May you ever remember each man;
Who fell mid the battle or from foul disease,
In the campaigns in Afghanistan. [20]

St George and the Dragon
Regimental device, 5th Foot

[18] *St. George's Gazette*, 31 Oct 1889; p.62 ('Digest of Services)'
[19] Ibid.; pp.62-63
[20] Private H. Cooper, *What the Fusiliers Did;* p.91. These two verses are from a poem of eight verses with which Pte Cooper ended the first part of his memoir.

5TH FUSILIERS MEMORIAL AT ABBOTTABAD

In memory of
Pte. Carroll, J. Bird, W. Bodycott, M. Jamerson,
W. Barrett, G. Bodycott, W. Davie
of the 1st Battalion 5th Fusiliers
who died in 1879 and were buried near this spot.

1ST BN, 5TH NORTHUMBERLAND FUSILIERS

OFFICERS AND OTHER RANKS WHO DIED 1878-79[21]

Lieutenants	*Privates*	*Privates*	*Privates*
A.C. Godwin	J.Aldens	C. Gray	T. Shabelskie
J.G. Ogle	G. Allen	P. Heheir	P. Sheldrake
	W. Ashton	N. Henderson	J. Simmons
Sergeants	T. Bain	G. Heybourne	E. Strickland
	J. Barratt	T. Hood	W. Teakle
† J. Bird	† W. Barratt	J. Hook	J. Townley
J. Donoughue	† W. Bodycott	A. Horne	M. Walsh
G. Harmer	J. Brown	J. Hurley	J. Wilson
T. Laing	W. Brown	J. Jaggard	G. Woods
	† J. Carroll	† J. Jamieson[22]	
Corporals	W. Carroll[23]	J. Kemp	*Apothecary*
	R. Coe	J. McCabe	
J. Hinnigan	J. Cole	W. McKensie	W. Ketton
J. McManus	S. Collins	H. Millward	
J. Ringrose	T. Corbett	J. Moran	
J. Tiffin	J. Cox	W. Morgan	
C. Valentine	S. Cuthbert	R. Morton	
	J. Doherty	J. Murray	
L-Corporals	J. Elliston	J. Nicol	
	J. Fisher	F. Pickering	
† G. Bodycott	E. Fletcher	H. Quin	
† W. Davey[24]	J. Fletcher	G. Robinson	
J. Timlin	J. Foney	E. Rudd	

† These are the seven whose names are on the obelisk – all described as privates. However, it seems that three of them were serving as non-commissioned officers at the time of their demise.

---

[21] Ibid, p. 90

[22] The name of this private is inscribed 'M. Jamerson' on the obelisk.

[23] Of the two casualties named Carroll, only one is on the obelisk. It is not known which of the two is thus remembered, as the initial on the obelisk has been lost.

[24] The name of this private is inscribed 'W. Davie' on the obelisk.

Brownlow's Punjabis – an officer's album

Sean Weir and Cliff Parrett

The acquisition of an album belonging to an unknown officer of the Indian Army has brought to light a collection of photographs that includes several images of officers and other ranks of the regiment popularly known as Brownlow's Punjabis, taken between the years 1895 and 1913.

The 20th (The Duke of Cambridge's Own Punjab) Regiment of Bengal Infantry, as it was then known,[1] was stationed at Peshawar from February 1895.[2] During what was a period of relative inactivity for the regiment, before it marched out for Fort Shabkadr on field service in August 1897, Peshawar had been visited by the celebrated photographer John Burke. He was no stranger to the city.

The two images of 20th Bengal Infantry personnel that are reproduced on the following two pages exemplify the outstanding quality of Burke's work. They were both taken in Peshawar in 1896, give or take a month or two, and very probably on the same occasion. The solitary Indian officer is Subedar-Major Zaman Khan, a Kuki Khel Pathan. The very same portrait, albeit slightly cropped, is reproduced in the regimental history.[3] Zaman Khan joined the regiment when it was first raised in September 1857 as the 8th Punjab Infantry (the title became 20th Bengal Native Infantry in 1861). He was commissioned on 1st May 1874, advanced to subedar on 13th October 1876, and appointed sudedar-major of the regiment on 1st April 1890.

The fledgling regiment was retained in the North-West Frontier region in 1858 and 1859 until the Mutiny had finally expired, keeping a watchful eye on the volatile tribal territories. It did not get involved directly in any of the dramatic events that had unfolded further south. It then went to North China in 1860, and after returning to India saw further service on the N-W Frontier at Umbeyla in 1863, the Hazara in 1868, Aimul Chubootra in 1876, and Jowaki in 1877-78. It took part in the Second Afghanistan War, including the taking of Ali Musjid in November 1878, and was part of the force protecting the lines of communication in 1879-80. Two years later the regiment embarked for Egypt and was present at the assault on Tel-el-Kebir in September 1882.

---

[1] The regiment was popularly known as 'Brownlow's Punjabis' after its founder Lieutenant C.H. Brownlow, later Field Marshall Sir Charles Brownlow, G.C.B.

[2] Anon, *History of the 20th (Duke of Cambridge's Own) Infantry, Brownlow's Punjabis, from its formation in 1857 to 1907*, Devonport and Jhelum, 1919; p.137

[3] Ibid.; p.87

SUBEDAR-MAJOR AND HONORARY CAPTAIN ZAMAN KHAN, *SARDAR BAHADUR*

The regiment provided a large escort for the Afghan Boundary Commission in 1884, fielding three British officers, five Indian officers and 227 other ranks. In September 1894 it entered Waziristan as part of the escort to the Afghan Frontier Delimitation Commission, and on 3rd November was at the forefront of the defence of the fortified Wana encampment. In February 1895, the regiment provided the escort for the northernmost portion of the Commission, working at considerable heights in severely cold weather.

Zaman Khan was present with his regiment in all the afore-going field services. He ceased to be subedar-major on 14th April 1897 and retired onto pension two months later with the honorary rank of captain.

The medal entitlement of Zaman Khan is clear to see in his portrait: China 1860 with two clasps; India General Service with four clasps; Afghanistan 1878-80 with one clasp; Egypt 1882 with one clasp; Khedive's Star. He is also wearing the neck badge of the 1st Class Order of British India – to which he was appointed on the 16th February 1887.

The group photograph on the previous page portrays a selected group of all ranks of the 20th Punjabis, including six of the regiment's regular establishment of sixteen Indian officers. The British officer standing in the centre is Lieutenant-Colonel John Blaxell Woon who assumed command of the regiment on 1st February 1896. His medal entitlement at the time was Afghanistan 1878-80 (no clasp) and India General Service with the single clasp 'Chin-Lushai 1889-90.' He went on to serve with the regiment on the N-W Frontier of India in 1897-98 (medal with clasp), and in North China in 1900 (medal only), before relinquishing command in February 1903. The later (undated) full-length portrait of this officer on the left, in the uniform of a major-general and with the ribbon of the C.B., is featured in the unit history.[4] Seated between Zaman Khan and the commandant is Subedar Arbela, who was destined to take Zaman's place as subedar-major of the regiment in April 1897. His medals bear testimony to extensive campaign service on the North-West Frontier, in Afghanistan and Egypt. He subsequently served in North China in 1900. Like

[4] Ibid.; p.81

his predecessor, he was advanced to the 1st Class O.B.I. (25th April 1901) and appointed Honorary Captain on retirement in February 1903.

In the cropped extract (above) from an un-attributed photograph of a group of 20th Punjabis officers, taken c. 1902, Subedar-Major Arbela is seated on Lieutenant-Colonel Woon's left. There is a good studio portrait of this officer in the unit history. The lieutenant in the foreground has not been identified.

Another officer identified in the group on p.170 is Subedar Salih Khan, seated far right, wearing an I.G.S. medal with clasp 'Waziristan 1894-95.' He subsequently served on the N-W Frontier in 1897-98 and in China in 1900.

SUBEDAR SALIH KHAN, *BAHADUR* (CIRCA 1912)

The un-attributed studio portrait above was possibly taken in 1912 to mark the occasion of Salih Khan's appointment to the Order of British India, gazetted on 15th June of that year. He is wearing the neck badge of the 2nd Class O.B.I. and three campaign medals. During WW1 he served in the Persian Gulf and Mesopotamia before returning to India in August 1915. He retired shortly afterwards, with thirty years of service under his belt.

Two officers who were serving with Brownlow's Punjabis in 1897, but not present at the Burke sitting, have been identified in photographs taken in subsequent years. When Subedar-Major Arbela retired, his place was taken by Subedar Tura Baz Khan, whose service with the 20th Bengal Infantry commenced in July 1875.

The work of another renowned photographer, Frederick Bremner, is also represented in the album. It is quite likely that the photograph (above) in which these Indian officers featured was taken in March 1907 at Dera Ismal Khan on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the raising of the regiment. Subedar-Major Tura Baz Khan, *Sardar Bahadur*, is seated at the centre. He wears the neck badge of the 1st Class O.B.I., the 1902 Coronation medal, and campaign awards for service in Afghanistan, Burma, the North-West Frontier of India,

and China.[5] Not visible in the photo is the diminutive medal of the Royal Victorian Order, probably hidden by his shoulder belt. He retired as an Honorary Captain in March 1910 and continued for several years thereafter as Honorary A.D.C. to the C-in-C India (Lord Kitchener).

In this same photo, seated on Tura Baz Khan's left, is Subedar Khawaja [Khwaja] Muhammad Khan, a Yusafzai Pathan, wearing the aiguillettes appropriate to his current appointment as an Aide-de-Camp to the Commander-in-Chief India, an appointment that had taken effect on 1st June 1907. He first enlisted in January 1892, and has two medals on his left chest, representing campaign service on the North-West Frontier from 1895 to 1898 and in China in 1900. He is wearing the breeches and boots of a cavalry officer, presumably a requisite for fulfilling his A.D.C. duties.

