Two officers of the Rewa State Army [1]

Tony McClenaghan

The photographs accompanying this article were taken in February 1892 on the occasion of the wedding of Maharaja Venkat Raman Singh of Rewa State to Maharani Shivraj Kumari Devi, daughter of Maharaja Sir Radha Prasad Sing Bahadur of Dumraon, Bihar.

A 17 gun salute State comprising the majority of the area known as Baghelkand in Central India, Rewa had been brought within the sphere of British influence by a treaty signed at Banda on 5th October 1812. The State deity was known as Rajadhiraj (King of Kings) Ramchandraji and the rulers adopted the notion that it was the deity, not the ruler, who sat on the *gaddi*. The ruling family belonged to the Baghela clan of Rajputs which was descended from the Gujarat family that ruled at Anhilwara Patan in the thirteenth century. A member of this family, Vyaghra Dev, migrated to central India and obtained possession of Bandhavgarh, which remained the capital of the Baghelas until captured by Akbar in 1597, when Rewa became the main town. Akbar made over his conquests to the Baghela ruler, from whom the family descended but, given the notion of the deity on the *gaddi*, the Raja accepted his position as servant of the deity, responsible for looking after his people as God's representative.

As with other States, the early feudal system of Jemadars[2] providing troops from among their land possessions when required prevailed, such troops being referred to as Mulk Piyada (country footmen).[3]

During the 1857 Mutiny the Raja, Raghuraj Singh (1854-1880), deployed his forces on behalf of the British to Amarpartan, commanding the roads to Jabalpur, Nagod and Sagar; about 1,100 troops and five guns to the Katra Pass, and about 500 troops to Bandah, thus keeping open the important road link between Mirzapur and Jabalpur, part of the Calcutta-Bombay link. His troops

[1] This article is based on a forthcoming book on the Indian State Forces that the author and Richard Head have been working on. The photographs reside in the author's collection.

[2] Commanders who held a Jagir or land grant from which they were expected to produce soldiers when required

[3] Lieutenant Colonel Lal Janardan Singh, *Military History of Rewa State*, privately circulated typed paper, June 1940

took Kanchanpur, Zorah and, on 29th December, the important stronghold of Maihar.[4]

It is noticeable that, until this time, the Maharaja's forces had been composed entirely of irregulars. After the Mutiny the Government of India advised Raghuraj Singh to create a regular, properly trained army and, in 1865, two cavalry units of 500 each and two infantry units of similar strength were raised, with regular barracks built at Govindgarh and Rewa. His army at this time is reported[5] to have consisted of:

Regulars		
Cavalry	542 (37 officers, 476 ranks, 29 non-combatants)	
Infantry	601 (54 officers, 498 ranks, 49 non-combatants)	
Artillery	123 (15 officers, 61 ranks, 47 non-combatants)	
Guns	18-pounders, with 24 bullocks	
Irregulars		
Ekka Sirdar (cavalry)		303
Huzur (Maharaja's orderlies)		234
Mulk Piyada (infantry)		65
Bandhavgarh Garrison		390

Venkat Raman Singh succeeded to the *gaddi* as a minor on the death of his father, Raghuraj Singh, on 4th February 1880. During his minority the Political Agent, Major D.W.K. Barr, looked after the affairs of the State as Superintendent and during this time old and unfit soldiers were retired on pension, new recruits were found from among the Rajputs of the State, Sikhs were recruited from the Punjab, new horses and equipment were purchased and free uniforms issued to the soldiers. Retired Indian Army officers were brought in to train the army. The strength of the regular army as a result of these reforms was:

Cavalry	402 (3 officers, 356 NCOs and ranks, 43 non-combatants)
Infantry	621 (2 officers, 552 NCOs and ranks, 67 non-combatants)
Artillery	112 (3 officers, 59 NCOs and ranks, 50 non-combatants)
Guns	six 18-pounders, driven by 24 bullocks

The two squadrons of cavalry were combined into one and in 1886 its strength was reduced to 246. By 1904 there were four squadrons, each with two Troops, one of which was comprised of Karchulis, three others of Baghels

[4] Ibid.; also Kaye and Malleson, *History of the Indian Mutiny of 1857-58*, W.H. Allen & Co., London 1889, Vol. 5, p.76

[5] Lal Janardan Singh, op.cit

and the remainder of other classes of Rajputs, but the caste basis was abolished in 1909 following a dispute with the Karchulis. In 1912 the cavalry was divided into three divisions with two squadrons in each division and two troops in each squadron but in 1915 it was again divided into two regiments, the Raghuraj Lancers and Venkat Lancers, each with four squadrons, but that takes us way beyond the relevant period for the photographs.

The officer in the first photograph on the right is believed to be Lal Baldev Singh, Commander-in-Chief of the Rewa Army at the time of the 1892 wedding. He was appointed C-in-C on 11th March 1889 following the death of the previous incumbent, Lal Ramanuj Prasad Singh, C.I.E. Lal Baldev Singh died on 9th June 1903 at the age of 32 years and was succeeded very briefly by Major Sardar Mehtab Singh before Colonel Lal Janardan Singh, Thakur Tala, assumed the role on 9th August 1903, though he also died soon afterwards on 3rd May 1904.

The officer in the second photograph on the next page has not been further identified. His OBI and two campaign medals (not identified from this picture) clearly suggest pre-State Indian Army service but this in itself is not unusual for Rewa or, indeed, for a number of other States as evidenced by Sushil Talwar's recent mention of 2nd Lieut. Rana Jodha Jang Bahadur, MC, of Tehri-Garhwal (*Durbar*,Vol.26, No.1, p.28).

Both officers appear to wear similar uniforms but I am at a loss to describe them, particularly with regard to colour. In 1902 the cavalry unit wore brown tunics and breeches for Drill Order and green serge tunics with two yellow stripes on the back, with white breeches, for Review Order. Later both the Raghuraj Lancers and Venkat Lancers wore a green tunic with yellow facings, white breeches and a yellow embroidered lungi. Although only in monochrome, these photographs don't suggest anything like those descriptions. If any member of the Society can elaborate on these uniforms I would be delighted to hear. Nor can I identify the detail of the waist belt plates.

Maharaja Venkat Raman Singh assumed full ruling powers in 1895 and continued to improve the army, obtaining the services of experienced retired Indian Army officers and instructors, and organising the infantry and cavalry units on the lines of the Indian Army. He improved their arms and equipment by purchase and local manufacture but this did not necessarily meet with the

approval of the British and correspondence from the time illustrates the political motives that lay behind the British attitude to the Princes.

