



**THE LIFE AND CAMPAIGNS OF
HUGH FIRST VISCOUNT GOUGH
FIELD-MARSHAL**

HE HAS HIMSELF AFFORDED THE BRIGHTEST EXAMPLE
OF THE HIGHEST QUALITIES OF THE BRITISH SOLDIER IN
THE ATTAINMENT OF THE GLORIOUS SUCCESSES WHICH
HAVE ATTENDED THE BRITISH ARMY UNDER HIS COMMAND.'

The Duke of Wellington.



HUGH, FIRST VISCOUNT GOUGH

**THE LIFE AND CAMPAIGNS OF
HUGH FIRST VISCOUNT GOUGH
FIELD-MARSHAL**

BY

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WITH MAPS AND OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS

IN TWO VOLUMES

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PREFACE

MORE than thirty years have elapsed since the death of Field-Marshal Viscount Gough, and more than fifty since he commanded, for the last time, an army in the field. His services to his country, rendered in the Peninsula, in China, and in India, give him a claim to remembrance among the distinguished soldiers who have added large tracts of country to the dominions of the British Crown, and, but for one important consideration, a Life of Lord Gough would have been published long ere now. The delay has been due to the fact that the years of Lord Gough's Indian command were marked by a series of controversies with other eminent representatives of the British power in India, and more especially (as is almost invariable in the case of a Commander-in-Chief) with successive Governors-General. Viscount Gough himself decided that it was inadvisable, in his own lifetime, to reveal the differences of opinion that existed between the military and the civil authorities, and he preferred to permit his whole military policy to be misunderstood by the press and the public rather than to defend himself by embarking upon an embittered personal controversy. This attitude was maintained by his family after his

death, and statements which are demonstrably unfair to Lord Gough have passed unquestioned, in numberless works relating to India, or to military history. After these many years, the time seemed to have arrived when the discussion might be reopened, without any indiscretion, and the present work is an attempt to present at once a record of Lord Gough's career, and a vindication of his military policy from the charges which are most frequently brought against it.

The fact that these charges, originally unsubstantiated and never proved, have been permitted to remain so long unchallenged, explains the distinctly controversial character of this book. When, in the summer of 1901, the present Viscount Gough placed at my disposal the whole of the voluminous correspondence of his Grandfather, my first intention was to prepare a simple statement of fact, without reference to definite accusations against Lord Gough's generalship made by particular individuals. This scheme soon proved impossible to carry out, partly because of the difficulty involved in establishing the truth of any controverted statement without reference to the contrary view expressed elsewhere, and partly because any unwillingness to meet, freely and fully, the charges of those who have subjected Lord Gough's reputation to the severest censure, might seem to amount to an acceptance of the adverse verdict

upon his career. It became, therefore, necessary to refer to a number of works on Indian or military history, and it was equally necessary to deal frankly with the disagreements between Lord Gough, Lord Hardinge, and Lord Dalhousie, and to place the reader in a position to form a clear judgement on the subject. Contradictions on points of detail have, as a rule, been relegated to footnotes, and every effort has been made to avoid attaching undue importance to side issues; but it must be admitted that the book is, throughout the section dealing with India, a contribution to a military controversy. It is only right that I should add, in this connexion, that, while the Viscount Gough has afforded me every facility in the preparation of this work, neither he nor any other member of his family has in any way interfered with my freedom of action, or influenced the shape which the work has taken. The responsibility for every statement made and every view expressed in these pages rests solely with myself, and if I have written a defence of the General whose life I have attempted to tell, it is because my materials made such a defence the only possible form that a biography of Lord Gough could take.