Very soon after this photograph had been taken, Khawaja Muhammad Khan was appointed 'Extra A.D.C.' to Sir James Willcocks, general officer commanding the Mohmand Field Force, in which capacity he served in the frontier campaigning of April and May 1908.[6] He was one of twenty-six Indian officers mentioned in the G.O.C.'s dispatch, dated 19th June 1908, 'for their gallant and faithful services in the field,'[7] and he was additionally awarded the Indian Distinguished Service Medal.[8] Details of the recommendation supporting this award have not been traced.[9] According to post-1908 editions of the Indian Army List, on 1st August 1908 he transferred, unconventionally, from the 20th Punjabis to the Corps of Guides Cavalry as a ressaidar (equivalent to his infantry rank). He appears to have spent almost no time with his new regiment, continuing with consecutive appointments as A.D.C. to the

---

[5] Tura Baz Khan appears in a photograph of infantry officers attending the 1902 Coronation reproduced in Osprey's *Indian Infantry Regiments 1860-1914*, p. 39. He was also one of the five King's Indian Orderly Officers for the year 1908; his official photograph, in the NAM collection, was reproduced in *Tradition No.73*, Special Indian Cavalry Issue No 2, p. 13. It should be noted that the caption has been reversed. He is actually sitting on the right, and his name has been incorrectly rendered 'Turbal Khan.'

[6] Intelligence Branch, Army H.Q. India, *Frontier & Overseas Expeditions from India*, Vol. I. Suppl. A, Operations against Mohmands 1908 (Calcutta 1910); app. II, p.xxiii.

[7] Ibid.; appendix I, p.iv

[8] G.G.O. No. 527 of 26th June 1908: Subedar Kwaja [sic] Muhammad Khan, 20th Punjabis. The I.D.S.M. tables in post-1908 I.A. Lists give the rank and unit of Kwaja Muhammad Khan as Risaldar, Guides Cavalry.

[9] It is the only such award granted to the 20th Punjabis. The regiment did not serve in the frontier expeditions of 1908; nor did it furnish any detachments.

G.O.C. Northern Command until October 1920.[10] His war services have not been traced, but it is interesting to note that he was exceptionally promoted to supernumerary membership of the 1st Class Order of British India on 1st January 1915. Such awards were usually made in recognition of specific demonstrations of loyalty or outstanding services. He was also appointed a Chevalier of the Order of the Crown of Romania (G.O. 1850/1920), and was made an Honorary Captain w.e.f. 1st July 1920. He continued in further staff duties until he passed away, sometime between April 1921 and July 1922.[11]

The final subject to be identified in Bremner's 1907 photograph of 20th Punjabi officers is the sole member of the regiment, serving at the time, who was entitled to wear the badge of the Indian Order of Merit.

The service record of Jemadar Abdulla I.O.M., whose image appears on the following page, is difficult to follow, as two similarly named officers served alongside each other in Brownlow's Punjabis: Jemadar Abdulla, and Jemadar Abdulla Khan. It is possible to confuse the two officers as, in some editions of the I.A. Lists, 'Khan' is occasionally suffixed to the former's name, at which point they only become distinguishable, one from the other, by their respective dates of commissioning and promotion.

Jemadar Abdulla, commissioned on 16th April 1897, was a Pathan of the Kuki Khel tribe. He entered the service in July 1877 and was awarded the Order of Merit, while still a non-commissioned officer, for service in Burma:

> G.G.O. No. 515 of 6th June 1890
> *No. 2720 Havildar Addulla, 20th (Punjab) Regiment of Bengal Infantry*
> Admitted to the 3rd Class Order of Merit for conspicuous gallantry on the 23rd February 1890, during the attack on a stockade near Lien Pungas village, in the Lushai country, on which occasion, although wounded in the cheek, he set an admirable example of coolness and bravery under fire. He also took a prominent part in the further operations of that day.

Apart from Havidar Abdulla, whose Order of Merit award places him in Burma in February 1890, no evidence has been found of the presence there of any other elements of the 20th (Punjab) Regiment of Bengal Infantry at any time during the year. Indeed, the regimental records confirm that it never served in Burma. It would therefore appear that the havildar was detached from his regiment. One might speculate that he had some special skill that was in short supply – maybe signaling and surveying. It was by no means unusual, at

[10] In spite of his absence, he was appointed Risaldar-Major of the Corps of Guides Cavalry regiment from 16th October 1919.

[11] These duties have not been established, although they are presumed as his name continued to appear in italics in the Corps of Guides listings in the Indian Army List.

moments of crisis, for men assigned to special duties to throw aside their tools of trade and get stuck in to the action alongside their comrades.

JEMADAR ABDULLA, I.O.M. (CIRCA 1907)

Although it has not been possible to establish his war services, the campaign medals and clasps he is wearing testify to extensive service in Afghanistan, on the North-West Frontier and in China. It is most likely that 'Chin-Lushai 1889-90' is one of the three clasps on his first I.G.S. medal.

This gallant soldier never progressed further than jemadar. However, as a rewarding finale to a long and active career, he was appointed, exceptionally for a jemadar, to the O.B.I. in July 1907. He retired the following year.

SUBEDAR DAYAL SINGH, *BAHADUR* (CIRCA 1912)

The Sikh officer in this un-attributed studio portrait is Subedar Dayal Singh, *Bahadur*. He entered the service in December 1879 and was commissioned in August 1897. He wears the neck badge of the 2nd Class

Order of British India, two India General Service medals each with one clasp, for 'Waziristan 1894-95' and 'Punjab Frontier 1897-98' respectively, and the China 1900 medal. He was probably photographed in 1912 at the same rime and in the same place as Subedar Salih Khan (see page 173), as the appointment of both officers to the Order of British India was gazetted on the very same day. He retired in 1914 shortly before the outbreak of war.

Taking the photographs as a whole, they show very clearly the 'Punjab' style of uniform worn by Brownlow's. Carman records a tailor's pattern book of 1887 describing the British officers' tunic (hence also those of subedar-majors) as for rifle regiments, trimmed according to rank, drab silk cords and braids with straight shoulder cords. The helmet was similarly drab with silver-plated ornaments, and fitted with a dark hackle, presumably matching the turban fringe and kullah worn by the Indian officers and other ranks. The 1901 Dress Regulations record the facings as emerald green. The regiment's sword scabbard was unusual, being made of wood and covered with asses' skin.[12]

A photographic postscript

Open almost any military or uniform history of 19th century India and you are likely to come across photographs by John Burke or Frederick Bremner, such was their prolific output and acute observation. They each operated throughout the Punjab and beyond, exploiting the commercial opportunities offered by the omnipresent army, unlike their major and better known competitor 'Bourne & Shepherd.'

John Burke (c. 1843 – 1900)

The following extract from *The Last Empire: Photography in British India*[13] eloquently summarizes Burke's contribution towards the photographic history of that era:

---

[12] W.Y. Carman, *Indian Army Uniforms under the British from the 18th Century to 1947 - Artillery, Engineers and Infantry* (Morgan-Grampian, London 1969); pp 113-114

[13] *The Last Empire: Photography in British India*; text by Clark Worswick and Ainslee Embree. It has been published in 1976 by Aperture Inc. in the USA, by Gordon Fraser Gallery Ltd in the UK, and by Time Life International in New Delhi, to accompany an exhibition organized by the Asia House Gallery of the Asia Society.

> In India during the 19th century, John Burke came closer than any other photographer to capturing the pictorial elements that Kipling… celebrated as the British Presence on the North West Frontier. Without the work of Burke, the public, let alone the great writers of the period, might not have been able to visualize the epic British military operations along the frontier from the 1870's to the turn of the century.
>
> From the late 1860's… John Burke worked in the Punjab, specializing in photographs of military groups and military operations. He provided a view of British cantonment life… as well as glimpses of hostile tribal enclaves along the frontier…
>
> Burke did his most important work from 1878 to 1880, during the Second Afghan War. Because of the slowness of the plate process… (he) was not able to photograph actual battles. However, on December 23 1879, he photographed the preliminaries of what is perhaps one of the greatest forgotten moments in Victorian India. At the British redoubt at Sherpur, inside which Burke worked, General Roberts' 5000-man force repulsed an attack of 100,000 Afghans.

These images, published at the time in album format and also available to individual order, form a substantial part of Burke's legacy. Several are reproduced in Peter Ducker's *On Service in India*, accompanied by a useful introduction to Burke.[14]

John Burke hailed from County Wicklow in Ireland and initially worked for another Irishman, William Baker, in Peshawar, before entering into a partnership with him. Both had military experience. Baker was a retired sergeant, from H.M.'s 87th Regiment of Foot, and Burke himself had worked with the Royal Artillery as an assistant apothecary. Initially, photography was only one strand of their commercial activity, but business gradually expanded, particularly from their branch in the hill station of Murree.

In the ensuing years, the studio consolidated its reputation, becoming official photographer to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and competition prizewinners for their topographical images. By 1872, their catalogue included many of the cantonments in the Punjab and along the North-West Frontier where they were able to develop further their contacts with the military.

Two years later Burke had set up on his own account, Baker apparently retiring from photography shortly afterwards. Burke consolidated his relationship with the army, particularly during the time spent with the troops in Afghanistan when he is thought to have taken thousands of photographs. During this period, he produced many of his famous regimental group images

[14] Peter Duckers, *On Service in India, The Mein Family Photographs 1870-1901* (Tempus Publishing, Stroud 2000.

which, like his exquisite landscapes, were carefully and often dramatically composed.

In addition to his Afghan adventures, Burke had maintained an office in the garrison town of Rawalpindi. This was the setting for another well-known series of photographs: the 1885 Durbar, marking the first visit to India by Abdur Rehman, the Amir of Afghanistan, to discuss the latest threat from Russia.

Burke also frequently visited the Corps of Guides in their depot at Mardan, and he photographed them over a thirty year period. Despite his established commercial success, he was still attracted by frontier trouble spots such as Hazara during the 1891 Black Mountain campaign.