Rewa declined to join the Imperial Service Troops Scheme when it was formed in 1889, a decision which led the Political Department to limit the permitted size of the Rewa Army. In 1903 Lord Curzon visited the State and advised the Maharaja to adopt the Imperial Service system but Venkat Raman Singh again declined, arguing that he should nevertheless be allowed to improve his existing army. The letter that the Maharaja subsequently received from the Political Agent is illuminating in that it is, perhaps, a manifestation of the darker side of the British attitude towards the Princes:

> "As we drove away from Rewa, His Excellency the Viceroy said that when the Viceroy personally talks to a Chief as he did to you, and gives him serious advice, it is neither right nor wise for the Chief to disregard such advice. You will never be *ordered*, or even officially requested to give Imperial Service Troops, but I can assure Your Highness that to offer such troops will now be in your own best interests.
>
> "If Imperial Service Troops are offered and successfully maintained, Your Highness can see, from the case of other Chiefs, what benefits can be expected. Military rank, visits to the Court in England, the personal friendship of the King and Royal Family, and appointments on His Majesty's personal staff. These distinctions have come to other Chiefs through having given Imperial Service Troops. On the other hand, if Your Highness cannot see the way to offering any such Troops, it is I fear certain that your protestations of loyalty and anxiety to help the Government of India in times of war, will lose a great deal of their value, and will perhaps not be as gratefully acknowledged in the future as they have been in the past."

This was followed by a more 'diplomatic' letter from Curzon, urging the Maharaja to consider the Imperial Service scheme and asking that the Maharaja answer with as much candour as Curzon had used in his letter. The Maharaja took him at his word but for his pains received only word from the

Political Agent that the Viceroy was "considerably displeased." The Agent followed this with another letter:

> "My only desire is to indicate clearly how matters stand at present, and to do what I can to prevent any disappointment in future. In the past, Your Highness has always been forward to offer the services of your troops, whenever any opportunity presented itself. In view of the events which are now in progress in the Far East, there is no saying how soon the time may not come when Chiefs who desire to do something for the Empire will be able to make offers that Government will be in a position to accept. In the circumstances I feel it my duty to warn you plainly that the present condition of Your Highness's troops is such that there is no advantage to your offering to place them at the disposal of the Government."[6]

Whether to spite the Government's response will never be known, but in 1904 the Maharaja assumed the role of Commander-in-Chief, though he delegated day to day responsibilities in a newly created office of *Fauz Buxi*. He also increased the strength of forces to the maximum extent the finances of the State would permit. A report on the State Armies produced for the General Staff in 1911 identified the Rewa Army as:

Imperial Service Troops	Nil
Local Forces	
Cavalry	627
Infantry	2,990
Artillery	
Men	124
Guns, Serviceable	19
Guns, Unserviceable	44

The report noted the Maharaja's keen interest in the army, as well as the recruiting drive among the higher castes of the State. It also noted the difficulty of obtaining entrance into the strong natural fort of Bandogarh. No one was allowed inside without passes which were sparingly granted. Strict military discipline was maintained there among the garrison of between 100 and 200 strong. There were at least 20 guns, of which 18 (9 or 12-pounders) were on wheeled carriages. A supply of tents, leather goods and grain was said to be kept up in the fort. The report also noted the presence of some military police in Rewa town.

---

[6] Correspondence quoted in A.P. Nicholson's *Scraps of Paper, India's Broken Treaties, Her Princes, and the Problem*, Ernest Benn Ltd , London 1930; pp.211-216

On 1st September 1912 the army was divided into Brigades:

Mounted Brigade	Foot Brigade
Artillery	Raghuraj Battalion
Raghuraj Lancers	Venkat Battalion
Venkat Lancers	Govind Battalion
Camel Squadron	Chhaturbhuj Battalion

Commissariat and Transport, the Bandhogarh Garrison, the Mule Breeding Farm at Madhogarh and the Medical and Veterinary Services also came under the direct control of Army Headquarters.

Notwithstanding the tone of the 1903 correspondence, when the First World War broke out the Maharaja immediately offered his own services and those of his troops. In the event his offer was not taken up and he had to content himself with a contribution of horses and money. Despite this, by the time of Maharaja Venkat Raman Singh's death in the flu epidemic of 1918 the strength of the regular fighting units had increased to 5,184, with 1,558 irregulars, who were given periodical training.

Maharaja Gulab Singh succeeded to the *gaddi* as a minor aged 16 on 31st October 1918 with his uncle, the Maharaja of Ratlam acting as Regent. Between 1919 and 1921 a drastic retrenchment was made and the strength of the regular forces reduced to 1,746, following which the two Brigades were combined into one. Lieutenant Colonel L.C.L. Bailey was appointed Chief of the General Staff and in November 1926 the Rewa State Army was re-organised as follows:

- Two Battalions of Infantry were amalgamated into one Battalion consisting of a Headquarters and 3 Companies.
- Two Regiments of Cavalry were amalgamated into one Regiment consisting of a Headquarters and 2 Squadrons.
- Transport was amalgamated into a Mule Transport Corps of two Troops (100 Carts).
- Two Batteries of Horse Artillery were amalgamated into one Battery of 6 Guns.
- Two Companies of the Bandhogarh Garrison were amalgamated into one Company consisting of a Headquarters and two Platoons.

In 1927 the State joined the Indian State Forces (ISF) Scheme with the Transport Corps as the State's contribution. The Venkat Battalion joined in 1934, the same year in which Conrad Corfield was sent to Rewah as Maharaja's 'Adviser' in an attempt to straighten out the appalling financial

mess made by Maharaja Gulab Singh.[7] In the immediate pre-war period the ISF element comprised:

Venkat Battalion	Headquarters and 3 Companies	491
Transport Corps	Two Troops	139

The irregulars consisted of cavalry (299) and artillery (100).

Although Rewa refused to join the 1939 ISF Scheme, electing to remain under the terms of the 1920 Scheme, the State nevertheless played a role in India's war effort. The Transport Corps became a part of the Indore/Rewa Mule Company and served on the North West Frontier, while one company was detached from the Venkat Battalion and served as a garrison unit at Ambala. To support the units serving away from the State, an Infantry Training Centre and a Transport Training Centre were raised. The overall strength of the ISF personnel gradually increased from 700 in 1941 to a high of 920 in 1943, thereafter gradually reducing through the remainder of the war to a final total of 867 in 1946. In addition to the State Forces, a platoon was supplied to the 58th (Central India) Transport Company, Indian Army, and it saw service in Persia and Iraq Command. Some 30,000 men served in the Indian Armed Forces and in the States Forces during the war.

With the return of the Garrison Company and the Transport Corps the State Forces were consolidated into the following:

Venkat Battalion	Battalion less two companies
Garrison Company	full company
Mule Company	half company
Infantry Training Centre	one platoon

Following Independence the State was merged with 35 other smaller States of Baghelkhand and Bundelkhand to form the new State of Vindhya Pradesh. In 1948 all units, except the Venkat Battalion, were disbanded and finally, in 1950, that was also disbanded.

---

[7] Twelve years later Corfield, as Political Adviser to the Viceroy, brought about Gulab Singh's deposition and replacement by his son. Gulab Singh was banned from entering Rewah again.