The nature of my subject, connected with so many different periods and countries, has led me to crave help in many quarters, and it is a pleasant

duty to acknowledge much indebtedness of various kinds. I have to thank the Viscount Gough and numerous members of the Gough family for entrusting to my care many valuable records, and for rendering me ever willing aid. I am especially indebted to MS. collections left by the late Colonel the Hon. G. H. Gough, who had devoted much attention to the subject. My debt to him relates more particularly to the period of the Peninsular War. By the courtesy of the representatives of the late Marquis of Dalhousie I have been permitted to quote from his correspondence, and I have received help from Sir William Lee Warner, whose forthcoming biography of Lord Dalhousie will throw additional light upon many topics discussed here. Sir Henry Lawrence, Bt., has been good enough to afford me access to the manuscripts of his distinguished grandfather, and Mrs. Rivington kindly lent me some letters of her late father, General Sir John Littler. I have had the privilege of consulting several distinguished soldiers who were themselves present at one or other of Lord Gough's battles, and, in this connexion, I cannot omit the names of General Sir Frederick Goldsmid, K.C.S.I., who served in the First China War, General Sir J. Luther Vaughan, K.C.B., who fought under General Littler at Maharajpore, General Sir James Fraser Tytler, K.C.B., who was A.D.C. to Lord Gough in the First Sikh War, and the late General Colin Cookworthy,

who was in Christie's Troop of Horse Artillery at Chillianwalla. Two obligations of this nature are so great that they cannot be incidentally mentioned. Field-Marshal Sir Frederick Haines, G.C.B., who was Lord Gough's military secretary, has been good enough to discuss with me, on many occasions, the two Sikh campaigns, and I owe much to his wonderful memory which scarcely required the corroboration afforded by the Diary which he kept throughout the wars. I have fully availed myself of the generous kindness with which he placed his recollections at my service; he has saved me from many errors, and has explained the real importance of many incidents which have generally been misunderstood. No words of mine can render thanks for such a tribute of affection and respect for the memory of his Chief. I have been, throughout the preparation of the work, in constant communication with another survivor of the Punjab campaign, General Sir Charles Gough, G.C.B., V.C., the co-author of *The Sikhs and the Sikh Wars*, a book which is indispensable for a thorough study of the subject. Sir Charles Gough's intimate acquaintance with the Indian history of the period has been of great value to me, and, like Sir Frederick Haines, he has been good enough to read the book in proof-sheet. Field-Marshal the Viscount Wolseley and Admiral Sir Cyprian Bridge, K.C.B., Commander-in-Chief on the China Station, have honoured me with criticisms

and suggestions on portions of the book: Lord Wolseley on the Sikh Wars and Sir Cyprian Bridge on the China War. Even at the cost of swelling a list of acknowledgements already very large, I must gratefully thank a number of personal friends, including Professor York Powell, Professor Oman (who read the portion relating to the Peninsular War), Mr. H. A. L. Fisher of New College, Mr. R. P. Dunn-Pattison of Magdalen College, and Mr. John S. C. Bridge of Lincoln's Inn, to all of whom I owe helpful criticism of proof-sheets. The classification and calendaring of the manuscripts on which the work is based, has been performed by two of my former pupils, Mr. R. G. Pidcock and Mr. H. E. Bowman, and by Mr. R. W. Jeffery of Brasenose College, to the careful labours of all of whom is due the completion of the volume within two years. The other friends and colleagues whom I have consulted on various points will be good enough to believe that my gratitude is none the less sincere that it is unrecorded in a Preface which is already so personal that I must plead, once more, the nature of my subject as my excuse for contracting so many obligations.

ROBERT S. RAFF.

NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD.

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CONTENTS

VOLUME I

	PAGE
INTRODUCTORY: PARENTAGE AND EARLY LIFE	1

BOOK I

SPAIN: THE WAR IN THE PENINSULA	27
1. TALAVERA AND BARROSA	29
2. CADIZ AND TARIFA	62
3. THE CLOSE OF THE CAMPAIGN IN ANDALUSIA	90
4. VITTORIA AND NIVELLE	105

BOOK II

IRELAND	127
1. PUBLIC LIFE, 1814-40	129
2. HOME AND FAMILY	146

BOOK III

CHINA	155
1. CANTON	157
2. AMOY	200
3. CHUSAN, CHINHAI, AND NINGPO	219
4. THE CHINESE AND THE WAR	241
5. THE YANG-TSE-KIANG	256
6. THE TREATY OF NANKING	276

