<u>Mathias Horler</u> of the 22nd Foot Regiment

By Mark Wareham, updated 5th October 2011



Two soldiers of the 22nd Foot at Meanee, from print (see page 4)

My great x 2 grandfather, Mathias Horler, was baptised at Mells in Somerset on 2nd July 1824 to parents Thomas and Susannah Horler. Susannah was the daughter of George Boddie, a gardener for the Horner family on their Mells estate and there is a family story that Mathias was in fact the son of one of the teenage sons of the squire Colonel Thomas Strangeways Horner. However for the purpose of this essay it just needs to be said that Mathias' baptised father, Thomas Horler, was a coal carrier who later became a farmer at Stones Ash Farm at Mells. We don't know a lot about Mathias' early life other than he was the eldest of eleven children, five boys and six girls. I am not aware that any of the children died young and so the family must have had a modest existence with so many mouths to feed, although the last two were born after Mathias had left home.

What led Mathias to join the army and go 'over the hills and far away' we cannot say exactly. But we know that young men in the 19th century had a number of motives for joining up including patriotic duty in an age of Empire and for travel and adventure, but also practical reasons like having a regular and reliable income and even to get away from something at home. Mathias was a

labourer at the time he joined up and was still single, he evidently did not have a lot to stay at home for and live the paltry and often unexciting existence of a rural labourer. Men at the time would not necessarily have joined for the glory though and the British Army was often looked upon as 'the last refuge for misfits and rowdy ruffians' (H L Wickes 1974) and Rudyard Kipling summed this view by the wider populace of their fighting soldier in the poem 'Tommy' –

'For it's Tommy this, and Tommy that, an' chuck him



out the brute

But it's 'saviour of 'is country' when the guns begin to shoot'.

Mathias joined the army in London on 17th March 1841 when he was aged 18 years and 1 month. Mathias may in fact have been under seventeen years old as this age would have him being born in February 1823 and eight months before Thomas and Susannah married. Whilst Susannah was probably pregnant with Mathias when she married, we do not believe he was born until May 1824. This is confused though by Mathias' age on discharge in 1862 being quoted as 39 which also suggests at an 1823 birth date. However this is probably based on the incorrect age recorded on his original enlistment record and he was probably actually 37 years old on discharge. Mathias's age of 62 on burial in 1887 suggests at his probable birth in 1824/5, as does his age quoted in the 1871 and 1881 censuses.

Mathias was attached to the 22nd (Cheshire) Foot Regiment as a private. The regiment was nicknamed either the 'old two twos' or 'the red knights'. Their home depot at the time was Chatham in Kent and it is possible that he was sent there to do his training. It did not take too long for Mathias to wait for action and it was to be a long way from home when he did, the 22nd were now located in India. The Cheshires had travelled to India in January 1841 and by February they were based in Bombay, modern Mumbai (see page 29 for the location of the 22nd Foot throughout his period of service). Since the 18th century, largely under the auspices of the East India Company, the British Empire had been expanding its dominions in India. My ancestor Mathias in service with the 22nd Foot was to be involved in a major campaign in this expansion of Empire in a part of modern Pakistan called the Scinde (or Sindh) province.

The 22nd in India

As a result of the first Anglo-Afghan war (1838-1842), in which the British suffered serious reverses, a treaty existed with the tribal leaders in the Scinde which allowed the British to march through the territory, where the natives paid tribute and surrendered a fort at Bukkur. The Scinde occupied a strategically vital position between British India and the threat of Russian-inspired hostilities from either Afghanistan or Persia. With the desire to gain complete control over this area, expand the ever growing Empire and also to regain morale after the recent defeats in Afghanistan Lord Ellenborough, Governor General of India, appointed Sir Charles Napier, a veteran of the Napoleonic wars, as Major General to command the army.

Napier's orders were initially only to put down rebels in the Scinde who had, according to *Our Soldiers, by*

Kingston and Henty -

"... [begun] to plot with our enemies for our overthrow."



The conqueror of the Scinde - Sir Charles Napier in 1849, from Wikipedia

Ellenborough gave him the instruction to (Kingston and Henty) –

"... inflict on the treachery of such an ally or friend so signal a punishment as shall effectively deter others from similar conduct."

But by conquering the whole province Napier greatly exceeded his mandate and he was later supposed to have despatched to his superiors the short, notable message on his victory, "Peccavi", the Latin for "I have sinned" (which was a pun on I have Scinde). This pun appeared in a cartoon in Punch magazine in 1844 beneath a caricature of Charles Napier. Later proponents of British rule over the East Indians justified the conquest thus: "If this was a piece of rascality, it was a noble piece of rascality!"

But Napier was to come to be called 'Shaytan Ka Bhai' – 'Satan's brother', by the many natives of Scinde.

In 1842 Sir Charles Napier was sent to Hyderabad with a new treaty so stringent that the Amirs of Scinde could not possibly accept it. Napier moved his army aggressively from the East India Company's Bombay presidency area and entered the Scinde border. The 22nd Foot were a major element of this army, accompanied by larger numbers of native soldiers,.

In January 1843 Napier with his force that included the 22nd Foot, and Mathias Horler being present as is clear from his army records, attacked Emamghur, a fort situated in the desert, belonging to Meer Mahomed Khan; to prove, as he states in his letter of December 27th, that "neither their deserts, nor their negotiations, can protect them from British troops." Of the destruction of this fort the Imperial Gazeteer says –

"The expedition of Sir Charles Napier against this place at the head of a camel corps of 250 European infantry, with two 24 lb. howitzers, and 50 cavalry, is one of the most remarkable of his exploits. The Amirs, who had deemed it impregnable, on account both of the difficulty and the great strength of its works, were so intimidated when they saw it about to be

attacked, that no defence was made. The British commander left it a heap of ruins. It was in the form of a square, enclosed by an outer and an inner wall, the former only 15 ft. high, the latter 40 ft. high, and surmounted by eight round towers. Some of the chambers were bombproof."

And in a work about Lord Ellingborough's administration of the Scinde –

"... there was a fort in the desert, Emamghur, belonging to Meer Mohamed, who had not given any cause of offence to the British authorities. Owing to its inaccessible position, it does not appear ever to have been captured, and Sir Charles considering it to be the Gibraltar of Upper Sinde... On the 5th January he commenced his march into the desert with fifty horsemen, two 24-pounders, and three hundred and fifty Europeans, mounted on camels, and after traversing the arid waste for four days without seeing the face of an enemy, reached the fort on the 9th of that month. It was abandoned on his approach, and the fortifications were blown up with the powder they contained. The Duke of Wellington pronounced the expedition "one of the most curious military feats he had ever known to be performed." It was unquestionably a gallant exploit, but as there was no declaration of war, and as we had no differences with the chief to whom the fort belonged, it was an act of wanton aggression."

Negotiations ensued between the Talpur Amir in Hyderabad and Napier and an agreement was reached where the Amir gave significant concessions. Napier then started to move his army back towards Bombay and the Amir disbanded the Baluchi army that had been mobilised. However, Napier was firmly determined in conquering Scinde and plundering Hyderabad. In late January 1843 whilst giving the impression of keeping the agreement that had been reached, Napier suddenly turned back towards Hyderabad on the pretext of hostile intentions by the Amir and marched with great speed towards the Baluchi capital.