Group of Indian and Eurasian officers and other ranks of the Bombay Light Cavalry c.1860

Brian Stevens, David Harding, Cliff Parrett

This fine and exceptionally rare group photograph of Bombay Light Cavalry was taken by Rustomjee Jamsetjee, a Parsee active in Poona from the 1860s to the 1890s.[1] It depicts three Indian officers, eight non-commissioned officers and privates and one boy. Two of the NCOs are Eurasians, easy to identify from their different headdress. The present article discusses the uniforms and arms, while trying to deduce the exact unit depicted and the date. Three figures are wearing the Indian Mutiny medal, which immediately dates it as post-1859.

Carman provides much detail on the pre-1878 dress of British officers of the Bombay Light Cavalry, but he is at a loss as regards the Indian officers and other ranks of these regiments, merely stating, 'The dress of the natives is almost unrecorded in the early days of the immediate post Mutiny period.'[2] Mollo states that the Bombay Light Cavalry, 'introduced a Hussar tunic, some time after 1856', later adding, 'The hussar tunic was adopted by British and native officers after the Mutiny, coloured French grey with white facings and silver lace.' This was evidently the Dress uniform, because he adds that

> In undress they wore a loose blouse of regimental colour. The sowars wore a French grey blouse, a tunic length version of the alkaluk, lungi and cummerbund. The overalls and breeches for all ranks were blue, with double silver or white stripe.[3]

The switch to the Indian style uniform happened by implication in 1861, on the three Bombay Light Cavalry regiments converting to the 'silladar' system.

In the photo the Hussar tunic is worn by six of the figures, presumably as Dress uniform, while five wear not the new blouse or *alkaluk*, but the old shell jacket ending at the waist, apparently as Undress. The tunics, jackets and trousers are all French grey with white facings. So the uniforms in the photo are pre-1861.

---

[1] Sean Weir has kindly loaned the photo, and Hugh Ashley Rayner identified the photographer's signature, here only partially visible. It is a paper print from a wet-plate glass negative, mounted on a cut-down album page without annotation or provenance.

[2] W.J. Carman, *Indian Army Uniforms under the British from the 18th Century to 1947 – Cavalry*, Leonard Hill, London 1961; p.157

[3] Boris Mollo, *The Indian Army*, Blandford Press, Poole 1981; pp.96,118

BOMBAY LIGHT CAVALRY, CIRCA 1860

The headdress is the so-called 'cord type' *pagri*, which was worn by the Madras and Bombay Light Cavalry from 1854 to 1869, when it was replaced by the more familiar *lungi*.[4] The fact that no lances or double-breasted jackets are shown is a strong indication that this is not the '1st Bombay Light Cavalry (Lancers)', but rather the 2nd or the 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry, which were both sabre regiments. The 1st did cease to be lancers for 20 years on conversion to silladar cavalry in c.1861, but would have changed from their lancer jackets straight to the *alkaluk*.

The arms are compatible with a date of c.1860, but do not identify the regiment. The Private standing at the left is carrying the rare percussion 'Company's Pattern Cavalry Carbine', of which only 1,450 were made and this is the only known original photo. The 1st Bombay Light Cavalry received 72 of these carbines c.1852-55 (for skirmishers only), the 2nd received 475 in 1855; the 3rd was issued with 289 of them in 1855, and soon afterwards with 186 of a slightly different pattern but which used the same ammunition.[5] The swords are one of several modified versions of the Royal Service's 1821 Pattern Light Cavalry sabre that were procured by the East India Company between the mid-1820s and late 1850s, but it is not possible to pin down exactly which pattern this is, because the photo does not show whether the blade is of the flat-backed and fullered type or the ramrod-backed type.

The conversion of the three regular regiments of Bombay Light Cavalry to silladar cavalry took place with effect from 1st January 1861 (under Bombay GGO 674 of 4th December 1860). Although the word 'Silladar' was part of the regiments' title only during 1861, they (and all Indian cavalry except for those in the Madras Army, who remained as regulars) continued on the silladar basis until 1922. The history of the 1st Bombay Light Cavalry states that the 1861 reorganization was completed in January 1862,[6] and presumably the same applies at least approximately to the 2nd and 3rd Regiments. Changes were made in the regiments' establishments and in the designation of Native ranks and staff appointments, as shown in the table that follows.[7]

---

[4] Ashok Nath, *Izzat, Historical Records and Iconography of Indian Cavalry Regiments, 1750-2007,* United Service Institution of India, Delhi 2009; p.803

[5] D.F. Harding, *Smallarms of the East India Company 1600-1856*, Foresight Books 1997-99, Vol. II pp.242-247 and Vol. IV pp.353-355

[6] Colonel G.F. Newport-Tinley C.B., *A Brief Historical Sketch of His Majesty's 31st Duke of Connaught's Own Lancers Indian Army*, Bombay 1910; p.26. The unit history of the 33rd Bombay Light Cavalry is unhelpful in this respect.

[7] As the ranks of followers are irrelevant to the photo, they are omitted from the table.

Light Cavalry 1859[8]	
1	Subedar Major
6	Subedars
	-
6	Jemadars
30	Havildars
	-
6	Trumpeters
6	Farriers
24	Naiques
420	Privates
18	Boys
1	Trumpet Major
1	Farrier Major
1	Native Adjutant
1	Havildar Major
1	Quarter Master Havildar
1	Drill Havildar
1	Drill Naique
12	Rough Riders
8	Standard Havildars
8	Pay Havildars

Silladar Light Cavalry 1861[9]	
1	Risaldar Major
2	Risaldars
3	Ressaidars
6	Jemadars
30	Duffadars
6	Kote Duffadars
6	Trumpeters
	-
	-
300	Sowars
	-
1	Trumpet Major
1	Farrier Major
1	Woordi Major
1	Kote Duffadar Major
1	Quarter Master Duffadar
	-
	-
	-
3	Nishanburdar
6	Pay Duffadars

The following analysis of the ranks and staff appointments depicted confirms that the photo was taken c.1860-61 before the new silladar establishment had been implemented. For ease of reference the photo has been duplicated with a number placed on each figure, starting with the standing figures, left to right, then the seated figures left to right, and ending with the boy as No.12. No details of badges of rank for the Bombay Light Cavalry c.1860 have been traced, so the remarks that follow are based upon the badges of the Madras Light Cavalry [10] and the girdles worn by their Havildars and Trumpet Majors.[11]

[8] British Library, *India Office Records*, shelf mark L/Mil/8/212, Bombay Military Establishment, Annual Statement 1858/59, 3rd Light Cavalry.

[9] Bombay G.O.G. No.674 dated 4th December 1860, to take effect from 1st January 1861. Other lists seen in the archives differ in some respects from this, and suggest the establishment was adjusted at least once during 1861.

[10] Madras General Orders by the C-in-C (G.O.C.C.) dated 19th September 1831

[11] Madras G.O.C.C. of 18th February 1835

1. Private (no badges of rank). Carrying a carbine. Wearing the shell jacket. Whilst all the adults are wearing a crossbelt, which would have supported an ammunition pouch at the back, he alone has a buff leather pocket for percussion caps, worn high on his crossbelt.