Burke continued to photograph the regiments of the Indian Army until his death in May 1900.

These biographical notes have been compiled mainly using Omar Khan's monograph of Baker and Burke,[15] an essential volume for anyone interested in 19th century photography in British India.

Burke's group photograph of the officers of the 20th Punjabis (on page 170) embodies all his skills. In addition to its careful composition and superb attention to detail, it is full of character – quite unlike the frequently wooden, lifeless poses taken by many of his peers.

Frederick Bremner (1863 – 1841)

Frederick Bremner, a Scot, was immersed in photography. His father was a professional photographer in Banff. On his arrival in India in 1882, Bremner joined the studio of his brother-in-law, G.W. Lawrie of Lucknow, before establishing his own studio at Karachi in 1889.[16] The National Gallery of Scotland[17] records that he frequently led a peripatetic existence, covering vast distances to photograph colonial officers and their families as well as members of the native aristocracy. Among his later subjects were the Delhi Durbar and the British civil and military hierarchy.

Long regarded simply as one of many commercial photographers plying their trade throughout India, Bremner has more recently received critical acclaim, although he seems unlikely ever to rival Burke's reputation.

---

[15] Omar Khan, *From Kashmir to Kabul - The Photographs of John Burke and William Baker 1860-1900* (Mapin Publishing, Ahmedabad, in association with Prestel Verlag, Munich, Berlin, London, New York 2002). Several military images are reproduced.

[16] Omar Khan's 'Harappa' website <www.harappa.com>

[17] National Gallery of Scotland website <www.nationalgalleries.org>

From a military historian's perspective, his enduring achievement is the series of photographs featuring the uniforms of individual regiments, each portraying a selection of Indian officers and other ranks in various forms of dress. They were published in a single volume in 1897 entitled *Types of the Indian Army*, as well as in the contemporary periodical *The Navy and Army Illustrated*. Subsequent reproductions, frequently taken from the earlier publications, tend to look dull and lifeless. The original albumen prints are far brighter and reveal considerable detail, just as one would expect from images of that era.

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

Part 6: Relief and Withdrawal – November 1857

We had, several times, put up a semaphore on the Residency house - the old-fashioned style with arms, used generally at that time for telegraphing. But it was always shot away as soon as it began to work, so it was dangerous, both for the workers as well as the house. The enemy had an artilleryman of the Bengal Artillery who joined the mutineers in Cawnpore, and, being their only good shot, he was sent round daily to each of their batteries to fire a shot or two, and when the semaphore was at work he was sent for, and generally destroyed it at the first shot. This man also fired the shot that killed Sir Henry Lawrence.[1]

We could read their messages sent from the Alumbagh, but could send no answers. At last we heard that Sir Colin Campbell (the future Lord Campbell) was made Commander-in-Chief and had arrived at the Alumbagh and was making preparations to relieve us. Sir James Outram wanted to communicate with Sir Colin to advise him not to attempt coming through the city, but to come round by the ice pits – but the difficulty was how to do so. When a Mr Kavanagh, of the Uncovenanted Service, offered to go out, it was a dangerous undertaking. No document could be sent, as that would have cost him his life, so verbal instructions were sent. He (Kavanagh) was a Eurasian, and dark as

[1] According to Julian Spilsbury (*The Indian Mutiny*, p.302), the semaphore was operated by schoolboys from the Martinière, but Wild doesn't say so. This is one of the few accounts to mention the apparatus.

any native, and when dressed in a Mussulman's dress he could not be recognised as anything but a native Mahomedan. Besides, he spoke the native dialect with a native's accent, never having been out of the country.[2] He started at night, with one of his native servants and they were taken prisoner. But as they abused the English, and everything connected with the Residency, they were released, and took their journey through jowar and maize fields to escape being taken prisoner again. Next day, the 10th November, we heard through the semaphore of their safe arrival at the Alumbagh, and they explained why we could not answer them though we could read their signals, so they continued sending us messages of what was being done and what they intended doing, and when Sir Colin intended starting, and how we were to assist them. Sir James Outram was informed in the morning of 17th November that Sir Colin had started, and we worked down towards the Dilkushawar (a royal palace and garden) to assist them. This was a stronghold of the mutineers, and was loop-holed, and the taking of it cost Sir Colin's force many valuable lives. Major Eyres's and Captain Alpert's batteries met with severe resistance, and General Neil was shot dead close to this in leading his column.

Poor Erskine, who was wounded at the Alumbagh when riding next to me, had lingered on for six weeks, when he died of gangrene - and many others died of the same cause.[3] We had not sponges enough, and though they were carefully washed, gangrene seemed to stick to them. There was a post-mortem on poor Erskine, and for a long time no signs of the bullet could be found, and the doctors had almost decided that the bullet must have dropped out when one of them saw a small, discoloured spot at the bottom of the heart, and, on making an incision found the bullet tightly embedded. It must have worked its way through the big artery to its present position.

My services as field engineer being no longer required, I was ordered to rejoin the VC [Volunteer Cavalry], and returned to Innes's bungalow again. In the afternoon of 17th November communication was established between the two forces, and Sir James and General Havelock went out to meet Sir Colin at the Motee Mahal, and heard that a bazaar had been opened at the Motee Mahal and that provisions could be purchased there. So I sent my bhiestie to purchase a loaf of bread, some butter, and a pound of salt, as I was determined not to be

---

[2] Thomas Henry Kavanagh was Irish, born in Mullingar, County Westmeath, on 15 Jul 1821. His disguise and linguistic talent clearly had Wild fooled as well!

[3] J. Erskin [sic] was mentioned earlier in the memoir; see Wild Pt. 4 (*Durbar*, Summer 2009, p.75). He was one of thirty-three civilians who rode with Barrow's Volunteer Cavalry. He died on 14 Nov 1857.

without salt again, and the diarrhoea from which I had been suffering left me in a short time owing to having salt.

Mr Gubbins of the Civil Service had a very large supply of all kinds of wines on hand when we were relieved, and as he could not take any away, or sell it, he became very generous and sent it to the different messes. I would not demean myself by touching a drop of it, as I think he ought to have sent it to the hospital during the siege, and it might, in all probability, have saved several lives more valuable than his own.[4]

How different things looked now that one could move about the Bailey Guard without having bullets flying about and fired at you, as the greater part of the mutineers had bolted, and others had hidden themselves in the heart of the city. To prevent the ladies and invalids being fired at, screens were put up at all the dangerous spots leading to the Motee Mahal. For this purpose all the doors, etc. were wrenched off from the palaces and used as screens. Native carts (hackeries) were sent in to take away the treasure, as well as the ladies with their children and the invalids who could not walk or get dhoolies to carry them out. All day long on the 25th they were being sent out as fast as possible, and before sunset all were out, and only the troops remained at their posts till the night had well set in.

Orders were given to each guard and body of troops to begin to evacuate the place at 9 p.m. We were to begin at the outlying posts, so Innes's and the mosque were the first to start, and, as we passed, the nearer ones followed each in their order. We had orders to leave the usual lights burning, and to trim them before leaving, so that the enemy might think we were still there. No talking was allowed, and the order to march was given in a very low tone. The Innes's party began as the gong struck 9 p.m., and when we had passed the Residency buildings the VC and the others drawn up followed, then the others from the adjacent posts, then last the Bailey Guard Gate post, and those in the courts followed in their turn.

When we had gone halfway to the Motee Mahal, Swanston of the VC recollected that he had left Erskine's watch on the mess table in the Residency, and that he had promised him at his death, as his last request, to send it to Erskine's widowed mother.[5] He could not return, as he commanded our

[4] Others also had a poor opinion of Mr. Martin Gubbins. According to Dr Hadow: 'Mr Gubbins is not at all liked in the garrison…" (C. Hibbert, *The Great Mutiny, India 1857*, p.328). It seems that Gubbins had considerable amounts of provisions in his fortified house, and favoured a select few in sharing them until the end of the blockade.

[5] Lieut. William Oliver Swanston, 7th Madras NI, one of the first to join the VC, was wounded on the way into Lucknow and abandoned by his Dooley bearers, lying alone in the open until rescued the following day; see Wild Pt. 3 (*Durbar*, Spring 2009, p.5).

squadron, but one of the VC offered to go back and fetch it, and off he went, and found it on the table, and then hurried with it – running the whole way, as he said the silence that reigned there was unbearable. It was like a deserted city, not a footfall to be heard but his own. He said he would never undertake such a job again. However, he was not the last man in the Residency, for there was one of the VC who turned out to claim that honour. He felt sleepy, and left the mess-room to have a nap before starting, and told no-one to call him, thinking that he would awake when they began moving - but he did not. It was about 2 a.m. when he awoke, and he went to the mess-room, but it was empty, and the silence of death reigned there. He went to the front of the house, but not a soul was to be seen so he conjectured that the troops had all left and he was all alone. He then walked towards the Bailey Guard Gate - not a soul moving, and he only heard his own steps. He then thought he saw someone moving – or it may have been imagination. He called out, but saw nothing more of it. After this, he made up his mind to run as hard as he could, and arrived at the Motee Mahal very blown, and scared with his night's adventure.

There was not much sleeping that night as the carts were on the move all night for the Alumbagh with their precious and delicate freights under escort in case they should be attacked. On the morning of the 26th we all left. Sometimes the enemy would assemble on the outskirts of the city, as if they intended to attack us, but a shot of the 64-pounder of the Blue Jackets fired at them went a long way into the city, ploughing through the houses, and frightened them. If we had had these guns with Havelock's force we should have cleared the city and played havoc with it. It was a curious sight to see these sailors so many hundreds of miles away from their ships, and pulling their monster guns with them. We reached the Alumbagh that day, and it was our mournful duty to bury General Havelock in the evening in the Alumbagh gardens, as he had died from dysentery the previous night.