On 15th February 1843, the British Residency was attacked in retaliation, with its defendants escaping onto Indian Marine vessels lying in the Indus. Napier used this as a cause for war and on 17th February there was fought the Battle of Meanee.

Fighting in the Scinde

The Scinde is a province in modern Pakistan (highlighted to the right). It is worth pointing out that the difference in military technology and tactics between the two opposing sides was enormous. The East India Company's army was led by professionally trained British officers and troops and the Indian Sepoys were also well trained and disciplined. The British were armed with smooth bore percussion or flintlock muskets which were accurate to 100–150 yards and supported by modern artillery. In contrast, the Baluchi army at Meanee comprised mostly cavalry armed with muskets, spears and swords and some old artillery pieces acquired from Persia. The tactic was the favoured Baluchi cavalry charge. However despite the technological gap, contemporary records indicate that the Baluchi army's morale was very high. They were fighting on in



the homeland and were well used to the harsh Scinde climate. Their leader stated that 'we will die but not give up Scinde'. They did die, in their thousands, and eventually had to concede the Scinde to the British Empire for one hundred years.

The Battle of Meanee



"The Battle of Meanee" (1843), a steel engraving by Armitage and Allen, 1855 (from Wikipedia - http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/8/84/BattleMeanee.ipg)

Note the 22nd Foot Regiment soldiers in the foreground wearing a quilted cover over their bell shako style helmets, similar to the French Foreign legion style. Napier and his commanders are shown on the hillcock.

The two forces met at about 9 o'clock on the morning of 17th February. Napier had 2,800 men and the Amirs, according to most estimates, about 36,000. Of the British, 400 were in charge of baggage and 200 were sent to General Outram to set fire to forests on the enemy flank. Of the 2,200 remaining about 400 were European and the rest were Indian soldiers serving under the British flag. Napier drew up all the baggage train and animals in the rear and set up firing positions for the armed camp followers together with the support of 250 members of the Poona Horse and four companies of artillery. On his right he drew up his artillery of 12 guns followed by the 22nd Foot and on his left were the 25th, 12th and 1st native regiments. These were drawn up not in line but in echelon to allow for manoeuvre. On the left flank were the 9th Bengal Cavalry and the Scinde Horse. The Amirs' forces had 18 guns. They had placed their forces in a strong position on the outside of a bend in the river Falaili and a stone wall enclosing a wooded area hid about 6,000 Baluchis who were prepared to rush out through an opening to attack the British flank or rear as they advanced. See the map of the battle on page 7.

Napier moved forward and seeing the opening in the wall on his right, he sent Captain Tew with a company from the 22nd Foot to block it and thus prevent an egress from the Baluchis. The gallant Tew was killed but the force of 80 men held the breach in the wall. The main British force advanced under heavy fire, and then charged up toward the bank of the river Falaili only to discover that there were thousands of enemy troops in the dried up river bed beyond. *Our Soldiers by Kingston and Henty* describes the scene –

"The next moment the 22nd were on top of the bank, thinking to bear all down before them; but even they staggered back at the forest of swords waving in their front. Thick as standing corn, and gorgeous as a field of tulips, were the Beloochees in their many coloured garments and turbans. They filled the broad, deep bed of the now dry [river]; they were clustered on both banks, and covered the plain beyond. Guarding their heads with their dark shields, they shook their sharp swords, gleaming in the sun, and their shouts rolled like a peal of thunder, as, with frantic might and gestures, they dashed against the front of the 22nd. But with shrieks as wild and as fierce, and hearts as big, and arms as strong the British soldiers met them with the bayonet, which they used with terrible effect against their foremost warriors."

The troops were then occupied for about two hours near the brink of the bank. The British went forward to fire into the enemy in the river bed and returned to reload. The Baluchis made several charges and fought with great courage and resolution but they were pushed back. When the British



Amir Hosh Muhammad Sheedi, who fought against the British at Meanee. He was later killed at the Battle of Hyderabad (Dubba). From Wikipedia.

guns blasted holes in their line it was continually replenished from behind. At length Napier ordered the cavalry on his left to advance against the enemy's right. The Bengal and Scinde horsemen under Colonel Pattle charged through the enemy guns, over the bank of the river and behind the main enemy force as the Baluchis turned to witness the threat. The British infantry charged pushing the enemy and there was fierce hand to hand fighting. *Kingston and Henty*—

"A soldier of the 22nd Regiment, bounding forward, drove his bayonet into the breast of a Baluchi; instead of falling the rugged warrior cast away his shield, seized the musket with his left hand, writhed his body forward on the bayonet and with one sweep of his keen blade avenged himself. Both combatants fell dead together. The whole of the front of the battle was indeed a chain of single combats. No quarter was asked for, and none was given. The ferocity was unbounded; the carnage terrible."

Eventually the battle was won and the Baluchis retired fighting as they did so. At this stage of the battle as in so many others, saw some of the worst slaughter of the defeated foe by the victors. The British lost 20 men who were killed and about 250 men were wounded. The Baluchis had about 6,000 killed. The

22nd Foot Regiment, who had fought under Colonel Pennefather, lost just one officer and twenty four private soldiers killed in the battle.

During the course of this battle, Napier, who was by now 60, had a narrow escape. One of the Baluchi chiefs marked him out for attack and approached with sword and shield. Napier had damaged his right hand and shifting his reins to his injured hand he prepared to defend himself with his sword. He was about to engage the enemy when Lieutenant Marston sprang forward to intervene. A fierce fight ensured in the midst of the smoke and dust and just when the Baluchi chief seemed about to deliver a fatal blow, he received a bayonet in his exposed side. Napier was unable to find out which soldier was responsible for saving the situation. *Kingston and Henty* says that —

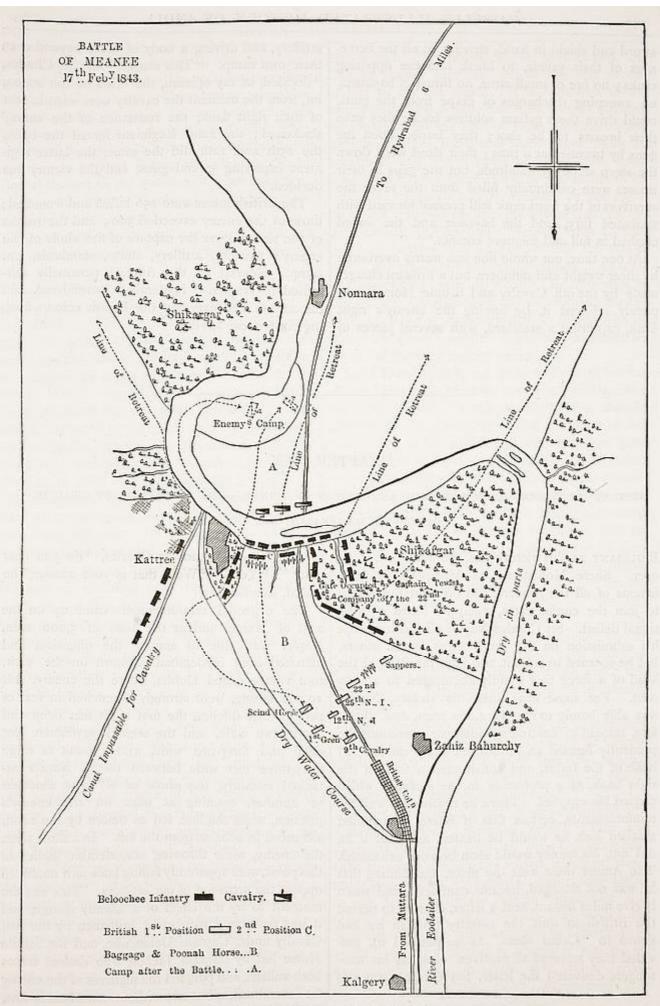
"When the soldiers of the 22nd saw him emerge unharmed from his perilous position they gave vent to their feelings in a loud and hearty cheer, heard above the din of battle."