2. [Regimental] Havildar Major (badge of rank is four chevrons of broad silver braid surmounted by a crown, worn on the lower sleeve). Wearing the Hussar tunic, and a girdle and cords with tassels.

3. Farrier Major (badge of rank is three chevrons of silver braid surmounted by a horseshoe). Wearing the shell jacket without a girdle, and also a pillbox hat which indicates he is a Eurasian.

4. No badges of rank visible. Wearing the Hussar tunic but no girdle, so evidently a Naique or Private.

5. Possibly a Standard Havildar (badge of rank is four chevrons of ordinary braid, as worn by Troop Havildar Majors at Madras, but no such rank is listed for Bombay Light Cavalry). Wearing the shell jacket, so probably no girdle.

6. Havildar (badge of rank is three chevrons of ordinary braid). Wearing the Hussar tunic and a girdle. Mutiny medal and clasp.

7. Trumpet Major (wearing *four* chevrons of silver braid below crossed straight trumpets, bell mouths down, whereas *three* chevrons were worn at Madras). Wearing Hussar tunic and girdle; also a pillbox hat indicating he is Eurasian. ('East Indian Trumpeters' are mentioned in Bombay G.O.G. No.49 of 29th January 1861)

8. Drill Naique (badge of rank unclear, but it looks more like two chevrons than the Drill Havildar's four). We have taken the long swagger stick to indicate his drill function. Lack of girdle not significant, as he is wearing the shell jacket.

9. Jemadar (badge of rank is one diagonal sword on the collar). Wearing the Hussar tunic, a girdle and cords with tassels. Mutiny medal and clasp.

10. Subedar Major (badge of rank is a crown on the collar). Wearing the Hussar tunic, a girdle and cords with tassels. Mutiny medal and clasp.

11. He is the only figure wearing *twisted* shoulder cords of silver braid (the rest have straight cords, probably of worsted), surely a distinction of rank, especially given his seated position next to the Subedar Major. Was this the Undress distinction of a Subedar or Jemadar (no collar badge is discernible), or might he be the Native Adjutant? (There was a Riding Master, but he was a European.)

12. Boy. The Madras Army had Pension Boys and Recruit Boys, but the Bombay Army just had Boys. [12]

The photo supports the impression that the three Presidency armies kept their badges of rank broadly the same, and based on those of the Royal Service.

Potentially the stations occupied by the 2nd and 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry might help identify the unit, as the photographer's studio was in Poona. The 3rd Light Cavalry arrived at Sholapore (from Jhansi) in February 1860, was at Seroor in mid-1861, then from December was at Aurangabad until February 1862 when it marched to Poona for what proved to be a nine-year stint. The 3rd was the only cavalry regiment stationed at Poona in the 1860s and its place there was ultimately taken by the 1st Light Cavalry from March 1871. The 2nd Light Cavalry remained at Neemuch from 1859 until March 1871, when it replaced the 1st Light Cavalry at Deesa.[13] However, as a commercial photographer, Rustomjee Jamsetjee may well have considered it worthwhile to travel outstation to conduct his business. Sholapore and Aurangabad are about 150 miles from Poona, Neemuch about 350 miles, and Seroor only 30 miles.

Can the medals shown in the photo help identify the unit? Figures 6, 9 and 10 are wearing the Mutiny medal with one clasp. We know that many personnel

[12] British Library, *India Office Records*, shelf mark L/Mil/8/212, Bombay Military Establishment, Annual Statement 1858/59, 3rd Light Cavalry

[13] The locations of the regiments are taken from the 'East India Register', the 'Indian Army & Civil Service List' and the 'Bombay Army List' for the period in question.

from all three regiments earned this medal with the Central India clasp,[14] but that only the 3rd served in Persia and earned the 'Persia' clasp to be worn on the IGS medal. The absence of the IGS medal from this group photo suggests it might more likely show the 2nd Bombay Light Cavalry. However, the date when the two medals reached these regiments is known only approximately. The Mutiny medal was sanctioned on 18th August 1858 but the Central India clasp not until June 1859, and the Bombay Light Cavalry claimed their medals and clasps on rolls compiled between August and October 1859. The Persia clasp was sanctioned on 12th April 1858, and whilst all the medals were struck in London, those for the Native officers and men were named in India.[15] Those for the 3rd Light Cavalry were dispatched to Bombay unnamed in about September 1859.[16] Given the time taken first to reach Bombay by steamer, and thereafter to be named and distributed, the recipients cannot have been wearing them until well into 1860. Whichever regiment it is, it is surprising that only the two officers and one NCO are wearing Mutiny medals; presumably only a few medals had been distributed by the time the photo was taken.

So the regiment depicted may be the 2nd or the 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry, but whichever it is, the shell jackets, Hussar tunics and ranks that are shown suggest the photo was taken late in 1860 or early in 1861, just before the introduction of the more Indian style of dress when the regiment was converted to silladar cavalry,[17] but before all the Mutiny medals had been distributed. Whether the photo was taken with the aim of making a record of the outgoing uniforms for posterity or not, it serves that valuable function today.

---

[14] British Library, *India Office Records*, shelf mark L/Mil/5/95, folios 305-394; nominal medal rolls of the three Bombay Light Cavalry regiments totalling 1274 claims including 902 clasps. All three regiments submitted claims for medals with clasps simultaneously a few months after the Central India clasp was sanctioned in June 1859.

[15] British Library, *India Office Records*, shelf mark L/Mil/3/2413, folio 83; Military Letter to Bombay No.19 of 1858, 4 Nov, para 1

[16] British Library, *India Office Records*, shelf mark L/Mil/3/2413, folios 860-861; Military Letter to Bombay No.122 of 20 Sep 1859, paras 35-36, stating that Persia medals for Native officers and men of the Bombay Artillery and 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry will be sent, but the nominal rolls received need not have been sent to London. There were 463 medals for Natives of the 3rd Light Cavalry (ibid., L/Mil/5/55, entries for 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry, September 1859).

[17] Bombay G.G.O. No. 674 of 1860 ordering the conversion of the Bombay Light Cavalry to Silladar Cavalry also stated (paragraph 18) that a change in the type of uniform to be worn when the current uniforms wore out would be promulgated at a later date. This somewhat parsimonious ruling means that it is not possible to establish precisely the effective date of changeover to the new uniform.

The East India Company's Military Seminary at Addisombe

Tim Ash

The Seminary was founded in 1809. It was established by the East India Company at Addiscombe Place, near Croydon, which the Company had purchased on the death of the Earl of Liverpool in 1808.

The supply of officers at the time for the more scientific arms (artillery and engineers) was insufficient and, owing to the continuance of the French war, uncertain, so the Court of Directors of the East India Company came to the decision of establishing a Military Seminary of their own.

The position of the British in India at the close of the 18th Century was comparatively limited, and the expansion that was to follow underlines how much more important it became thereafter to have a good supply of educated officers for the Company's army. . By the mid 19th century British India had grown considerably.