We had been away two months to the day. About twelve years after, I visited Lucknow, but it was totally changed, and the Residency grounds were laid out as pleasure grounds. In the Alumbagh the bodies of the two heroes, Sir Henry Lawrence and General Havelock, lay side by side, but what a difference! Over the first is a single stone slab, with the inscription: 'Here lies Sir Henry Lawrence, who tried to do his duty.' Over the General, a large polished red granite obelisk about twelve feet high, with inscription from top to bottom singing forth his praises as a Christian hero and all his war services – whereas Sir Henry was the greater hero.[6]

[6] There are no doubt many, then as well as now, who would not necessarily agree with this somewhat controversial observation.

Sir Colin Campbell decided to hurry back at once to Cawnpore as he was in constant communication with the troops there, and had heard of the advance of the Gwalior rebels and others who had joined them, and that our forces would be attacked in a day or two. So he started on the 5th December with as many troops as he thought advisable to take, leaving the remainder to bring up the rear. The sick, women and children were all packed into dhoolies and carts, and told to make one march of it. It would have been a curious sight if one could have ascended in a balloon, to see the long string of hackeries and carts wending their way along the road, with elephants, camels and camp-followers trudging alongside the road, and, here and there, detachments of military marching in this procession for the protection of the long column in case the enemy should make a raid on us. I think the first hackeries reached Cawnpore before the last left the Alumbagh. Even walking along the road when you came to a straight bit of several miles, you saw as far as you could see nothing but a string of moving life crawling along, all moving in one direction.

The Volunteer Cavalry were, to all intents, broken up. We only had a few horses, and they were so weak that they were, for the time being, useless. We found our traps and the few carts we had left at the Alumbagh when we went into the Residency, and these brought our things on to Cawnpore, but most of us had to walk the whole distance – about forty-five or forty-eight miles. However, in time we accomplished the task.

As we got near Cawnpore we could hear the guns firing, which told the tale of the attack by the Gwalior rebels, and the nearer we approached, the louder the noise, so we knew that fighting was going on, and that Sir Colin did right in hurrying back. The Gwalior rebels, with the Dinapore brigade and Jhansi and Agra mutineers, had attacked Cawnpore, which would have been too weak to beat them, though they might have held their own.

The battle was nearly over by the time I got over the Ganges, but I heard from those who had taken part in the battle that the Dinapore brigade fought splendidly – especially the 40th N.I., as light infantry, taking advantage of every cover, This was in consequence of Burn, the Adjutant of the regiment having drilled them in light infantry works.[7] A great pity, as they used their knowledge against us.

The Dinapore brigade was commanded by Narain Sing, the Jemadar who used to play chess with me when I first joined my regiment.

The main part of Sir Colin's force remained in Cawnpore, but detachments were sent out in pursuit of the rebels, or to punish the villages who had assisted

[7] Lieut. James Burn, 40th Regiment of Bengal Native Infantry (Volunteers). Later on, in 1858, he served as Staff Officer to the Sasseram Brigade.

them. By this means the rebel forces were broken up, and large numbers of them crossed into Oudh and joined the rebels in Lucknow. On being relieved, we heard the rumour of the fall of Delhi was true, so there was no need for our hurrying up country. Sir Colin had time to receive reports from all parts of the Bengal Presidency before deciding what to do. Fresh troops were constantly arriving from England, amongst them cavalry, so the VC was no longer required, and was broken up. In time I was appointed Interpreter to a battery of Royal Horse Artillery under command of Major C.H. Smith.[8] Not having much to do, I revisited places where the tragic events had taken place when General Wheeler's force was annihilated. There were a lot of inscriptions on the walls, written with pencil, calling on the English soldiers to avenge their deaths, as if these had been written by sufferers in those terrible days, but as they were not on the walls when I first visited them before going into Lucknow, I knew they were written since by others to incite the troops to vengeance.

Sir Colin, as Commander-in-Chief, had a lot of onerous duty to look to and to decide, as he received continual reports from all parts of the country of what was doing, and of course assistance was wanted everywhere. At last, by arrival of fresh detachments, he was strong enough, and decided to move on to Delhi via Futtehgur, leaving a strong force at Cawnpore, which was a hotbed of mutiny, to protect the place against the Oudh mutineers. Major Smith's battery moved up with the C-in-C's force, and, of course, I had to go.

I bought a small shuwarie (tent), and we began our march on the 23rd December 1857 from Cawnpore to Futtehgur. At one of our halting grounds we caught a number of rebels, who were tried, and sentenced to be hung, but as there was no gallows we had to hang them on the branches of trees along the road, and as there was no drop, the prisoners were put on hackeries one by one, the noose adjusted, and then suddenly pushed off – this answering the purpose of a drop. There was one unfortunate victim who had three drops – the rope breaking each time. After the third failure I said it was a shame to try again, and that they ought to let him off, but they got a new rope, and succeeded in hanging him the fourth time.

On 2nd of January 1858 we arrived at the Kala Nuddie river, over which an iron suspension bridge ran, and here the rebels made a fierce stand. The water was too deep to attempt a crossing, and as they had taken all the planking from the bottom of the bridge it was impassable, and we had to wait till it was repaired. On the other side on the nuddie they had thrown up earthworks so as to prevent our repairing it, and opened fire on us, but our heavy guns soon drove them away, and then the engineers set to, to repair the bridge.

[8] This was actually 7th Coy, 14th Battalion, R.A., a field company using horse draught.

E.J. WILD IN MUFTI DURING HIS EARLIER YEARS
[from the family archive]

Whilst this was going on, the rebels brought some of their guns into position about a mile off on the road leading to Futtehgur, and began firing on the bridge, and on our force. As they fired we could see their round-shots in the air, coming towards us, but could not tell where they might fall, so it was impossible to get out of the way. We had some infantry in skirmishing order in a ditch running parallel with the road for the protection of the working party, when I saw one of these shots coming. It hit one man on the head and killed him, and then it took off both legs of the next man, who died in the course of the afternoon. As these guns were playing havoc with us, a battery of our artillery was sent out to stop them. It advanced on our side of the Kala Nuddie, and, on coming abreast of the enemy guns, soon stopped them.

When the bridge was finished we crossed to Khudagung, and then on to Futtehgur next day, but the enemy had evacuated the place, and gone either towards Delhi or into Oudh. What a sight the civil station at Futtehgur was – every house burnt and destroyed, even the church had only the bare walls standing. There was a fort here on the banks of the Ganges, but this was left intact as they had no time to destroy it, or wanted to keep it for themselves as they never expected that we should drive them out, but our great object in getting to Futtehgur was to save the valuable timber stored there from destruction. It was the great gun carriage manufactory of the Government; the timber had been stacked here for fifty or eighty years, and was well seasoned, could not be replaced in a hurry, and was worth over a hundred thousand pounds sterling, so it was worth our trying to save it. A small quantity had been stolen by the bazaar people, but was, finally, almost all recovered. Sentries were at once placed all round the yards for its protection. The C-in-C, after a few days' halt, moved on to Delhi, leaving the 82nd Foot, and another regiment, and also Major Smith's battery and a few Sikh cavalry for the protection of Futtehghur. We occupied the fort, and I had my tent pitched close to the wall overlooking the Ganges, under a large tree.

At the mess Major Smith and his officers, Wingate and Rothwell,[9] were always complaining about the guns and gun-carriages they had served out to them when they landed. They had left theirs behind in Woolwich, and they used to say that they (the guns) were so cumbersome that it was not possible to work them like the Royal Horse Artillery [sic] ought to be worked. In India our batteries used to have 12-pndr guns,[10] the R.H.A. had 9-pndrs, and of course

[9] Lieut. F.A. Whinyates [sic] was with Smith's company. No officer named Rothwell has been traced in contemporary Royal Artillery lists.

[10] Standard equipment of a Bengal Horse Arty troop was five 6-pdr guns and a 12-pndr howitzer. A standard Bengal Field Arty battery had five 9-pndrs and one 24-pndr.

the carriage for the latter did not require to be so strong and heavy. Major Smith used always to be saying: 'Wait till we get our guns out from home' – as he had heard that they were being sent out, 'and then you will see how we work them.'

I used always to stick up for our artillery and gun-carriages, and say: 'Why, when you get them you will find them shaking and rattling and, perhaps, going to pieces as they will not stand the climate.' They used to be quite indignant at my saying such a thing and said: 'The wood is the best procurable, and it has been seasoned in kilns, and will stand any climate in the world.' And I used to say: 'Except the Indian climate.' 'Of course they will stand this climate!' 'Well, we will see when you get them.' At last they arrived, to the great delight of the gunners, and Major Smith said: 'Well, what do you think of them now?' So I said, as I used to say in all our arguments: 'They look well, but wait for six months and you will want new gun carriages made of our timber that is here.' They all laughed at the idea. In about a month the wheels began to be shaky, and in a short time they began to get worse, and they had to put khus (roots) of grass round the axles of the wheels and keep them constantly wet. Then the tyres got loose. I waited patiently till they had to re-tyre them, and then the shafts and other portions of the carriages began to warp, and then I said: 'Well, what do you now think of your Woolwich well-seasoned wood of which the gun-carriages are made? Was I right, or not, in what I told you?' 'Oh,' they said, 'it is all owing to this detestable Indian climate – not fit for a human being to live in.' After a short time they had to get new carriages made of the wood in store, and did not abuse the Indian seasoned wood.

After the C-in-C had got to Delhi, the civil authorities received notice that a body of rebels was on its way to cross the river at a short distance above Futtehgur, so that night we (a wing of the 82nd Foot and Major Smith's battery) started to intercept them at a place some miles off, where it was supposed they would be encamped. Early next morning, we encamped in a tope of mango trees. My shuwarie was soon pitched, and I went to lay down. All of a sudden there was such a noise – I thought the rebels were on us, and there was a general stampede of the horses and syces and the officers of the battery. The latter came rushing into my tent. I could not make out what it was all about as I could see no enemy. When they had entered, I heard that they had been attacked by swarms of bees. There were three large hives of them in the trees, and the syces had, incautiously, lit fires under them. The smoke disturbed them, and down they came. The horses had their ropes cut, and with the syces made a rush for the open field, but three of the horses, before they could be let loose, were stung to death, and a number of the other horses were badly stung.