Below is a reproduction of a story of the battle from a 1950's children's book. This is reproduced under licence from http://www.lookandlearn.com.

A plan of the Battle of Meanee is shown on the page 7, also reproduced under personal licence from http://www.lookandlearn.com.

On page 8 and 10 are contemporary newspapers article about the battle (see sources).





PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF MEANEE.

THE BATTLE OF MEANEE.

A SPLENDID VICTORY.

Thirty-two years have passed since the battle of Coranna, and Charles Napier is now 60 years of age.

There are troubles in Afghanistan, and our

Indian frontier is in serious danger.

Napier is offered a command and eagerly

accepts it.

He arrives in India with just L2 in his pocket, and assumes the command of the

Poonah Division.

We cannot follow in detail the negotiations which took place between Lord Ellenborough, the Governor-general of India, and the Ameers of Scinde, nor can we attempt to explain the political situation. It is far too complicated to be dealt with in a few sentences. Suffice it to say that in the splendid victory of Meanee, Charles Napier became the conqueror of Scinde.

With 1800 men, of whom only 400 were British, he utterly defeated 30,000 of the

enemy.

It was a "fight of heroes."

Led by the Twenty-second, composed almost entirely of Tipperary men, the little

army performed prodigies of valour.

When, after three hours' close fighting, the dark masses of the Beloochees gave way, the Tipperary men greeted the old general with cheers of victory. "The Twentycheers touched his heart. second," he writes in his journal, "gave me three cheers after the fight, and one during it. Her Majesty has no honour to give that can equal that."

In his despatches next morning, for the first time in our military history, the private soldier is personally mentioned for acts of

bravery.

He fears that the authorities at home will not like it; but like it or not he will do

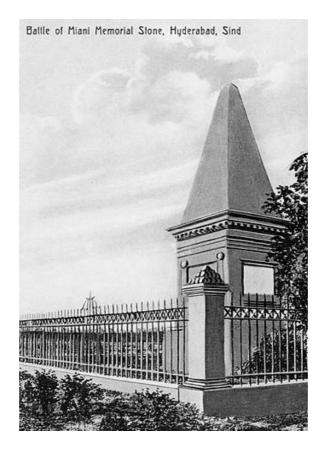
do justice to the "man in the ranks."

In consequence of the victory of Meanee, Napier is immediately appointed Governor of Scinde, with absolute power.-Temple Bar.

It is remarkable to think that my ancestor Mathias was one of these British 'heroes'. Despite the dubious morality of the conquest, even in the eyes of some people at the time of Empire, one cannot doubt the military achievement and the courage and skill of the 22nd Foot Regiment soldiers. For the first time in English despatches the names of private soldiers who had distinguished themselves were made known and according to *Kingston and Henty* –

"The men of the 22nd fought most bravely...".

Clearly though not all were 'Tipperary men' as mentioned in the newspaper above, as Mathias was a Somerset man. But it tells us a lot about the men that Mathias served with at this time and he must have had many Irish comrades in arms and friends. This is understandable as the 22nd Foot had spent many of its preceding years before moving to India, in Ireland when based at either Cork or Dublin.



Above is a print of a memorial stone to soldiers of the British army killed in the conquest of the Scinde, erected by Sir Charles Napier.

account of the Battle of Meanee :

Meanwhile the fight on the edge of the dry channel went on with a sameness of fierceness that makes its recital almost monotonous. In no modern battle that we read of is the actual shock of opposing forces more than a question of a few Here minutes' duration. Meanee it is a matter of hours. For upwards of three hours this red line is fighting that mass of warriors at less than a dozen yards' and often during the distance, long conflict the interval between the combatants is not half as many feet. Over and over again heroic actions are performed in that limited area between the hosts that reads like a page from some dim combat of Homeric legend. The commander of the Twenty-fifth Bombay Sepoys, Teesdale, seeing the press of foemen in front of his men to be more than his line can stand, spurs in the midst of the surging mass, and falls, hewing his enemies to the last. But his spirit seems to have quitted his body only to enter into the three hundred men who had seen him fall, and the wavering lines bear up again. So, too, when the Sepoy regiment next in line has to bear the blunt of the Beloochee charge, the commanding officer, Jackson, rides forward into the advancing enemy and goes down amid a whirl of swordblades, his last stroke clashing through a shield vainly raised to save its owner's life, and beats back the Beloochee surge. McMurdo of the Twentysecond, riding as staff officer to the General, cannot resist the intoxication of such combats. Seeing a chief conspicuous alike by martial bearing and richness of apparel, he rides into the enemies ranks, and engages him in single combat. Before they can meet McMurdo's horse is killed, but the rider is quickly on his feet, and the combat begins. Both are dexterous swordsmen, and each seems to recognise in the other a foemen worthy of his steel; but the Scottish clansmon is stouter of sword than his Beloochee rival, and Jan Mahomet Khan rolls from his saddle to join the throng which momentarily grows denser on the sandy bed.

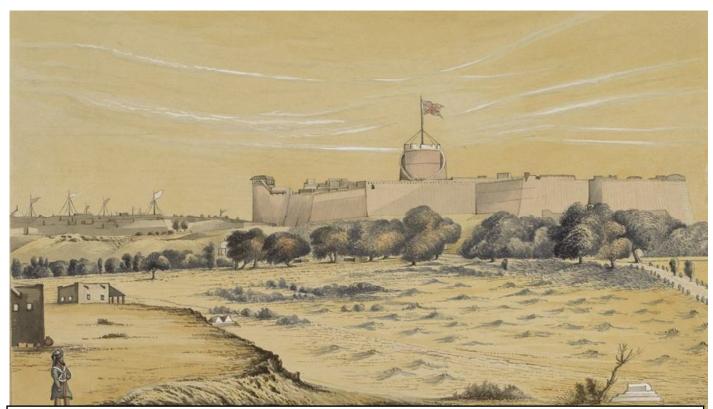
sandy bed.

Once or twice the old General is himself in the press of the fight. He is practically unarmed, because his right hand had been disabled a few days earlier by a blow which he had dealt a camel-driver who was maltreating his camel, and the Scandian's head being about fifty times harder than the General's hand, a dislocated wrist was the result. So intent is he on the larger battle that the men around him are scarcely noticed, and more than once his life is saved by a solder or an officer interposing between him and an enemy intent on slaying the old chief, who seems to him exactly what he is-the guiding spirit of this storm of war. Thus Lieutenant Marison saves his General's life in front of the Twenty fifth Sepoys by springing between a Relocate coldier and Nanier's

charger at the moment the enemy is about to strike. The blow cuts deep into the brass scales on Marston's shoulder, and the Beloochee goes down between the sword of the officer and the bayonet of a private who has run into the meles. Again he gets entangled in the press in front, and is in close peril when a sergeant of the 22nd saves him; and as the old man emerges unscathed from the surf of shield and sword, the whole Twenty second line shouts his name and greets him with a wild Irish cheer of rapture ringing high above the clash of battle. It is at this time that the drummer Delaney, who keeps everywhere on foot beside his general, performs the most conspicuous act of valour done during the day. In the midst of the melee he sees a mounted chief leading on his men. Delaney seizes a musket and bayonet, rushes upon the horse man, and Meer Wullee Mahomet Khan goes down in full sight of both armies, while the victor returns with the rich sword and shield of the Beloochee leader.