The Cadets at Addiscombe were to be above 14 years of age and under 18 years old; from 14 to 16 years of age not under 4' 8" in height, and from 17 to

18 not under 5' 2". It was essential that Cadets before admission should have a fair knowledge of arithmetic, write a good hand and possess a competent knowledge of English and Latin grammar. They should also have learnt drawing and have some knowledge of French Mathematics and Fortification. £30 per annum was to be paid by each cadet and the Company engaged to supply them with everything else, besides 2 shillings and 6 pence (12½p) per week as pocket money. No Cadet was to be allowed to enter the Seminary with a greater sum than half a guinea (52p) in his possession. Any deviation from this rule subjected the Cadet to removal from the Seminary. Masters and professors were prohibited from taking any fee or gratuity from the Cadets. Cadets were expected to treat the masters and professors, who were authorised to maintain strict discipline, with respect. Smoking was strictly prohibited as also was the consumption of liquor. Cadets were expected to avoid all quarrelling, fighting and the use of improper language to each to other.

The first public examination took place on 22nd December 1809, when fourteen Cadets passed their examination for the Bengal, Madras and Bombay Presidencies.

In 1809 there were sixty Cadets but by 1813 there were was accommodation for ninety Cadets formed into three academies. The First academy consisted of sixty Cadets dived into three classes of twenty each. These were expected to contain Cadets who were in a state of preparation for the public examination at the end of their two years at the Seminary.

The Second Academy was to consist of those cadets who had passed their introductory examination. These were considered as probationers for the next 6 months, at the end of which they were subject to examination by the Public Examiner and the Head Master as to their progress towards being qualified to pass the examination at the close of 2 years.

The Third Academy was a preparatory school to which boys were admitted at 13½ years of age and then after six months admitted to the Seminary and permitted to wear its uniform. There were now, 1816, to be two regular admissions to the Seminary annually, in January and July. Cadets were required to remain at the Seminary for four terms, or two years.

The necessaries to be provided by the Cadet when he joined were:

Ackerman's Military prints

CADETS OF ADDISCOMBE, CIRCA 1846

One military great coat.
One uniform jacket, waist coast and pair of pantaloons.
One military cap and feather, with plate in front embossed with the Company's arms.

The Company supplied each Cadet with the following clothing (one of each):

Quarterly	*Half yearly*
Pantaloons	Jacket
Gaiters	Waistcoat
	Black silk handkerchief
	Foraging-cap

In addition, every two months a pair of shoes was supplied. Furthermore, each Cadet was furnished with the necessary books, stationary, drawing and mathematical instruments.

The account for the first year's expenditure of the Seminary for the education of sixty cadets (in pounds, shillings and pence), borne by the East India Company, amounted to a net total of £4,395-4s-3d.

Board & lodging and education for 60 Cadets	4006-10-4
Books	58-5-0
Salaries for masters/professors	326-0-0
Colonel Mudge,[1] Public Examiner	282-10-0
Hindustani teacher	200-0-0
Assistant on Fortifications	54-18-6
Total gross expenditure	**6195-4-3**
Deduct payments by Cadets	[1800-0-0]
Total net expenses from Jan 1809 to Jan 1810	**£4395-4s-3d**

In 1816 the Company resolved to erect some extra accommodation, as it had been decided that Cadets for Infantry/Cavalry service as well as those of the Engineers and Artillery would now also be accepted for training. These were completed in 1818. During 1821 a new lecture hall, also known as The Chapel, was erected; this building was used for many purposes such as morning and evening prayers by the Chaplain, for examinations and for the distribution of prizes on the Public Examination Day. There had been fourteen Public Examinations with a total of 502 Cadets who had passed, or were passing through Addiscombe, in the 12 years

[1] Colonel William Mudge was a distinguished officer of the Royal Artillery and had previously served as Lieutenant Governor of the Military Academy at Woolwich.

from 1809 to 1821. Sixty-two Cadets qualified for the Engineers, 215 for the Artillery and 113 for the Infantry and a further 112 qualified in 1821.

During May of 1823 a hospital was built, and two new dormitories were added, but it was not until 1825-26 that the Seminary assumed some of the appearance it had in later years.

The Cadets, like most youths, were probably always ready for food. However, it appears that from the details of the meals provided for the Cadets, they were not reared in the lap of luxury!

Breakfast:	Tea, bread and butter; or bread and milk if preferred.
Lunch:	Bread and cheese with good table beer.
Tea:	With bread and butter, or bread with cheese and beer.
Dinner:	Beef, mutton, and veal alternatively, of the best kind, with an occasional change to pork when in season

In 1834 the Cadets were supplied with the following books:

Mutton's Mathematics, 2 vols.	Straith' s Fortification
Fielding's Perspective	McCulloch, on Rocks
De La Voye' s French Grammar	De La Voye' s Dictionary & Classics
Caesar's Commentaries.	

These were paid for by the Cadets at a cost of £6-9s-0d (£6.45). The following were supplied by the Seminary without charge to the Cadets

Shakespeare's Hindustani Dictionary	Latin Dictionary
Woodhouse's Spherical Trigonometry	Inman's Nautical Astronomy
Inman's Nautical Tables	

In November 1837 the Court of Directors of the East India Company resolved that the time during which Cadets actually continued at the Seminary after reaching the age of sixteen, and before they passed the Public Examination (providing of course they passed within the fixed period of four terms), should count as a portion of the time period which would entitle them to retire on a full pension.

The following address by Sir James Rivett Carnac, *Bart*, M.P., at the Public Examination on 11th December 1837 shows that the Court of Directors took

the Seminary very seriously as well as the qualities they wished to find in the Cadets as officers of the H.E.I.C.

> 'The Directors of the East India Company view this Seminary and its pupils with parental regard. They look to it with confidence to furnish a constant succession of officers qualified to perform the duties and uphold the character of the Indian Army, well instructed in those branches of liberal learning which are the most useful and important, well grounded in the principals of those sciences upon which Military art depends, well versed in the elements of the Native languages, trained to the lore and practice and every honourable obligation. Not one of these can be neglected with impunity, each of them is necessary alike for your own benefit and for that of the service in which you are to be engaged. A certain degree of general knowledge is indispensable to all who are to bear the character of gentlemen. The military sciences, of course, must occupy a large portion of the attention of those who are preparing for a military life, and though the species of knowledge is more necessary to some branches of the service than to others, yet to whatever branch it may be your fortune to be attached, you will derive advantage from the possession of scientific information. You will find that it will enable you to discharge your duty more beneficently to those whom you command, and more satisfactorily to yourselves. These observations are equally applicable to the study of the Native Languages. I have on former occasions endeavoured to impress you with a sense of their value and importance, and I avail myself on the present opportunity of again averting to them; because I feel that I cannot direct your notice to any subject which better deserves your serious attention. On the necessity for forming the character upon high moral principles it must be quite unnecessary for me to dwell. There are certain moral habits, indeed, which may have peculiar reference to a soldiers station and which you have here especial opportunity of forming. A soldier, whatever his rank, must be ready at all times to yield a prompt, cheerful and an implicit obedience to the orders of those who have a right to command him. His conduct too must be beyond that of all other men, be marked by vigilant self control, and a studied avoidance of all grounds of offence in his bearings towards those with whom he mixes on a footing of equality; while to those whom he is called upon to command, he must display mildness, never degenerating into weakness - and firmness unalloyed by a particle of arrogance.'