After waiting a couple of days, and trying to get information on the rebels without success, we returned to the fort and put it down as a false report, and concluded that they had crossed higher up the river. On receiving orders that we were to be permanently stationed at Futtehghur, I sent to Dinapore for my horses, as the country between the two cities was safe, and, in due course, they arrived. One of them was a thoroughbred English stallion, but, shortly after its arrival, I lost him. We got news that some rebels had left the Delhi district, crossed the Ganges, and would be passing a few miles from Futtehghu – but on the Oudh side of the river on their way to Lucknow. So we were on the alert, and one night we got orders to cross the river, and saw a body of rebels, and opened fire on them. They had a body of cavalry with them. Our firing dispersed them, and our Sikh cavalry were ordered to charge them, but having no European officer with them they would not do so, and, although it was not my duty, I headed them, and told them to follow me, which they immediately did, and came with such a rush that they knocked me and my horse over!

When they saw me on the ground, and my horse bolting, they pulled up, and would not advance. I asked them to catch my horse, but not a man would move. That was the last I saw of my horse – galloping after the rebel cavalry.

We made several raids against small parties of rebels that the C-in-C drove away from Delhi, but they became fewer and fewer. The C-in-C at last sent a large force through Rohilcand and the north of Oudh to Lucknow, and another force went from Cawnpore, and with these a force of Nepalese troops co-operated from the south-east, and Lucknow was taken in June 1858, and annexed to the Indian Empire. In that same month I left Major Smith's battery, and proceeded to the civil station of Futtehpore, on the main road between Allahabad and Cawnpore, as I was appointed District Superintendent of Military Police for that district, and my fighting days were then over.[11]

When I had reached Futtehpore, Lucknow was taken, and we could hear distinctly the firing of our heavy guns, and could have counted each discharge. When the firing ceased we knew that Lucknow was taken, and in our possession, and so the last stronghold of the mutineers was taken, but there were still some months of our following up small parties of rebels before the country was quiet.[12]

---

[11] Military officers were frequently attached to the civil establishment for police service. The civil establishment in Oudh included armed militarized police, both mounted and foot, and there were plenty of dangerous rebels afoot – a problem that continued for several years after the mutiny in the Bengal Army had been extinguished.

[12] Some details in the penultimate paragraph are incorrect. Oudh was annexed in 1856 and Sir Henry Lawrence appointed Chief Commissioner resident in Lucknow. The final

Postscript to Major-General E.J. Wild's memoirs

Tony Kerrison

This final sixth part concludes the memoir of Major-General Wild.[13] His father's prediction of mutiny had turned out to be entirely right.[14]

It is clear that the Raj was saved in large part by the fortuitous presence of the forces currently on their way to China, and the fact that all of the sepoys did not mutiny at one and the same moment.

India had an amazing potential for spreading news and rumours far and wide, whether accurate or not. It is odd that nothing much seems to have been done to counter the propaganda that was abroad in the bazaars regarding the greasing of the new cartridges. The problem was that, once the troops began to believe the tales about animal fats, it was inevitable that they would take action, because the new rifle required the firer to bite off the end of the cap in order to be able to use the ammunition. It would have been far better to have issued new weapons exclusively to European soldiers and left the sepoys with their familiar muskets until a proper training regime could be established.

E.J. Wild appears to have led a charmed existence. He decided to retire about twenty years after the foregoing adventures, owing to the premature death at twenty-nine of his wife Clara, and thereafter lived in England – to him a foreign land – residing in retirement with his daughter Gwendoline. He died in 1914, a few weeks before the outbreak of the First World War, and is buried in Ryde Cemetery on the Isle of Wight where his memorial still exists.

The organisation of military activity in India seems to have been a fairly loosely-controlled affair. Discipline appears to have been a problem in some units – such as the infamous 10th Foot. Some senior officers were undoubtedly unable to handle the situations that confronted them (General Lloyd) and some were physically unfit for their task (Sir Henry Havelock). Some more junior officers were also sadly lacking in initiative and expertise (Colonel Dunbar).

All forms of communications in 1857 were understandably primitive by comparison with modern times. The few telegraph lines that existed were vulnerable. Road transport was animal-powered and consequently slow, with fodder a constant concern. Steamers were not numerous and were sluggish

---

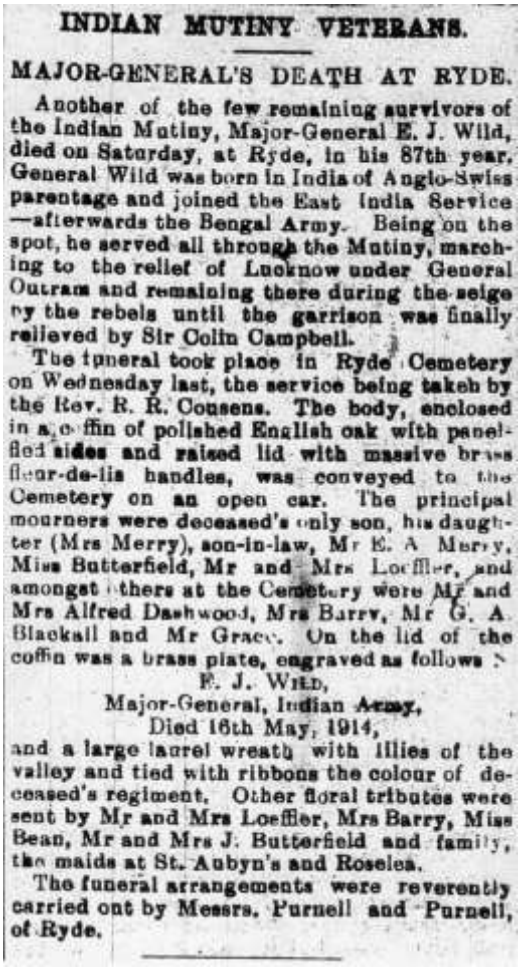
capture of Lucknow by Sir Colin Campbell occurred in March 1858 although, as Wild says, it took a considerable time after that to pacify the entire province.

[13] His military career is summarized in Pt 1 (*Durbar*, Summer '08, Vol. 25, No. 2, p.53)

[14] Colonel C.F. Wild had once written that there would be a mutiny in Bengal, and that it would happen within fifteen years of his son joining the H.E.I.C.'s army.

against strong currents. The railway network was in its infancy. Medical services were primitive, and there would seem to have been few medicines available.

During the siege of the Lucknow Residency, the organisation within the perimeter seems to have been lacking firm control in some areas. The idea that the butchers were at liberty to make money out of selling portions of meat as 'perquisites' seems outrageous. Likewise, the evidence of some officers and civil servants helping themselves to rations to the detriment of others is unedifying. Why was there not a stricter control over rations?



INDIAN MUTINY VETERANS.

MAJOR-GENERAL'S DEATH AT RYDE.

Another of the few remaining survivors of the Indian Mutiny, Major-General E. J. Wild, died on Saturday, at Ryde, in his 87th year. General Wild was born in India of Anglo-Swiss parentage and joined the East India Service —afterwards the Bengal Army. Being on the spot, he served all through the Mutiny, marching to the relief of Lucknow under General Outram and remaining there during the seige by the rebels until the garrison was finally relieved by Sir Colin Campbell.

The funeral took place in Ryde Cemetery on Wednesday last, the service being taken by the Rev. R. R. Cousens. The body, enclosed in a coffin of polished English oak with panelled sides and raised lid with massive brass fleur-de-lis handles, was conveyed to the Cemetery on an open car. The principal mourners were deceased's only son, his daughter (Mrs Merry), son-in-law, Mr E. A Merry, Miss Butterfield, Mr and Mrs Loeffler, and amongst others at the Cemetery were Mr and Mrs Alfred Dashwood, Mrs Barry, Mr G. A Blackall and Mr Grace. On the lid of the coffin was a brass plate, engraved as follows :—

F. J. WILD,
Major-General, Indian Army,
Died 16th May, 1914,

and a large laurel wreath with lilies of the valley and tied with ribbons the colour of deceased's regiment. Other floral tributes were sent by Mr and Mrs Loeffler, Mrs Barry, Miss Bean, Mr and Mrs J. Butterfield and family, the maids at St. Aubyn's and Roselea.

The funeral arrangements were reverently carried out by Messrs. Purnell and Purnell, of Ryde.

E.J. Wild's descriptions of men going out of the Residency in order to loot, and, presumably, murder are entirely believable, and he would not have felt able to say anything as he was there as a trooper in an irregular cavalry unit. Surely someone in authority should have put a stop to this unsavoury practice?

Editor's note

The six parts of Major-General E.J. Wild's memoir have been transcribed by his great-great grandson Tony Kerrison, from the original manuscript document in the family's safe keeping. They have been published in *Durbar* with his kind permission.

The 17th Cavalry's East African Squadron, 1915-1916

Harry Fecitt, M.B.E., T.D.

The Deployment

At the end of 1914, British East Africa had been reinforced by Indian Expeditionary Forces 'B' and 'C'. These two forces contained infantry, field and mountain artillery, pioneers, a machine gun company, and railway companies. In January 1915 Major-General R. Wapshare, who had taken over command of the theatre from Major-General A.E. Aitken, requested a cavalry squadron for use in the area south of Nairobi. This area, from Arusha and Longido mountain in German East Africa up to Kajiado in British East Africa, was a possible German invasion route. The area was also free from tsetse fly.

The 17th Cavalry was tasked and formed a composite Pathan squadron of 120 men chosen equally from 'A' and 'B' Squadrons. The sowars were armed with lances and sabres, and the Lee-Enfield rifle.[1] Major R.C. Barry-Smith commanded and Captain V.C. Duberly and 2nd Lieutenant B.J.P. Mawdsley were squadron officers.