There are no revolvers yet, no breech-loading arms, nothing but the sword for the officer, and flint musket and bayonent for the men; and fighting means something more than shoving cartridges in at one end of the tube and blowing them out at the other, twenty to the minute, by the simple action of pulling a finger. "At Meanee," says M'Murdo, "the muskets of the men often ceased to go off, from the pans becoming clogged with powder, and then you would see soldiers, taking advantage of a momentary lull in the onslaught, wiping out the priming pans with a piece of rag, or fixing a new flint in the hammer." Sometimes these manifold inducements to old "brown Bess" to continue work have to be suspended in order to receive on levelled bayonets a wild rush, and then fre-Beloochee quently could be coon the epestasis of men impaled upon the steel still hacking down the enemy they had been able to reach only in death.

The Battle of Hyderabad



A water-colour painting of the Fort at Hyderabad by Henry Francis Ainslie (c.1805-1879), December 1851. Inscribed on the front of the mount in red ink is: 'Sindh. Fort of Hyderabad, capital of Sindh, from the Belloochee lines. The tower contained the treasures of the Ameers of Sindh. Decr 1851. HFA.' Source - http://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?t=1162195



The Baluchi's were not yet totally defeated following Meanee although the Amirs who led that army had presented themselves, surrendered their swords and delivered up the fort of Hyderabad. But Amir Shir Mohammed, called the Lion, gathered an immense new army under his command. Napier now facing intense heat had to garrison Hyderabad (now in modern Pakistan, see left) with 500 men. Napier called for reinforcements along the Indus from Sakhar and these included regiments of Bengal Cavalry, native infantry and horse artillery. Major Stack with a brigade of 1500 and five guns moved south to join Napier on 22nd March 1843. Napier made a fortification near the Indus and secured the defence of his river steamers.

On 23rd March the reinforcements from Sakhar and Bombay arrived. Shir Muhammed called on Napier to surrender but on the 24th Napier answered with an attack on Dubba, 8 miles from Hyderabad, where the Amir had 26,000 men and 15 guns with their right defended by a river and a line of infantry stretching two miles to a wood. The cavalry was on the left away from the river. Napier had 5000 men, of which 1100 were cavalry. He had a total of 19 guns with five from the horse artillery.

The Battle of Hyderabad (otherwise known as Dubba) began at nine o'clock on 24th March. Napier attacked along the line of the river with the horse artillery supported by two regiments of cavalry. Leslie's cavalry troop moved diagonally across the battlefield in front of the infantry, halting, firing and re-mounting until they reached a position where they could engage the entire left flank of the enemy. The sustained fire weakened the enemy and allowed the cavalry on the right flank to

charge them. The infantry line was made up of the 22nd Foot and four native regiments and they made a frontal attack on the enemy position. *Kingston and Henty* –

"The gallant 22nd was again first in action and as they advanced under a terrific fire from the gun on the hillock and from matchlock-men, with whom were some of the bravest chiefs posted in the first nullah, nearly half the light company were struck down."

As the British infantry moved forward they discovered a second entrenched line of enemy and this led to hard fighting. The cavalry moved around to the right flank to cut of an enemy retreat. Leslie's Troop, their artillery duties done, crossed the river under heavy enemy fire and charged with the cavalry. After the battle Leslie noted that 'we descended down a steep bank and one of my trumpeters had gone ahead up the far bank and seized a banner amidst a hail of bullets. Waving the banner he shouted "this way to honour, this way" and led the Troop in support of the infantry'.

"Onward the brave 22nd fought its bloody way amid the dense masses of the enemy, ably supported by the 25th Native Infantry, and now the British line began to overlap the village of Dubba, while Stack's cavalry were completely victorious on the right and Leslie's horse artillery ... committed fearful havoc among the dense masses of the Beloochee army." *Kingston and Henty*

The enemy were routed and fled, but the Shir escaped.

Napier lost 270 men (the 22nd Foot Regiment lost twenty three private soldiers in the battle, there is a memorial to them and their colleagues killed at Meanee in Chester Cathedral) and 5,000 of the enemy were killed. Napier himself had a narrow escape when an enemy magazine blew up killing

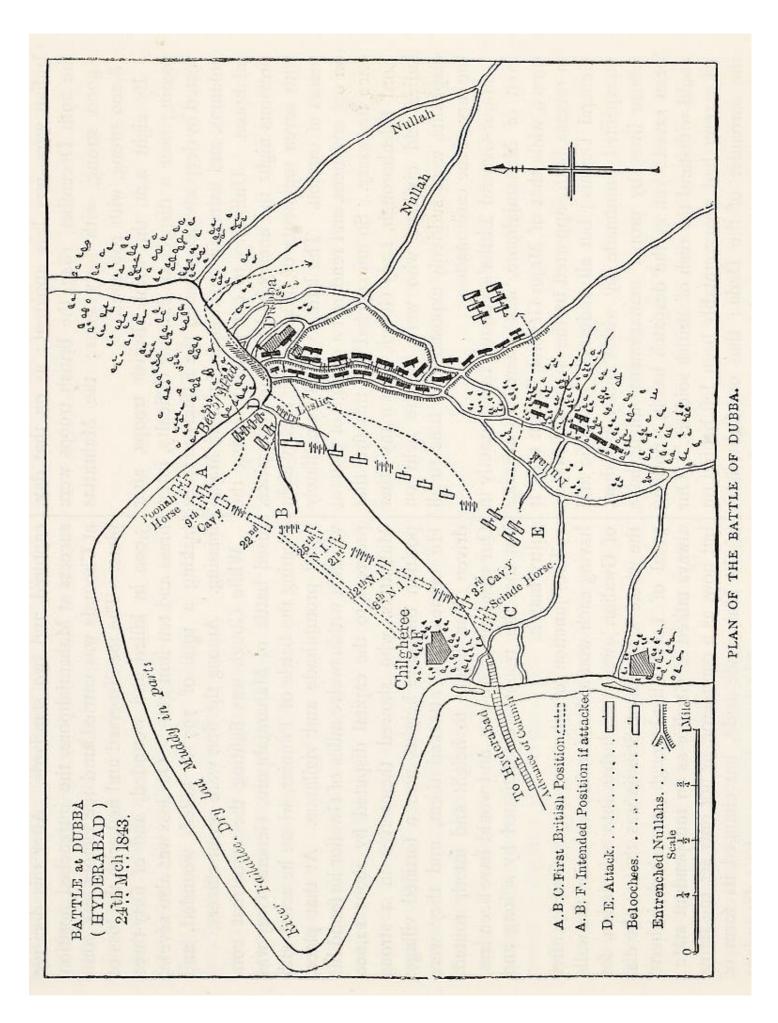
My ancestor Mathias' medal for Meanee and Hyderabad, this medal now resides in Australia with a branch of the family who also probably have his sword. The medal reads 'Meannee / Hyderabad / 1843'.

several people around him.