BOOK IV

INDIA: THE MAHRATTAS AND THE SIKHS	295
INTRODUCTORY	297
1. THE GWALIOR CAMPAIGN	303
2. THE ARMY POLICY OF SIR HUGH GOUGH	342
3. THE SIKHS AND THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT	358

VOLUME II

BOOK IV (*continued*)

INDIA: THE MAHRATTAS AND THE SIKHS	PAGE
4. MOODKEE AND FERZESHAH	1
5. SOBRAON AND THE END OF THE FIRST SIKH WAR	40
6. THE RESULTS OF THE SUTLEJ CAMPAIGN	79
7. THE OUTBREAK AT MULTAN	121
8. THE GOVERNMENT AND THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF	150
9. THE ARMY OF THE PUNJAB	167
10. RAMNUGGUR AND THE CHENAB	181
11. CHILLIANWALLA	211
12. MULTAN AND THE IRREGULAR WARFARE	245
13. GUJERAT.	256
14. AFTER GUJERAT	287

BOOK V

CLOSING YEARS.	315
1. DOMESTIC LIFE	317
2. THE MISSION TO THE CRIMEA	333
3. CONCLUSION	343

APPENDICES

A. FERZESHAH:	
SIR HARRY SMITH'S REPORT	365
B. CHILLIANWALLA:	
GENERAL GILBERT'S REPORT	371
SIR COLIN CAMPBELL'S REPORT	374
GENERAL THACKWELL'S REPORT	380
C. LORD GOUGH'S FAREWELL ORDERS TO THE ARMY OF THE PUNJAB	384
INDEX	337

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

VOLUME I

1. HUGH, FIRST VISCOUNT GOUGH	<i>Frontispiece</i>
(From a drawing by Dickinson, 1851)	
2. HUGH GOUGH, AET. 25	<i>To face p. 24</i>
(From a miniature)	
3. MAP OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL	29
(From Mr. Oman's <i>Peninsular War</i> , by arrangement with the Delegates of the Clarendon Press)	
4. PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF BARROSA	<i>To face p. 54</i>
5. TOPOGRAPHY OF CADIZ	60
6. COLONEL SKERRETT'S NOTE TO COLONEL GOUGH	81
7. TOPOGRAPHY OF TARIFA	88
8. FIELD-MARSHAL SIR PATRICK GRANT	152
9. ASSAULT ON CANTON, MAY 25, 1841	198
10. CAPTURE OF TINGHAI	224
11. CAPTURE OF CHINHAI	230
12. CHINESE CARICATURES	242
(Reproduced from <i>Voyages of the Nemesis</i>)	
13. MEDAL STRUCK BY THE CHINESE	247
14. CAPTURE OF CHAPOO	266
15. CAPTURE OF CHINKEANGFOO	274
16. THE FORT OF GWALIOR	314
(From a pen and ink drawing, 1843)	
17. THE STATE OF GWALIOR	316
18. BATTLE OF MAHARAJPORE	332
19. THE PUNJAB AND SURROUNDING DISTRICTS	359

VOLUME II

1. HUGH, FIRST VISCOUNT GOUGH	<i>Frontispiece</i>
(From a painting by Sir Francis Grant, P.R.A.)	
2. BATTLE OF MOODKEE	<i>To face p. 8</i>
3. FIELD-MARSHAL SIR FREDERICK HAINES, G.C.B. „	14
(From a painting by the Hon. John Collier)	
4. BATTLE OF FEROSHESHAH	„ 30
5. BATTLE OF SOBRAON	„ 62
6. THEATRE OF THE SUTLEJ CAMPAIGN	„ 78
7. THE MULTAN CAMPAIGN	„ 121
8. THE CAVALRY SKIRMISH AT RAMNUGGUR	„ 188
9. BATTLE OF CHILLIANWALLA	„ 242
10. THEATRE OF THE PUNJAB CAMPAIGN	„ 270
11. BATTLE OF GUJERAT	„ 282
12. FRANCES, FIRST VISCOUNTESS GOUGH	„ 322

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