The Indian officers in the squadron were: Risaldar Usman Khan, Ressaidar Sajid Gul, and Jemadars Wazir Khan and Wazir Mohamad. They were all well-established in the regiment with an average of twenty years service.[2] The squadron arrived at Mombasa on 4th February 1915 with its horses and sixty-six mules. Effective mucking out and fitness exercises on the ship had prevented sickness amongst the mounts. The horses were slung off into lighters from which they were then slung ashore. That afternoon the squadron entrained for Kajiado. Shortly afterwards, a two-gun machine gun section was sent from the regiment to join the squadron.

For the first five months, the squadron operated out of Kajiado and Bissil, occasionally patrolling alongside the East African Mounted Rifles who rode mules – apart from the Scouts Section who had horses. Sometimes the immediate danger was from big game, and squadron members twice had to fire to halt charging rhinoceros. In this area the British had to use especially tall posts to carry signal cables so that giraffes could pass underneath without

[1] The regiment has been equipped with the Mk. III Lee-Enfield Short Rifle in 1909.
[2] Sajid Guk had served as a sowar during the Relief of Chitral in 1895.

breaking the cables. In late July the squadron moved south across the border and based itself at a waterhole at Longido West, below the mountain. On 2nd August 1915 a German mounted patrol seeking water rode into the Longido West position without making a proper reconnaissance and was greeted with British machine gun and rifle fire. Four German Europeans and two of their Askari surrendered whilst two Europeans and two Askari escaped. One of the squadron sowars, Pir Dost, was severely wounded and subsequently died. Two days later the squadron returned to the Kajiado-Bissil area.

17TH CAVALRY – EAST AFRICA SQUADRON[3]

On 21st September the squadron joined the East African Mounted Rifles and the King's African Rifles in an attack on Longido West which had been occupied by a German force. The British failed to capture the enemy position and withdrew. The 17th Cavalry was not committed to the action, being retained for a pursuit that never happened, but three days later a squadron reconnaissance patrol established that the Germans had also withdrawn from Longido West.

The lancers were now patrolling out of Bissil and the War Diary records that in November 1915 Lieutenants A.C. Anstey and J.H.G. Knox were serving with the squadron, and that eighty-six remounts arrived from India and had to be

[3] *Star and Crescent*, p.194: 'Snapshots with the East African Squadron.'

trained. By this time a number of the original horses had succumbed to African Horse Sickness. Some patrols operated with the East African Mounted Rifles from Lone Hill, just north of the border. On 1st January 1916 the squadron held a Sports Day. Orders were then received to cross the border prior to a British advance. On 4 February Longido West was occupied again.

Operations North of Moshi

The following day, Captain Duberly accompanied by Lieutenant Mawdesley and forty-eight men, plus two Europeans from the Intelligence Department and their Masai scouts, patrolled to the southeast towards Engare Nairobi which lies west of Kilimanjaro Mountain. The mission was to establish if there were any advanced German posts on the route. A German field company and a European mounted unit, altogether totalling about 200 men, were at Ngasserai, thirty miles along the route. They remained hidded, and observed the British cavalry approaching. On 6th February, coming across the Nanjuki stream, Captain Duberly gave orders to dismount, unsaddle and feed and water horses.

The Germans made a concealed approach through long grass and charged the unsuspecting cavalrymen. Captain Duberly and Lieutenant Mawdesley both wore pith helmets and so were quickly recognised as officers and killed along with Dafadar Said Gul, while three other men were wounded. Jemadar Wazir Khan took charge and brought the patrol out of action skilfully, despite the long grass which obscured vision. Both parties then withdrew. Lance-Dafadar Khan Sahib had been wounded and left in the grass. Using a discarded lance, he hobbled back towards Longido for six days with no food and practically no water, bringing with him his rifle and 100 rounds of ammunition. For his gallantry in this action, Wazir Khan was promoted one step to Ressaidar and, in this elevated rank, admitted to the Indian Order of Merit.[4]

> G.G.O. 1268 of 20th October 1916
> Ressaidar Wazir Khan, 17th Cavalry, Indian Army
> *Admitted to the 2nd Class Indian Order of Merit*
> For conspicuous gallantry in action with the enemy on the 16th February 1916. This Indian officer was left in charge of the main body while an advanced party engaged the enemy. The advance party had to retire and in the general action which ensued jemadar Wazir Khan, on whom the command of the party devolved, owing to the British officers becoming casualties, displayed great courage and ability.

[4] Wazir Khan transferred to the Pension Establishment as a risaldar on 11 Feb 1922. He appears in an indistinct 1921 photo of 17th Cavalry officers (*Star and Crescent*, p. 144).

Khan Sahib, presumably serving as a temporary lance-dafadar in February 1916, was recommended for admission to the Indian Order of Merit, but this was downgraded and he was awarded the Indian Distinguished Service Medal as '1980 Sowar [sic] Khan Sahib' (G.G.O.1269 of 20th October 1916).

Captain D.Mc.L. Slater, 11th Rajputs, attached to 17th Cavalry, joined the squadron on 1st March and commanded the machine gun section. On 5th March an advance of the British 1st Division, commanded by Brigadier-General J.M. 'Jimmie' Stewart, began from Longido following the Ngasserie-Engare Nairobi route towards Moshi, south of Kilimanjari Mountain. An almost simultaneous advance by the British 2nd Division was coming from the east, also directed towards Moshi. The squadron was initially used for reconnaissance by 1st Division, Sowar Khalid Gul being killed by a German ambush on 9th March. As the advance continued through forest and bush, the squadron's tasks changed to guarding the rear and flank during the day, and picqueting duties at night. On 11th March, Dafadar Said Gul was killed by enemy machine gun fire whilst riding on 'right flank guard' duties. The squadron then moved forward into the reconnaissance role again, reaching the Arusha-Moshi road without incident and arriving at Moshi, which had been taken by the 2nd Division, on 16th March.

Two days later heavy infantry fighting started on the approaches to Kahe Station on the German Usambara Railway line that ran from Moshi to Tanga on the Indian Ocean coast. The ground was covered by bush too dense for successful mounted action and this became a mainly infantry battlefield. On 21st March the squadron acted as escort to South African field artillery that came into action 300 yards from the enemy's trenches. Both sides suffered several casualties during this battle, but the Germans managed to break contact and withdraw cleanly – a tactic that the British were to get used to – and the enemy moved a few miles down the railway line.

Heavy rains now halted this British advance into German East Africa and the British commander, General Smuts, ordered a pause and a move into encampments. Three officer replacements arrived for the squadron from India: Captain H.S. Stewart and 2nd Lieutenants A.B. Knowles and A.W. Ibbotson. The squadron was withdrawn across the British East African border to Mbuyuni to the east, where there were both a military railway line branching from the main British Uganda Railway line and a British airfield. Remounts now came from depots in British East Africa. On 7th May a draft of thirteen reinforcements arrived from the regiment in India. At Mbuyuni the squadron

was tasked with searching for downed airmen. It also with working alongside the Mounted Infantry Company manned by men from the 2nd Battalion, The Loyal North Lancashire Regiment. This company was commanded by Captain George Atkinson M.C. whose brother served in the 17th Cavalry. Long joint patrols were sent towards the Pare Mountains south of Lake Jipe to reconnoitre a route that was later used by the 3rd King's African Rifles.

The Advance down the Pangani River

On 21st May the squadron was back in German East Africa and patrolling forward of the British River Column (which in fact was most of the 1st East African Brigade under the command of Brigadier-General S.H. Sheppard). The column advanced down the Pangani River, cutting its own trail. Five days later a German picquet of one European, five Askari and five porters was captured. Lance-Dafadar Musalli saw members of the picquet and fired from the saddle, inducing the surrender. The squadron cooperated again with the Mounted Infantry Company and the Scouts of the East African Mounted Rifles, mopping up stragglers of the main enemy force as it steadily withdrew ahead of the British advance. On one occasion an enemy train was observed withdrawing and the cavalrymen tried to get ahead of it to block the line, but a German picquet thwarted the advance, wounding one sowar and two horses. The Germans had mounted a field gun on their train and used it to harass the advancing British.

In early June the river column moved west of the railway line and entered thick bush alongside the Pangani River. In this terrain mounted scouting was not possible and the horses were led. At Mkalamo the infantry, principally 130th Baluchis, had a fierce fight in dense bush against a dug-in German force. The cavalry was not in action but was fired at by the enemy, but the density of the bush absorbed or deflected the vast majority of the enemy rounds.

Advancing to Morogoro

At Mkalamo a trolley line ran south to Handeni and the Germans withdrew down this line. The 17th Cavalry squadron and the 2nd Rhodesian Regiment were tasked with following up the enemy. The dismounted sowars engaged the German rearguard in thick bush at short range. Lieutenant Knowles was leading from the front, and was in the act of firing at the enemy when he was shot through the neck and killed.

The column advanced through Handeni and south to the Lukigura River, where on 26th June a dug-in German force stood and fought until it was bayoneted out of its trenches by the infantry, principally the 25th Royal Fusiliers (Frontiersmen) and the Kashmir Rifles, who had attacked from a flank. During this fight the squadron was tasked with demonstrating towards the enemy front as a diversion, and in doing this Sowar Hashim Ali Khan and Sowar Alam Khan were killed in action. Three horses were wounded.

'INDIAN CAVALRY ON RECONNAISSANCE'

The group of lancers in this photograph is thought to be from the 17th Cavalry in the East African bush. It was reproduced in a Danish-language publication: Anon, *Gennem Sump og Skov – de Britiske Felttog i Afrika* (Through Swamp and Jungle – The British Campaigns in Africa), Rankin Bros., Bristol, n.d., p.24. Photographs digitized by University of Wisconsin.