General Napier later wrote that 'the battle was decided by the Troop of Horse Artillery and the 22nd Foot Regiment'.

Napier set off to Mirpu in pursuit of Shir Muhammed only to find that he had fled to Omerkot. On 4th April the Scinde horse and camel battery reached Omerkot, but their quarry had fled. On 14th June Major John Jacob caught up with Shir Muhammed again and defeated him, forcing his escape across the Indus.

A plan of the battle is shown on the next page, reproduced under personal licence from http://www.lookandlearn.com.



Thus, Scinde was annexed to British India. After Hyderabad although Baluchi bandits continued to raid for the next few years, constant and harsh police actions by the British (such as the Cutchi Hills expedition of 1847) kept matters under control.

The battle honours of Meanee and Hyderbad are shared with some Indian Regiments, but the honour for the conquest of the Scinde is borne by the 22nd Cheshire Regiment alone. The conquest was a controversial move at the time as some had believed that a negotiated settlement might be possible in which Britain controlled the area through its local rulers rather than by defeating them. In January 1844 a Captain William Eastwick gave the following opinion at a court hearing at India House –

"It is my decided opinion that the annexation of Sinde to our already over-grown Eastern Empire, is a great error, politically and financially. By the treaty of 1839, we gained every object we could desire.... In a military point of view, probably few achievements in India have been more brilliant; looking at it morally, a more disgraceful act never stained the history of our country. From the first step to the final scene, the same reckless injustice predominates. No distinction is made between the Ameers who were alleged to be guilty, and those who were known to be innocent. Meer Sobdar, whose whole career has been one of scrupulous fidelity, to whom Lord Ellenborough, in the very last treaty, had assigned territory as a reward for his good conduct, shares the hard fate of Meer Nusseer and Meer Roostum; is dethroned, exiled, and imprisoned. It must not be forgotten that each chief was perfectly independent of all the others, responsible for his own acts, and guaranteed in his possessions and rights by a separate treaty."

Sir Henry Pottinger wrote of his disproval of Lord Ellingborough and Napier's actions in the Morning Chronic in January 1844 and said –

"I lamented over the fallen state of my old friends the Ameers, of whose case I have all along said, and ever shall say, under all circumstances, and in all society and places where I may hear it alluded to, it is the most unprincipled and disgraceful that has ever stamped the annals of our empire in India. No explanation or reasoning can, in my opinion, remove the foul stain it has left on our faith and honour; and as I know more than any other man living of previous events and measures connected with that devoted country, I feel that I have a full right to exercise my judgment, and express my sentiments on the subject. You cannot use too strong language in expressing my disgust and sorrow."

However some chose to justify the conquest as defeating a 'tyrannical' enemy thus, *Kingston and Henty -*

"The country [of Scinde] was ruled over by a number of chiefs of princes called Ameers. They were a lawless and rapacious set, and tyrannised over their subjects with the most barbarous cruelty."

To cast another positive aspect on what Sir Charles Napier and others viewed to be a 'civilising' influence of empire; when Hindu priests protested about the prohibition of the practice of 'Sati', the burning of widows alive on the funeral pyres of their husbands, he said –

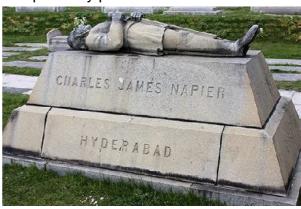
"Be it so. This burning of widows is your custom; prepare the funeral pile. But my nation has also a custom. When men burn women alive we hang them, and confiscate all their property. My carpenters shall therefore erect gibbets on which to hang all concerned when the widow is consumed. Let us all act according to national customs."

Despite this I think that with modern eyes and morality such a conquest is difficult to justify and excuse with a military conquest being used to impose cultural norms on others. But in fact at the time this conquest had little to do with the spread of 'Britishness' (or future international test match

cricket come to that!) as a concept, although some later chose to use the fact of a growing Empire to apparently good causes, but more to do with the spread of power and control for the benefit of Britain and is arguably a form of exploitation. But this debate is for another place and can't be comprehensively covered here with any justice. All that really needs to be said about my ancestor Mathias and his comrades for this essay is that they did their duty and did it with tremendous bravery and gallantry. They were serving soldiers acting according to the cultural morals and the expectations of the age in which they lived. Whether they fully understood the arguments for and against conquest is a moot point though and Mathias and his comrades possibly agreed with that much used expression 'ours is not to reason why, ours is just to do and die'. But they would also no doubt have felt an enormous pride in the spread of Empire and the growth in the power and glory of Great Britain which they had contributed to.

Sir Charles Napier became governor of Scinde and was able to exercise an interest and skill in administration that he had shown previously in Greece. He received the submission of local chiefs and set about organising a police force, courts and civil administration. He promoted the idea of developing Karachi as a major port. One of the novel features that Napier introduced into his despatches was the mention of private soldiers for acts of gallantry. His interest in the welfare of his men, both British and native regiments, made him popular with the troops. On 24th May 1844 he organised a 'durbar' at Hyderabad, attended by 3,000 Scindian Baluchi chiefs and 20,000 men to celebrate Queen Victoria's birthday. Mathias Horler was most probably present.

Napier was made a G.C.B. (an Order of the Bath), and on 21st November 1843 he was given the colonelcy of the 22nd Foot Regiment. His military achievements at what became known as the battles of Meanee and Hyderabad, his gift for civil administration and his writing were all highly commended by the Duke of Wellington and by Robert Peel, the Prime Minister. Napier returned to England in 1851 and died two years later with the colours of the 22nd Foot Regiment hanging above his bed.



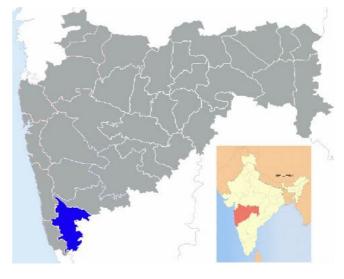
Southern Mahratta



Not the 22nd, but the 62nd (Wiltshire Regiment) at the Battle of Ferozeshah in the Punjab in 1845 by Henry Martens. From Wikipedia, public domain.

In July 1844 a revolt occurred in the Kolhapur District in southern Mahratta (now called Maharashtra, shown in the picture on the right from *Wikipedia*). The revolt centred on the strong forts of Bhoordurgurh, Samungurh and Panhala and Mathias and the 22nd Foot served under General Delamotte in the campaign to suppress the uprisings.

"On 11th October four battering guns reached Samungurh, and were placed in position, and by the evening of the next day a practicable breach was effected. When the guns arrived, Mr. Eeeves, the commissioner, allowed the garrison the opportunity of a parley to state



their grievances; but he soon found that the Gurhkurees only desired to gain time, in expectation of support from Kolapoor, where, in the interim, the Sebundees had risen in open revolt, and seized and confined the minister Dajee Pundit; and where, in fact, their leader, Babajee Thirakar, had assumed the government. Affairs were, therefore, allowed to take their course, and shortly before daylight on the morning of the 13th, the place was stormed and carried with little opposition. Later in October General Delamotte appeared before Bhoordurgurh, with every means of speedily capturing the place, he admitted the garrison to a surrender; and actually allowed himself, on the evening of the 10th, to be detained for several hours at one gate, while Babajee Thirakar with his party escaped from another. Thus was the flame spread, rather than extinguished; for Babajee immediately

moved to the still stronger fortress of Panalla [Panhala], where the Kolapoorians imagined that, as in olden time, a long, if not permanent, stand could be made against all comers."