Addiscombe produced for the East India Company over the years of its existence many officers of note, not least one Commander-in-Chief of India,

Lord Roberts of Kandahar, V.C., G.C.B., who attended the Seminary in 1850-51. Another Addiscome Cadet was the conqueror of Ava, another held the important post of Governor-General's Agent in Baluchistan, whilst another was Commander-in-Chief at Bombay. There was a time when the Chief Engineers in all the Provinces of India had been Addiscombe men.

The Pollock Medal was first awarded in 1848 to the most distinguished Cadet of the outgoing term. On Sir George Pollock's arrival at Calcutta, the British inhabitants, who had lived through the panic that had prevailed at the time of the massacres at Kabul and the Khyber Pass, were well able to appreciate the merits of General Pollock, and raised a subscription of 11,000 Rupees to perpetuate the memory of his services by instituting a medal, to be presented twice a year to the most distinguished Cadet of the East India Company's Military Seminary at Addiscombe on passing the biennial examination for a commission. The residents of Calcutta gave a laudatory address to Pollock. After thanking the residents of Calcutta, he replied:

> 'I concur most unreservedly in the very high respect and estimation justly bestowed on this Institution [Addiscombe] by public opinion. You have thus conferred on me a lasting distinction at once delicate and far beyond my deserts.'

The Court of Directors of the H.EI.C. consented to become Trustees to the Pollock Prize Fund. The medal, designed by General MacLeod and executed by Mr Wyon, was first presented in June 1848. It is a handsome piece, in gold, being 2 inches in diameter, ⅛ inches thick and weighing over 3 ounces. It was valued at 16 guineas.

On the obverse is a portrait of Sir George Pollock and immediately encircling the portrait are the words: *Major General Sir George Pollock, G.C.B., Bengal Artillery*. Surrounding the whole are the words: *To commemorate eminent services, Cabul 1842*, and within this, *British honour vindicated. Disasters retrieved. British Captives delivered. Treachery avenged. Jellalabad relieved. Victories at Mamoo Khail, Jugdulluck, Tezeen, Istalaif, Khyber Pass forced.*

On the reverse, in the centre, are the words: *Presented by the British inhabitants of Calcutta, and awarded by the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the most distinguished Cadet of the season;* and around this: *Military College Addiscombe. Pollock Prize.*

The following is a list of the Cadets who were awarded the Pollock Medal.

Edward Chas. Sparshot Williams	June 1848	Bengal Engineers
John James McLeod Innes	Dec 1848	Bengal Engineers
Thomas George Montgomerie	June 1849	Bengal Engineers
George Ayton Craster	Dec 1849	Bengal Engineers
Patrick Stewart	Jun 1850	Bengal Engineers
Frederick Smith Stanton	Dec 1850	Bengal Engineers
Henry Goodwin	Jun 1851	Bengal Engineers
James Palladio Basevi	Dec 1851	Bengal Engineers
Arthur Moffatt Lang	Jun 1852	Bengal Engineers
Salisbury Thomas Trevor	Dec 1852	Bengal Engineers
John Underwood Champain	Jun 1853	Bengal Engineers
Edward Burnes Holland	Dec 1853	Bombay Engineers
William Jeffreys	Jun 1854	Bengal Engineers
Aeneas R.R. Macdonald	Dec 1854	H.E.I.C. Engineers
Charles Henry Luard	June 1855	Bengal Engineers
John Eckford	Dec 1855	Bengal Engineers
John Magee McNeile	Jun 1856	Bengal Engineers
John Herschell	Dec 1856	Bengal Engineers
Keith Alexander Jopp	Jun 1857	Bombay Engineers
Lewis Conway Gordon	Dec 1857	Bengal Engineers
William Maxwell Campbell	Jun 1858	Bombay Engineers
William Henry Pierson	Dec 1858	Bengal Engineers
A.W. Elliot	Jan 1859	not appointed
William Shepherd	Dec 1859	Bengal Engineers
A.J. Champneys Cunningham	Jun 1860	Bengal Engineers
Kellow Charles Pye	Dec 1860	Bengal Engineers
W.J. Williamson	Jun 1861	Bengal Infantry

One of the Cadets went on to win the Victoria Cross. He was Lieutenant John James McLeod Innes, Corps of Bengal Engineers, decorated for gallantry in action at Sultanpore on 23rd February 1858 during the Indian Mutiny campaign.[2]

In December 1861, subsequent to the Indian Mutiny of 1857-58 and the 'Act for the Better Government of India' which effectively abolished the East India Company, the Military Seminary of Addiscombe was closed. Thereafter, the Pollock Medal was awarded at Woolwich. During its time from 1809 to 1861, Addiscombe had sent to India upwards of three thousand officers.

It was not until 1894 that the history of Addiscombe was written by Colonel H.M. Vibart of the Royal (late Madras) Engineers, himself an old Addiscombe Cadet, (1856-57). The foreword to this volume was provided by Lord Roberts of Kandahar, (1850-1851) former C.-in-C. India from 1885 to 1893, who wrote:

> 'The history of a school which has produced in the short time it was in existence such a number of really great men - men distinguished by the share they had 'in the conquest and consolidation of the Indian Empire' - requires no words of mine to commend it to the general public; while for all old Addiscombe cadets like myself, this record of an institution to which we owe so much cannot fail to have a peculiar interest. We must always feel proud of having belonged to a school which has sent forth such men as Henry Lawrence, Eldred Pottinger, Arthur Cotton, Proby Cautley, Robert Napier, Henry Durand, John Jacob, Baird Smith, Harry Tombs, Henry Yule, and many others – not only soldiers, but administrators – who throughout their glorious careers did their duty with that singleness of heart and honesty of purpose for which the Anglo-Indian official is so justly conspicuous, and which have gained for Englishmen the respect and confidence of the people of India.
>
> 'Life in India, where almost every European, either civilian or soldier, is often placed at an early age in positions of great responsibility, in which his powers of self reliance, calm judgement, and prompt action have continually to be exercised, has, no doubt, much to say to the remarkable ability displayed by our countrymen in dealing with great and sudden emergencies, and to their unhesitating and determined action in times of difficulty and danger. I think however that, as the 'child is the father of the man', a great deal was due to Addiscombe. It was a rough and ready sort of school, but the strict discipline and continuous work and study enforced there were good training.
>
> 'When thinking over the careers of the distinguished men who were educated at Addiscombe, one feels inclined to wonder whether the greater refinement – indeed luxuries – to be found in some schools of the present day is as beneficial to boys as the