By now the horses were emaciated due to lack of grain. The men also often went on short rations as the supply service, composed of African porters struggling through the bush and carrying loads on their heads, were unable to

deliver sufficient quantities of supplies.[5] After the Lukigura fight, the Mounted Infantry Company was disbanded due to sickness amongst both the remaining men and their mules, and Captain George Atkinson M.C. from The Loyal North Lancashire Regiment was attached to the squadron. A column camp was made at Msiha but unfortunately it was within range of a German 4.1-inch gun recovered from the sunken cruiser *Konigsberg*, and the camp was intermittently shelled especially during the night. On 19th July, one follower was killed by shell fire, one sowar and eight followers wounded plus one horse and nine mules wounded. Five mules had to be destroyed. The following day a move was made to a safer camp. By the end of July, despite having received remounts, only sixty-eight horses were left in the squadron, most of them quite unfit for prolonged work. A small amount of millet was purchased from villagers for feeding to the horses. The strength of the sowars, too, was decreasing as the unhealthy climate took its toll and men died or were hospitalised with malaria and blackwater fever.

During August the brigade advanced to the Wami River, the squadron being tasked with patrolling when the ground was suitable. Captain Stewart was posted out of the squadron to be Post Commandant at Makindu. During the fight on the Wami on 17th August, when the 25th Punjabis and the 2nd Rhodesia Regiment forced the enemy out of its position, the squadron escorted the South African 5th Field Artillery battery. One mule was killed and two horses were wounded by enemy fire. A few days later twenty-five horses were either shot or handed over to the Mobile Veterinary Hospital because of debilitation due to lack of grain. The advance continued and Morogoro on the Central Railway was taken, but the Germans withdrew further south into the Uluguru Mountains. By 31st August, only twenty horses were fit for work and none were fit for more than fifteen miles at a slow pace.

Pursuing the enemy south of the Central Railway

During the second week in September, 100 remounts and forty-seven rank and file, with three Indian officers, caught up with the squadron. Despite these reinforcements, the squadron's effective strength was still under the War Establishment figure and it was decided to reduce the Machine Gun Section from two guns to one because of the shortage of animals. Captain George Atkinson M.C. was sent on attachment to the 3rd Kashmir Rifles on 16th

[5] General Smuts, the British theatre commander and a former Boer guerrilla commando leader, could never be persuaded to discuss logistics seriously.

August, and Captain D. McL. Slater followed him five days later. The squadron continued marching south with the brigade and reached the Mgeta River. The devastating tsetse fly was killing the horses, and on 16th October Major Barry-Smith reported to brigade headquarters that his squadron was unfit for further service. This was acknowledged and the squadron ordered to return to Morogoro. By now only about thirty fit but weak men remained and only twenty of them had horses. The unlucky ones walked back until some returning empty Ford supply cars overtook them and provided transport.

Return to India

After a month waiting in Morogoro for orders from India the squadron moved by train to Dar Es Salaam on 24th November and was re-clothed. Here the administrators took over and insisted on issuing a full complement of new saddlery. Despite Major Barry-Smith insisting that this essential equi-ment had just arrived from India and was urgently needed at the front, and that the squadron was returning to India without horses, the administrators would not change their decision. The new saddlery was issued, re-loaded and shipped back to India, the squadron embarking on the transport *Havildar* on 17th December and arriving at Bombay in January 1917.

MAJ. BARRY-SMITH (LEFT) AND LIEUT. DUBERLY[6]

Major Raymond Coape Barry-Smith was mentioned in despatches, and 2nd Lieutenant Archie William Ibbotson was awarded the Military Cross. Lieutenant Barton James Platt Mawdesley lies in Kajiado Cemetery and Lieutenant Andrew Brooks Knowles lies in Tanga European Cemetery.

[6]*Star and Crescent*, p.194 (the quality of images from this source is relatively poor).

The following British officer and seventeen other ranks of the 17th Cavalry are commemorated on the Nairobi British and Indian Memorial in Kenya:

Captain Vernon Conrad Duberly	1385 Dafadar Said Gul
1396 Dafadar Said Gul	2225 Farrier Hikmat Shah
247 Sowar Akbar Khan	1883 Sowar Alam Khan
1974 Sowar Nazar Gull	2108 Sowar Muhammad Ibrahim
2209 Sowar Hashim Ali Khan	2255 Sowar Mian Gul
2281 Sowar Pir Dost	2398 Sowar Jahan Dad Khan
2428 Sowar Kalid Gul	2464 Sowar Said Mir
2712 Sowar Mir Gul	Follower Jalal
Follower Khuda Baksh	641 Follower Puran

Two sowars are commemorated on the Dar Es Salaam British and Indian Memorial in Tanzania: 2446 Sowar Hazarat Gul; 2679 Sowar Sultan Khan

Sources:

Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Hordern (compiler), *Military Operations East Africa August 1914-September 1916,* H.M.S.O., London 1941;
Major F.C.C. Yeats-Brown, *Star and Crescent, Being the Story of the 17th Cavalry from 1858 to 1922,* Pioneer Press, Allahabad 1927 (this history includes a sixteen-page Appendix IV describing the services of the East African Squadron;
War Diary 17th Cavalry East Africa Squadron 25 July 1915 to 17 December 1916, The National Archives, WO 95 5336;
Commonwealth War Graves Commission, cemetery and memorial registers;
The London Gazette;
Ashok Nath, *Izzat, Historical Records and Iconography of Indian Cavalry Regiments 1750-2007* (U.S.I. India, New Delhi 2009).

REGIMENTAL CREST 1903-1922 (*Izzat*, p.126)

BOOK REVIEW

The Lineage and Composition of Gurkha Regiments in British Service, Field Marshal Sir John Chapple; 2nd edition; published by The Gurkha Museum, March 2010; 214 pages in A4 format, soft covers; price £25 plus postage. Available from: The Shop, The Gurkha Museum, Peninsula Barracks, Romsey Road, Winchester SO23 8TS; or online <www.thegurkhamuseum.co.uk>

This comprehensive volume is an expanded 2nd edition of a work first published in 1978 (with revisions in 1982, 1984 and 1987). It has been written and researched by the Society's own President, aided by a team of experts whose collective knowledge of the Gurkhas and the services of these outstanding soldiers in the British Army is second to none. Simply put, a description is provided of all units in British service, from 1815 to the present day, which have employed Gurkhas. In addition, comprehensive detail is provided of Gurkhas on the strength of non-Gurkha units in British service during the same period.

Within these broadly defined boundaries, the first section of the book sets out to describe the development in the recruitment of Gurkhas – commencing with the recruitment of 'hillmen' on the Ramgarh Frontier and in Sylhet as early as 1785, and followed by the initial raising of four Gurkha regiments in April 1815. The gradual expansion of units that employed a preponderance of Gurkhas is then described, accompanied by details of their class compositions of the units in which they were chiefly employed. The narrative is clearly written and well referenced, and is accompanied by a mass of useful detail in well-organized tables. The second section of the book consists of the detailed lineage lists of Gurkha regiments and units, including the authorizing orders for the numerous and often confusing changes in title.

A significant added value is the inclusion of a wealth of detail pertaining to the employment of Gurkhas well beyond the boundaries of the major Gurkha regiments, including Indian States Forces, the Burma Military Police, transport and works units, regular Indian Army cavalry and infantry, and so on. For example, eleven Gurkhas were serving with the 5th Bengal Cavalry in 1898, and in 1918 a complete company of Gurkhas was on the strength of the 51st Sikhs (temporarily detached from 2nd Bn 8th Gurkha Rifles, and not shown in the Indian Army List). Conversely, details of other classes such as Dogras, Sikhs, Punjabi Muslims, etc on the strength of Gurkha units are also provided.

This new compilation is a long stride forward from the previous edition and its several revisions, and has taken a number of years to complete. It is strongly recommended for anyone with a serious interest in the history of the Indian Army in general and the Gurkhas in particular. [CJP]

A Soldier's Story - from the Khyber Pass to the jungles of Burma: The memoir of a British Officer in the Indian Army 1933-1947, John Hislop; edited and with an introduction by Penny Kocher, published by Newhaven Publishing, August 2010. ISBN 978-0-9565815-0-1. Case-bound, 276pp, with maps and illustrations, £25 plus postage. Available from Newhaven Publishing, 26 First Ave, Newhaven BN9 9HT, U.K; or online <www.newhavenpublishing.co.uk>.

This is a thought-provoking and occasionally disturbing account of the service of a British officer of the Indian Army between 1933 and 1947. Not originally intended for publication, its appearance now may be a contentious issue for some, but it delivers precisely what its title indicates - a soldier's story. That it does so 'warts and all' is a refreshing departure from some of the more edited versions of regimental history that we are used to, though it does not make for comfortable reading. Yet, for all that some connected with the Jat Regiment will undoubtedly regret its appearance, one message that comes through strongly is the love John Hislop had for his regiment and his soldiers.

Hislop's early pre-war career followed the usual pattern, spending his first year with a British Army battalion before joining his regiment, 2nd Battalion 9th Jat Regiment for a series of postings primarily in the North West Frontier area. Hislop became Quartermaster in 1936 and then Adjutant in 1938, a position he held until May 1941 during which time he took the regiment to Malaya. Only there for three months, Hislop was detailed for the short war course at Quetta and therefore missed the sad demise of his battalion and but for this twist of fate we would probably not be reading this story now. He did well and was rewarded with the job of Brigade Major, Jullundur Brigade, followed nine months later by GS02 Waziristan District. His account of frontier duties reinforces much that has been said by others before him.

He returned to regimental duty in August 1943 when he joined 5th/9th Jats in Burma as 2nd-in-command and it is here that problems arose. He clearly did not get on with his CO, Adjutant and Quartermaster and was not squeamish in stating his very robust criticisms of them. Here we should remind ourselves that these opinions were of a personal nature and were recorded as such. Operationally, Hislop recounts some remarkable journeys and duties, including a hair-raising reconnaissance for two forward company positions. Largely made by river, he tells of having to pull their dugout canoes along by grabbing hold of bushes at the side because of the fast and treacherous current. One leg of the journey took four days in one direction; ten hours on the return journey, such was the speed of the river. There are other similar anecdotes. After a spell of leave in India the Battalion returned to Arakan and in mid September 1944 Hislop assumed temporary command of the Battalion, the unnamed CO having been medically evacuated.