Panhala fort walls, from Wikipedia by P Ankur

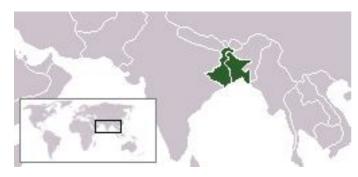
On the 25th November, General Delamotte appeared before Panhala, where a Colonel Ovans, British Resident at the Court of Satara, was imprisoned by the rebels.

"All their overtures were, however, disregarded; they were desired to release their prisoner and surrender at discretion, or stand the consequences. They did release him, hoping thereby to obtain terms of surrender, but they soon discovered their error. On the 27th the Pettah was captured; and on the morning of the 1st December the batteries opened. The same afternoon the breach, being reported practicable, was stormed and carried in gallant style. Some of the garrison endeavoured to escape into the

adjoining fort of Pawungurh, but were so closely followed by the British troops, that this second fortress fell into British hands the same day. Babajee Thirakar and some other ringleaders fell in the storm, and many prisoners were captured by the parties of troops judiciously placed in the plain around."

After Delamotte captured Panhala a British garrison was always left at the fort until independence in 1947.

Mathias's service record shows that he was present at the taking of these forts.



After this Mahratta campaign in 1844 there is then no specific record as to what actions Mathias was

engaged in until 1853. The Regiment was based at Bombay until 1850 and then moved to Bengal till the middle of 1853 (pictured above, from *Wikipedia*). Then in late 1853 the Regiment was back in the west and based at Peshawar.



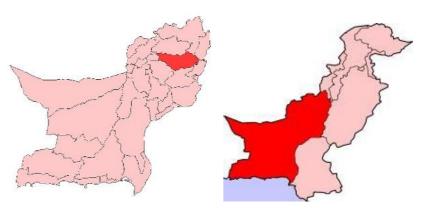
It is worth noting at this point that this essay obviously deals with the major events of Mathias' service with the 22nd Foot. However what is not recorded in much detail is the daily events of Mathias' existence in the army particularly in his years in India. But it was the day to day life that formed the majority of Mathias' experiences and from stories of other soldiers in British armies stationed in the Empire in the 19th century it appears that a lot of time was filled with boredom. There were the duties of a military camp to fulfil with guard duty and drill and even some training. But a lot of time to spare and there are numbers of accounts of soldiers turning to drink to fill the day. They would do their daily tasks and after that and rather than just lay around in camp doing little they would frequent local hostelries until they were ready for sleep. Then the next day was filled with the same routine of duty and boredom with possible drinking. Whether Mathias would have found other activities to engage in rather than drink one cannot tell. Some soldiers may have

taken up exercise or other pastimes or hobbies. Some may have learnt a trade or skill if there was support and facilities to do it. Some also took to personal improvement through reading and many turned to active religious pursuits. If he did drink Mathias was never subject to court martial although was mentioned in the regimental defaulters book twelve times. Not bad for over 21 years service.

The Bori Valley Expedition

The book <u>'Campaigns on the North</u> <u>West Frontier, 1912 by Captain H Nevill'</u> describes the Afridis tribe as -

'... the most powerful of the frontier tribes. The members of it are endowed with many martial qualities, but are rapacious, untrustworthy and lawless by nature. They are constantly at feud with one another, but are



always ready to unite in defence of their independence. Their territory is bounded on the north by the Khaibar [Khyber] Pass, on the east by the Peshawar district, on the south by the Mastura Valley and on the west by the Safed Koh Mountains and Afghanistan..."

Nevill describes an expedition against this tribe on 29th November 1853 and according to his later discharge papers Mathias Horler was present in this expedition with the 22nd Regiment. The campaign was necessary because a peace reached in 1850 was broken and the Afridis continued to encroach on the Peshawar and Kohat. Numerous murders and raids, the plunder of boats on the Indus, and the murder of a European apothecary, were all traced to this tribe.

A force under Colonel S.B Boileau assembled near Fort Mackeson for operations in the Bori (now known as Loralai in Pakistan, the district shown in deep red in the maps above from *Wikipedia*) Valley, the source of the raids by the Afridis –

23rd Peschawar Mountain Battery
2 x 9-pounder guns, elephant transport
22nd Foot (Cheshire) Regiment *
7th Irregular Cavalry (5th Cavalry), 1 x squadron
Bengal Corps of Guides
Bengal Sappers and Miners
20th Native Infantry
66th Gurkhas (1st Battalion 1st Gurkhas)

* having just been moved from Rawalpindi to Peshawar as a precaution after the assassination of Colonel Mackeson, British Commissioner.



A 9 pounder field gun, photo from Wikipedia by Mr Kjetil Ree.

Nevill describes the progress of the British forces -

"The Bori Valley is about twelve miles long, running roughly east and west, and is closed at each end by a somewhat formidable defile. Two points were discovered, however, in the northern watershed where troops could cross-one near a village called Kandao, and the other about a mile farther to the east at Sargasha Pass. The latter was the easier route of the two, so it was arranged that the main body should cross there whilst a detachment ascended by the Kandao route to turn the flank of any opposition that might be offered at the Sargasha Pass. The Pass was found to be 'steep, winding, and long, and, though quite practicable for horses and any beasts of burden, it only admitted troops ascending in single file'.

Colonol Boileau had intended that the 9-pounder guns should be left under escort at the foot of the Pass on account of the difficulties of the road and the possibility of the absence of any occasion for

their employment; but owing to some mistake the guns, transported by their elephants, had alreadt started before orders to remain at the bottom of the hill reached the officer in command. As the guns moved off in front of the sappers and miners, who were equipped with mule transport, the latter were so delayed in getting past when the order for the guns to return was received that they were unable to come up in time to demolish the Bori towers and the infantry had to content themselves with setting fire to houses in the villages on the south side of the Pass. There was some sharp fighting during the process of crossing the heights, and reinforcements had to be sent more than once to one point in particular.

When the work of destruction had been carried out, it was decided to withdraw from the valley by the eastern defile instead of taking the Sargasha Pass again. The enemy harassed the retirement, but the protection of the rear and flanks was efficiently carried out by a happy combination of all three arms, and no difficulty was experienced at the defile, although a large number of Afridis were in the vicinity; these preserved a strictly neutral attitude, and even warned the Bori Afridis not to proceed beyond the limits of their own territory. The troops returned to camp, after a long and arduous day, between 8 and 11 p.m., the latter hour being the time at which the last detachments got in. Disheartened for the time being by the destruction of the Bori villages, the Afridis, after prolonged haggling, made an unconditional surrender on February 24, 1854."

The Bori Valley expedition lasted eighteen hours under arms and the British forces lost eight men killed and twent nine wounded.

Mathias would probably have been issued with the India General Service Medal (approved in 1854 for service in engagements between 1852 and 1895, pictured right from *Wikipedia*) for his active service in the Bori Valley however there is no evidence that he

held this in his discharge papers unlike the medal for Meanee and Hyderabad. His medal, if he got one, would have had the 'North West Frontier' clasp.

On 11th June 1854 Mathias was promoted to the rank of Corporal in the 22nd Regiment, no doubt in recognition of his service on behalf of his Regiment and his home country whilst in India.