[2] *London Gazette*, 24th December 1858

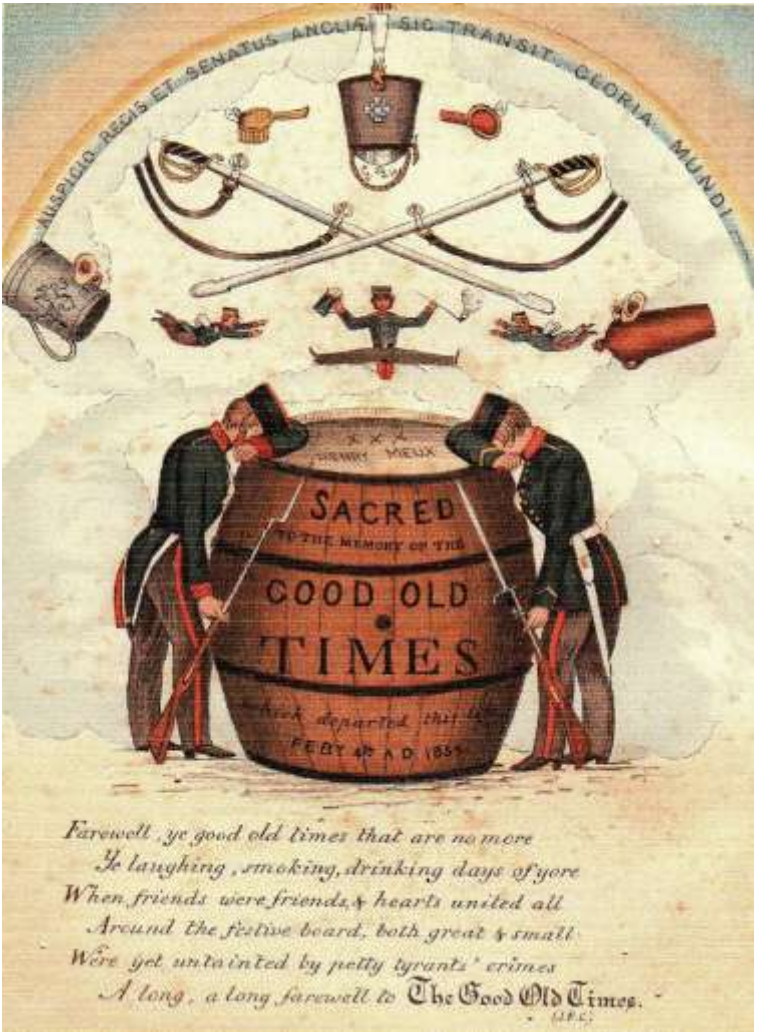
> less softening influence of Addiscombe, and whether it is likely to be attended by the same excellent results. Be that as it may, there is no question of what Addiscombe did. Twice every year between forty and fifty young fellows, well educated, highly principled and with a knowledge of what hard work meant, left the Honourable East India Company's Military Seminary, prepared to uphold the honour of their country, and to fight for its interests in a land where, it has been truly said, "Everything – public safety, national honour, personal reputation – rests on the force of individual character."
>
> 'Colonel Vibart's book is very pleasantly written and will, I feel confident, meet with the success it deserves. He has taken great pains to collect facts and amusing incidents about Addiscombe. The likenesses he has succeeded in obtaining of the various authorities connected with the old place are good enough to recall the faces of those for whom we Addiscombe men retain a kindly feeling, even though we may not always have treated them with the respect and deference which we ought to have shown.'

To revert to the question of Prizes which were distributed twice a year…. The compiler of this article has a set of two volumes of Kaye's War in Afghanistan, leather bound, with on the front and reverse covers the gold blocked badge of the East India Company. Inside the front cover of Volume 1 is the label of the East India Company's Military Seminary at Addiscombe which reads:

> EAST INDIA COMPANY'S Military College, Addiscombe. at the Public Examination December 12th 1856. Awarded to Gentleman Cadet Keith A. Jopp as 1st of the 2nd Class for his attainments in Military Surveying.

Keith Jopp qualified for the Bombay Engineers in June 1857 when he was awarded the Pollock medal. He was subsequently posted to the Corps of Bombay Sappers and Miners.

Colonel Vibart's book, entitled '*Addiscombe, Its Heroes and Men of Note'*, has two very useful indexes: a list of all the Cadets who passed through Addiscombe with the dates; an alphabetical index of Cadets, again with dates. The volume also has brief histories of a number of officers of the H.E.I.C. The British Library's 'India Office Records' hold the Cadet Papers of nearly all the Cadets who entered Addiscombe and subsequently served in India (shelf mark L/Mil/9). The Cadet Papers contain the date and place of birth, parentage and employment of parents, education, previous school reports, health reports, and so on and so forth. They are a most useful tool for research into the lives of the officers of the three Presidency armies. The India Office Records also hold various other records regarding Addiscombe and its Cadets.



"GOOD OLD TIMES"

Frontispiece from the main work of reference: *Addiscombe. Its Heroes and Men of Note*. Col. H.M. Vibart (Archibald Constable & Co., London 1894)

With the 3rd Bn 5th Royal Gurkha Rifles in Java, 1945-46

Tony Carr

The establishment of the 5th Royal Gurkha Rifles (Frontier Force) was increased from two to four battalions during World War 2. The 3rd Battalion (3/5 RGR) was raised at Abbottabad on 1st October 1940, and joined the 37th Indian Infantry Brigade when it was formed in July of the following year.

37th Indian Infantry Brigade, together with 1st and 49th Indian Infantry Brigades, was allocated to 23rd Indian Division with effect from March 1942. It served on the Northeast Frontier of India and in Burma, and landed at Sepang in Malaya as divisional advance guard in September 1945. After a short stay at Port Dickson, it was sent to Java on 16th October 1945 and occupied Buitenzorg and Bandoeng. The brigade commander from August 1944 was Brigadier Norman Macdonald DSO (later also CBE) who had previously been CO of 4/5 RGR. The transfer of 3/5 RGR to 1st Indian Infantry Brigade coincided with the move of the latter formation to Bandoeng in February 1946. The commander of 1st Brigade was also a Gurkha officer, Brigadier N.D. Wingrove CBE of 1/10 GR.

Apart from our Gurkha soldiers, the CO and his adjutant together with the subedar major and the four rifle company commanders were the backbone of the Battalion. If I rarely mention them it is because it can be taken for granted that everything that was done revolved around what they did.

The CO of 3/5 RGR from 1944 to 1947 was Lt Colonel G.P.V. Sanders DSO who, apart from his second in command, was the only regular officer and, as a captain, had been a founder member when the Battalion was raised. Peter Sanders had his right hand blown off by an Afghan grenade before the war and wore a hook in its place.