Although told unofficially that he had been recommended for permanent command, he blew the chance away with a spectacular falling out with his Brigade Commander. Hislop stayed on as second-in-command for a while before a brief leave in UK (to get married) and then return to Delhi to the Directorate of Military Operations. As Independence loomed, Hislop decided that his army days were over and he settled for a new life in 'civvy street.'

John Hislop does not disguise his bitterness at failing to reach substantive Lieutenant-Colonel though he recognised that he was partly to blame. He was obviously a proud and principled man who had the best interests of his soldiers at heart, but was also a prickly character who did not suffer fools gladly and was at times his own worst enemy in his dealings with those of less strong convictions. Bland he was not, otherwise, given his strong performance at Staff College, as a Brigade Major, and the way he pulled his Battalion together when in temporary command, we may have heard more of John Hislop. [A.N. McC.]

CORRESPONDENCE

Peter Chapman writes…'Ten years ago I read in a medal catalogue that the colours of the India General Service Medal (1908-1935) were determined by Major-General Sir James Willcocks. He chose those of the regiment to which he was posted in 1879 after passing out from Sandhurst – the 100th (Prince of Wales' Canadian) Regiment. Following the Cardwell reforms of 1881, the 100th amalgamated with the 109th (Bombay Infantry) Regiment, becoming the 1st and 2nd Bn., The P.O.W.'s Leinster Regt (Royal Canadians) respectively.

'Willcocks had a very active career. After only ten years with the 1st Leinsters, he had clocked up field service in Afghanistan, on the North-West Frontier of India, in the Sudan, and in Burma. He was mentioned in despatches and awarded the D.S.O. for his services in the latter campaign. Following further active service in West Africa and South Africa, he returned to India in 1902 to take up a series of senior commands.

'At the time the I.G.S. medal was sanctioned, in December 1908, Major-General Sir James Willcocks, K.C.M.G., C.B., D.S.O. was General Officer Commanding the 1st Peshawar Division, an appointment he had held since January of that same year. He commanded the field force employed during the Zakka Khel and Mohmand expeditions between February and May 1908. Either of these expeditions qualified for the "North West Frontier 1908" clasp.

'In terms of time and place, the association of Willcocks with the I.G.S. 1908 ribbon appears to be quite credible. Furthermore, although the dress uniform of the Leinsters was scarlet with blue facings, according to some

unreferenced sources the regimental colours were blue and green which match the colours of the I.G.S. ribbon. If these were indeed the colours, it adds credence to the Willcocks connection. However, on the other side of the coin, there is no reference to this in R.G.M. Stiles' *The Story of the India General Service Medal 1908-1935* (Terence Wise, Powys 1992), or in Major L.L. Gordon's *British Battles and Medals* (including the most recent Spink & Son Ltd edition).

'I recall the ribbon acquired a nickname pertinent to a brand of soap; it may have been Palmolive, although my memory lets me down. But could the colours of a medal ribbon be determined so parochially and arbitrarily by one man, albeit the general officer commanding the campaign that inspired the medal? I would be intrigued to know.'

An explanatory note has been kindly supplied by Mike Shepherd, President of the Ribbon Branch of the Orders and Medals Research Society

'The question of the I.G.S. 1908 ribbon, and others like it, have plagued the Ribbon Branch for many years, and we simply do not know why many ribbons are designed the way they are. Some colours and designs are self evident, of course, following national colours. Some are set out in Army Orders, as is the case with WW2 awards. Many seem to be purely arbitrary. Who, for instance, decided that the Naval General Service Medal 1915 should be red and white rather than, say, blue and white?

'Turning to the central question in Peter Chapman's last paragraph, I have enclosed a page from a book[1] which has the only real mention I have found of the question of ribbon design.

> [In 1794] the first regulation riband [sic] was instituted with the Gold Medals for Lord Howe's famous victory on June 1st, 1794. For some time this riband, white, with broad navy-blue stripes at the extremities, was known as the Naval Riband of England. Next in order of date was the crimson and blue-bordered riband for Maida. This in its turn came to be known as The Military Riband of England. It was used for the Army Gold Medals and Cross, 1808-14; the Waterloo and General Service Medals, 1847. Some wore it with the Seringapatam, Madras Army and first Burmese War Medals. It is believed that the narrower width of this design was adopted for the Distinguished Service Order, to perpetuate the first regulation military riband, although its colour tones cannot be said to be identical with the original issues.
>
> The next regulation riband is associated with the name of Lord Ellenborough, Governor-General of India, who considered that, as there was a Military Riband

[1] Capt. Arthur Jocelyn, *Orders, Decorations, Medals and Awards of Great Britain and the Commonwealth from Edward III to Elizabeth II* (A & C. Black, London 1956) p.9.

of England, India should have a distinctive riband of her own. The delicate prismatic riband, intended to convey the colouring of an oriental sunrise, was his design. This riband was used for the Kelat-i-Ghilzie, Jellalabad, Afghanistan, Scinde Medals and the Maharajpore and Punniar Stars. Forty years later, a narrower width of this riband was used for the Kabul-Kandahar Star. With the multiplication of medals, the continued use of regulation Naval, Military and Indian ribands became impracticable, so that new designs became necessary.

The first to depart from the regulation design was that chosen for the Ghuznee Medal, 1839. This was at first half yellow and half dark green, later changed to crimson and dark green. A medal suspended by the original riband used to be seen in the United Services Institution, Whitehall. The first riband for the China Medal, 1842 (crimson, with old gold border stripes), was intended to signify crimson for England and yellow for China. It is a pity that the original design for the riband of the second China Medal, 1857-60 (five equal stripes of dark blue, yellow, red, white and green), was discarded for a narrower issue of the 1842 riband, which colour combination was repeated again for the China Medal, 1900.

Although it is certain that many ribands have been designed to convey some motif, it has not been possible to achieve this objective in every case. The following examples, however, may be given:

medal	*riband*	*motif*
Indian Mutiny 1857-59	white with two red stripes	innocence and bloodshed
Jellalabad, Kelat-i-Ghilzie, Scinde 1842-43, K-to-K Star 1880	prismatic colours	oriental sunrise
Egypt 1882-89	blue with two white stripes	Blue Nile and White Nile
Sudan 1896-98	black & yellow, divided by a narrow red line	black Dervish Army, yellow desert, red British forces
Queen's South Africa 1899-1901	red, dark blue, orange, dark blue, red	red Army, blue Navy, orange veldt
Mercantile Marine 1914-18	green, white, red	green starboard, white steaming, red port lights

'The above reference will not specifically resolve the query regarding the ribbon of the I.G.S. 1908 but it will, I think, show how one man could indeed effectively determine the design of a medal ribbon. I would suggest that this is

not as strange as might at first be supposed. I presume that colours of ribbons, together with the other details of an award, were decided by a War Office (or Admiralty) Committee which, no doubt, took account of any reasonable suggestions set before it. This was probably the case with Lord Ellenborough's suggestion for a distinctive India ribbon and could well have been the case with General Willcock's suggestion.'[2]

Sir Charles Frossard has written… to point out that the military services of the late Colonel Khushwaqt-ul-Mulk, scion of the royal family of Chitral, were incorrectly recorded by the *Daily Telegraph* obituarist (17th March 2010).

Khushwaqt-ul-Mulk was a lieutenant on the strength of the 4th Battalion, 19th Hyderabad Regiment, when it sailed to Singapore in August 1939. According to the obit, 'during the war against Japan he saw action in Malaya and Burma at a time when Japanese forces were in the ascendant.' In fact, he was fortunate to be posted to the South Waziristan Scouts as a wing officer on 15th February 1941 – and so he left the Far East well before Japan entered the war. He never saw active service against the Imperial Army, remaining with the S.W.S. without interruption until 1947. Thereafter, he held the appointment of Deputy General, Frontier Corps, from 1949 to 1951.

Sir Charles knew Colonel Khushwaqt-ul-Mulk personally, having met him in the Frontier Corps while he himself was serving in the Tochi Scouts and the Chitral Scouts.

———————

[2] Peter Chapman's query will be tabled in the next Ribbon Branch newsletter.

ERRATA

Durbar, Summer 2009, Vol. 26, No. 2, p. 69
Harry Fecitt has written to say that the medal group illustrating his article entitled 'Taita Hills 1898', together with the six lines of biographical notes beneath it, should be attributed to Cyril Uvedale Price and not to his elder brother Charles Henry Uvedale Price as indicated in the article. Both Cyril and Charles qualified for the East & Central Africa Medal with clasp "1897-98" for Uganda, with Charles claiming a second "Lubwa's" clasp. Charles was the more highly decorated brother, with the C.B. and the D.S.O. However, only Cyril was entitled to the China 1900 medal, and it was Cyril who returned to East Africa in January 1915 to command the 130th Baluchis.

Durbar, Autumn 2010, Vol. 27, No. 3, pp. 127-127
Keith Steward has written to point out that the medal for Afghanistan 1878-80 worn by Gunda Singh clearly has no clasp, and that there is no evidence of a Kabul to Kandahar Star on his chest. One can deduce from this that he was not involved in the action at Kandahar in 1880, and could not have accompanied Lord Roberts on his march there. The unit history by General Sir H. Hudson, published by Gale & Polden in 1937, records that Gunda Singh received the Afghanistan medal with one clasp – but he does not identify it. If he were indeed entitled to a clasp (if so, why is he not wearing it?), it would presumably have been for the battle of Ahmed Khel on 19th April 1880 – the only 'clasp action' in which the 19th Bengal Lancers participated during the entire campaign. The Editor apologizes for this error which is entirely his fault, arising from a lapse in respecting that essential rule of thumb: always treat information published in secondary sources with a pinch of salt.

_____