In August 1854 two companies of the 22nd Foot were involved in an expedition against a tribe called the Mohmands in the Peshawar district. But Mathias' service record does not say that he was present on this occasion

and therefore not a member of these two companies of the Regiment used.



Back Home

In July 1855 the Cheshires returned from India and were back in England. It appears that they disembarked into barracks in Devonport in Plymouth. Mathias was living at the Ligonier Square Barracks (formerly known as Granby Barracks) in October 1855. These barracks had been constructed in 1757 at the time of the Seven Years War and were still in use for troops in the mid 19th century although they were soon replaced by the Raglan Barracks.

It did not take Mathias very long before he struck up a romance with a local girl. Having been away from home for 12 years and being 31 years old he had plenty of time to make up for! She must have been swept off her feet by this soldier newly arrived back home from such brave exploits abroad. On 7th October 1855, at the Devon registry office at Stoke Damerel in Plymouth, he married Emma Patience Tremeer who was aged 19. Emma was the daughter of Joseph Tremeer, a carpenter living at 17 Barrack Street and who was originally from nearby Saltash.

Between 1855 and 1859 Mathias, and probably with his new young wife, moved around England, see page 29 for details. During this time they met with personal tragedy and they lost their first two children Susan and Mathias. Both were baptised July 1857 and died in July and October that year.

In May 1857 the Indian Mutiny ignited and the 22nd Foot were made ready to travel back to India. However because the Regiment had served there previously they were only going to be ordered back after eleven other Regiments had left. The 22nd never did locate to India again and this must have been a result of those expeditionary forces not needing further reinforcement.

In early 1858 the Cheshires were split into two battalions and Mathias was allocated to the 2nd.

On 27th February 1858 Mathias' younger brother, George Boddy Horler, also joined the army and whilst when attested he was with the 13th Foot Regiment he was transferred to the 22nd Foot alongside his brother Mathias and in the same battalion on 1st May 1858. George was 19 years old, not much older than when Mathias when

he first joined up 17 years before. George was to serve for two periods and was finally discharged in 1878 having served with the 22nd Foot in Malta, Gibraltar, Mauritius and the East Indies

Mauritius and the East Indies.

On 10th March 1858 Mathias was promoted to Sergeant and could wear three stripes on his redcoat uniform like those pictured on the right.



Last Posting

The 2nd Battalion of the 22nd Foot moved to the small Mediterranean island of Malta in May 1859. The 1st Battalion followed in May 1860. Malta had been part of the British Empire since 1814 and was used as a shipping way-station and fleet headquarters. Malta's position half-way between the Strait of Gibraltar and the Suez Canal proved to be its main asset and it was considered an important stop on the way to India. It was an important trade route for the British and the Maltese benefitted as a result. Understandably this important island would be garrisoned, with the main fort where the 22nd were based being in the town of Valetta, but it would have been a very quiet posting considering the activity in conquest and policing new territory in British India.

In Malta Mathias and Emma's family fortunes were at first no better than in the UK and they lost their third child Maria Jane. She had been baptised in February 1860 whilst on the island and she was buried there in June 1861. However their fourth child Matilda Adelaide Horler was baptised in Malta in January 1861 and she survived to adulthood living till 1923 and marrying a Henry Litman in Bristol.

On 17th April 1862, whilst still in Malta, Mathias was discharged from the army having served for 21 years and 45 days with the 22nd Foot Regiment. He had spent just under 15 years abroad with 12 years in India and just under 3 years in Malta. His character was recorded as being 'good' and he was in possession of a badge for good conduct. He had twelve mentions in the regimental defaulters book but was never tried by court martial. He was aged 39 years old when discharged and was noted as being '5' 2" tall, fresh complexion, eyes grey, hair brown and no scars." His intended residence was Plymouth and he was to return to being a labourer. Mathias' brother George was to spend another 2 ½ years in Malta.

Pictured below is Mathias' pocket watch that he received as a leaving gift from his fellow Sergeants in the 22nd in 1862. It reads "Presented to Sergeant Mathias Horler, by the Sergeants of the 2nd Battalion 22nd Regiment, as a token of respect and esteem." It is now in the possession of relatives in the USA.



Civilian life back home

In 1862 Mathias and Emma moved from Plymouth to his home of Mells in Somerset. Between 1863 and 1876 they had a further six children, three boys and three girls all of which survived to adulthood.

My great grandfather Mathias Tremeer Horler was baptised at Mells on 11th January 1872. Mathias was working as a carter in 1872.

In the census returns Mathias is recorded as follows -

1871

Coalpit Lane, Mells, Somerset
Mathias Horler, 46, pensioner and labourer, born Mells
Emma, wife, 36, born Plymouth
Matilda, daughter, 10, scholar, born Malta
Francia, daughter, 7, scholar, born Mells
Luisea, daughter, 5, scholar, born Mells
Thomas, son, 3, scholar, born Mells
Alice, daughter, 1, scholar, born Mells

1881

Duckery Lodge, Mells, Somerset
Mathias Horler, 56, Head, pensioner (Sergeant 22nd Regt)
Emma, 45, wife
Annie, 15, nurse maid
Thomas, 13, farm labourer
Alice, 11, scholar
Matthias, 9, scholar
Frederic, 4, scholar

Duckery Lodge is near the entrance to the Mells estate where his grandfather had been a gardener on the Horner estate –

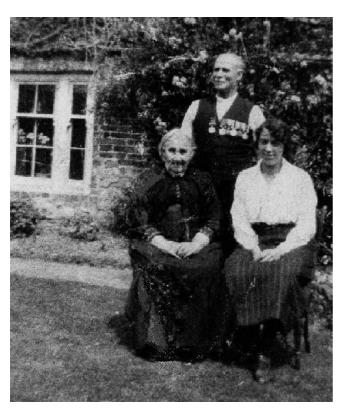


Mathias died in July 1887 aged 62. His death certificate shows that he was living at 14 Odd Down Cottages in Bath at the time.

Mathias's widow Emma is then shown in the 1901 census – 18 Odd Down Buildings, Bath, Somerset Emma Horler, head, widow, 65, no occupation, born Plymouth, Devon

And 1911 -

11 Odd Down Cottages, Bath, Somerset Emma **Horler**, head, 75, widow, pensioner, born Plymouth Devon Ernest Boddy, boarder, 27, basket weaver, born Bath Notes - signed by Emma Horler, 4 rooms.



To the left is a picture of my great x 2 grandmother Emma Horler (nee Tremeer) with her son Thomas Horler standing behind her. The photo must have been taken in about 1930.

Emma died in October 1933, having outlived her husband Mathias by some 46 years. Quite some gap even considering the fact that Emma was 11 years younger than Mathias. Emma was aged 92.

Both Mathias and Emma were buried at the graveyard Lower Bristol Road in Bath and their grave is listed as –

Grave space E 6 21 - reg number 8310 age 62 Matthias Horler 11th July 1887
Grave space E 6 21 - reg number 20288 age 97 Emma Horler 5th November 1933

Mathias' sons in Military Service

All three of Mathias' sons followed him into the armed services and they all served in World War One as shown by this article from the *Bath Chronicle* about patriotic local men –



Thomas Horler

My great uncle Thomas served in the 1st and 2nd Somerset Light Infantry for 24 ½ years. He became a Sergeant Major. He enlisted in the army at the start of the war and was at one time serving at the headquarters of the British Expeditionary Force in France.

Frederick Horler

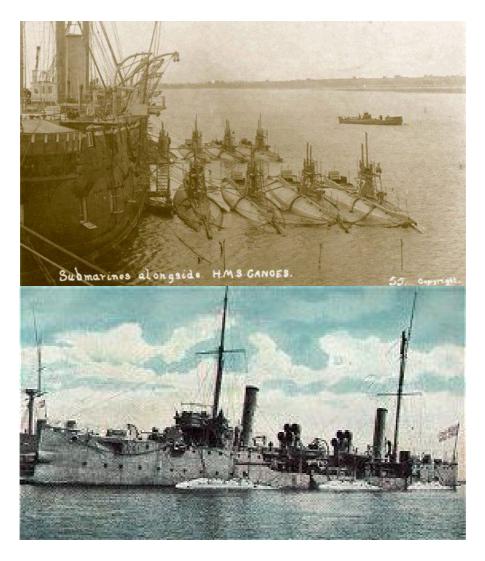
Great uncle Frederick was a Lance Corporal and served with the Military Mounted Police and also served with the 2nd Somerset Light Infantry seeing action in South Africa and in India, like his father had. He also re-enlisted at the start of the war.

Mathias Tremeer Horler

My great grandfather enlisted for a term of service of 12 years at Bath with the Royal Marine Light Infantry on 17th September 1889 declaring he was aged 19 years and 4 months when in fact he was just 17. At the time he was already with the militia and the 4th Battalion Somerset Light Infantry. Mathias was then stationed –

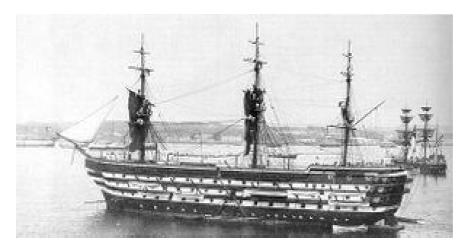
- Sept 1889 Bristol
- 7th May 1890 Plymouth HMS Cambridge, Devonport Gunnery School
- 1st May 1893 HMS Vivid, Naval Barracks
- 10th July 1896 HMS Hazard (picture 2 below), Submarine Supply Vessel
- 4th November 1896 HMS Ganges (picture 1 below), training and supply vessel

Mathias was a ranked a private throughout his first period of service which was cut short after just under 10 years rather than the 12 years he had enlisted for. He was discharged for medical reasons on 14th August 1899.



Between discharge and World War One Mathias worked as a caretaker at the Bath Union Workhouse where he met his future wife Minnie Jane Say who was working as a 'labour mistress'. Mathias then became a grocer at Croscombe in Somerset.

In 1914 when the war broke out Mathias was called up. He was aged 42 and was initially attached to the Royal Marine Light Infantry again. On 5th August 1914 he was on HMS Impregnable, a training ship, pictured below.



Later he was attached to a Canadian Naval Brigade and I think that whilst attached to them that he was involved in an incident for which he could have faced court martial but instead was given an award. The story is that whilst being charged by the enemy in France that Mathias was on a field gun but when ordered to retreat by an army officer he refused and said that as

he was in the navy he would not take orders from him. Instead Mathias continued to fire the gun, allegedly allowing others to escape before eventually destroying the gun and making it back to friendly lines. For this act Mathias was mentioned in despatches by Field Marshall Sir Douglas Haig and the certificate of 'gallant and distinguished service' below was signed by Secretary of State for War, Winston Churchill –



Mathias is in this picture of naval compatriots in the war back row second from the right -



Mathias was discharged at the end of the war and returned to live in Croscombe where in the Second World War he was to serve as an officer with the local Home Guard and he is pictured below in his uniform -



One amusing story of Mathias in the Second World War is that he is said to have announced that if the bombing got much worse he was going to hide in a hut at the top of a hill and away from immediate. Later that very same hut ended up getting hit by a stray German bomb and was destroyed. Luckily Mathias was not in it at the time!

Mathias Tremeer Horler died in 1953 whilst living with relatives in Frome.

Two of Mathias Tremeer Horler's sons went into active military service -

- Robert Horler with the Royal Marines, 1921 to 1945.
 George Horler with the 2nd Battalion Somerset Light infantry, 1922 to 1929, then reserve till 1934.

Some other descendents of Mathias Horler of the 22nd Foot saw military service including –

- Barbara Hall (nee Horler), my aunt Royal Navy (as a 'Wren').
- Teresa Trowbridge (nee Annetts), second cousin Royal Marines.

Location of the 22nd Foot (Cheshire) Regiment

Where the 22nd Foot were located during Mathias Horler's service, from source - http://carl.army.mil/nafziger

February 1841 Bombay October 1841 Bombay January 1842 Bombay February 1842 Bombay September 1842 Peshawar January 1843 Bombay March 1843 Bombay December 1843 Bombay March 1844 Bombay November 1845 Bombay January 1846 Bombay February 1846 Bombay **April 1847** Bombay July 1848 Bombay October 1848 Bombay February 1849 Bombay **April 1850** Bengal March 1851 Bombay **April 1852** Bengal June 1852 Bengal Bengal August 1852 **April 1853** Bengal **April 1854** Peshawar September 1854 Peshawar January 1855 Peshawar March 1855 Peshawar June 1855 Peshawar

August 1855 Peshawar (Plymouth ?) **

November 1855 Windsor
May 1856 Portsmouth
July 1856 Portsmouth
May 1857 Aldershot

August 1857 listed to embark for India ***

September 1857 Aldershot December 1857 Sheffield

July 1858 Sheffield (1st Btn)

Preston (2nd Btn) *

January 1859 Manchester (1st Btn)

Preston (2nd Btn) *
Manchester (1st Btn)

April 1859 Manchester (1st Btn) Aldershot (2nd Btn) *

Dublin (1st Btn)

Malta (2nd Btn) *
December 1859 Dublin (1st Btn)

September 1859

Malta (2nd Btn) *

March 1860 Dublin (1st Btn)

Malta (2nd Btn) *

June 1860 Malta (1st Btn)

Malta (2nd Btn) *

^{* -} after **** Mathias was attached to the 2nd Battalion of the Regiment.
** - I don't think this is accurate as othert records state that the 22nd Foot returned from the East indies in July 1855. They probably disembarked at Plymouth.

^{*** -} says that the 22nd Foot Regiment were to be sent back to India having already served there following 11 Regiments who had not, however they did not eventually return and instead remained in the UK, were split into two battalions and then went to Malta.

Sources

Wikipedia - http://en.wikipedia.org

Biography of Sir Charles Napier (pictures of Napier's tomb and Meanee / Hyderabad memorial) - http://www.thornber.net/england/htmlfiles/napier.html

Mathias Horler's army record – Public Records Office, Kew, courtesy of second cousin, Tim Couzens

Pictures of Battle of Meanee and of Hyderabad - http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00routesdata/1700 1799/companyrule/sindvictory.html

Cheshire Military Museum - http://www.cheshiremilitarymuseum.co.uk

Papers past (New Zealand national library) for Meanee reports - http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz

Article by Salman Rashid on the Scinde battles - http://logicisvariable.blogspot.com/2011 05 01 archive.html

Look and Learn (for scrapbook story of Meanee and plans of battle) - http://www.lookandlearn.com

Family tree from Mathias Horler to my grandfather