The senior Gurkha officer of the Battalion was Subedar Major (later Honorary Lieutenant) Udal Thapa, *Sardar Bahadur*, OBI, who had held this crucial appointment since the Battalion was first raised. My own experience confirmed a truism: that in many respects the subedar major followed immediately after the commandant as the most important person in an infantry battalion. In our case, he was a very broad, quiet figure who emanated silent power. One of his more minor functions was to allocate orderlies to incoming officers. The orderly would go wherever his officer went unless there were exceptional reasons, acting as both bodyguard and personal servant.

Only in the CO's absence did our one other regular British officer, the second in command, have anything vital to do, which is probably why Jimmy Arkell, MC & Bar, was so keen to take out a fighting patrol in our last months in Java. He died from his wounds

My job as Battalion Intelligence Officer was probably the least important, and therefore the most dispensable, in the Battalion. However, an extra pair of hands in battalion HQ was occasionally useful to take some of the burdens off the Adjutant. My training at the Intelligence Corps Training Centre in Karachi (under Colonel G.T. Wards – one of the authors of 'The War Against Japan') made sure I got the maximum pleasure from the appointment. Although, eventually, I became Adjutant, the work by then bore little resemblance to the burdens carried by my predecessor.

There was an Intelligence Section; but Gurkhas at that time had difficulty in reading or writing (even their own language) and, though brilliant as infantry soldiers, were not hand picked for mental agility. This left them in much the same position as myself - a useful lot of additional hands.

Bandoeng – October 1945

For most of us, Bandoeng in October 1945 was literally a breath of fresh air after months of dusty or tropical climates. A sub-tropical hill station at 2000 feet, it was overlooked from the north by lush country rising to volcanic peaks. The town had a pre-war population of 100,000. This must have increased in the meantime, quite apart from almost that many internees and Japanese. It was run down in appearance and overgrown with vegetation. The roads had rarely been repaired and the water and electricity supplies were temperamental even when working. In spite of this, its charm and vitality were obvious. Compared with most of the places we had been serving for any length of time it was high civilisation.

Government buildings, European residential areas and parks lay north of the railway line to Batavia which ran roughly east - west through the middle of town. The 'railway line' soon took on the importance, in our eyes, of a disputed international border and dictated our operations from November onwards. South of the line was the business sector with hotels, Chinese shops and Indonesian markets – the population almost entirely coming from the two latter groups.

The 3/10 GR were away in Semarang, about to have a very rough time indeed, so 5/8 Punjab replaced them but were at Buitenzorg on our lines of communication to Batavia. 37th Brigade HQ was in the pre-war Dutch War Office building while the 3/5 RGR occupied a barracks, though two of our companies occupied other locations. I simply can't remember where the 3/3 GR were. Anyway, we were all north of the railway line in fairly secure bases from which to operate when the time came.

Most of the Dutch families who had lived in Bandoeng before internment were returning, and fathers or brothers who had been POWs - if not deported to Thailand or Japan - were coming back. One result was an overwhelming supply of eligible girls which accounts for much of the success of our Christmas parties which I'll mention later.

We were very aware of what was happening in Surabaya and Semarang. Fortunately the Japanese, still scattered all over Bandoeng guarding dumps or arms and stores, had kept a tight rein on trouble makers and we were never faced with quite the same desperate situations which 3/10 GR and 49 Brigade had to cope with. But the menace from an unknown number of 'freedom fighters' surrounded us like an evil mist. 'Brig Mac' and his two battalion commanders had no intention of letting things get out of control. Our response to any attacks on us, or those for whom we were responsible, was the use of 'maximum force'. Meanwhile, disarming of the Japanese and the concentration and evacuation of internees by rail got underway. In November evacuation had to be by road, then air.

The enemy – November 1945

Long before the first shot wounded one of our sentries on the 21st November, the mist of terrorism had taken concrete form. Manned road blocks appeared in the South, kidnapping and murder grew more frequent, and fresh food from the markets became unobtainable. South of the now closed railway line was a 'no-go' area completely under terrorist control. Our reaction to that first shot was to send out 'vigorous' fighting patrols under company commanders or other officers and eventually the CO took out a column of two companies supported by Japanese tanks to clear out a large nest of Pemoedas.

Pemoedas - Republican Youth Army - was the term we used to cover the bewildering number of organisations which had been spawned by 'Merdeka' (Freedom) and which proliferated in the hysteria of anti-colonialism. There

were Black, Red and White Buffaloes, the Tiger Brigade, KRIS and a dozen other groups of initials describing short-term aims (not their looting and murdering) but all with the one objective of being top dog when independence came. Some were well armed with mortars, LMGs, grenades and rifles but many had little more than swords, lances and knives. However, if taken by surprise by young men with a quite fanatical courage, the results can be painful. Quite the most fanatical of the lot were Hizboellahs - an extreme Muslim religious sect, some of whom were Hadjis, having been to Mecca, and revered by their companions.

One day, amongst the few prisoners we could afford to take, was a Hadji. In his waistband was a square of leather which, according to him, deflected all bullets. Perhaps he was right because when he escaped from our guard room by knocking out a Gurkha sentry the pursuing shots had no effect. However, a nimble Gurkha caught up with him and his bit of leather could not deflect a kukri.

Looking at the tortured and dismembered bodies of Dutch, Eurasian or Chinese victims of these freedom fighters left us with no understanding or compassion for them or their aims. That similar obscenities were to happen in India within a couple of years would never have occurred to us. Apparently mild and gentle humans often conceal a terrible sadism and blood lust which can easily be triggered off by a 'noble cause'.

All this was an IO's paradise. I had a large office with an English speaking Dutch girl as my secretary, the latest typewriter and as much paper (and misinformation to put on it) as could be wished for. Reams of Situation Reports were produced for anyone with the time and inclination to read them. I don't know whether brigade HQ ever did but I'm quite sure that the CO didn't. All he wanted to know was: how many Pemoedas and where? As he usually knew this without consulting me, I was allowed to play happily with maps and enemy organisational charts until such time as he had something more useful for me to do.

On the offensive - December 1945

December was spent in clearing Pemoedas out of north Bandoeng into the no-go area south of the railway line; then extracting Dutch, Eurasian and Chinese from the south; and finally proving to the Indonesians that the south wasn't going to be their territory. The latter didn't really come about until February 1946.

In December we were joined by 6/5 Mahrattas whose experiences in Surabaya gave them little sympathy for armed Indonesians, and most of 3rd Indian Field Regiment – so we had our own artillery at last to add to the 3" mortars. Our mobility and fire power had been enhanced by elderly armoured cars and a number of heavy and medium machine guns, all of which made life a nightmare for the Transport Officer and the armourers.

Most battalion and brigade operations were supported by four or five Japanese tanks and crews behind the leading unit. Their special value was in winkling out opposition which often camouflaged itself in the deep, concrete monsoon ditches which ran along either side of most roads in Bandoeng.

An LMG in a concrete trench with overhead cover, even once you have located it, is difficult to deal with. While cowering from its fire under any available shelter, it was always a great relief to see a Japanese tank squeak and rumble forwards. The tank commander would be in the turret exposed from the waist up but quite indifferent to the bullets, now aimed at him, while giving instructions to his gunner. Yet these undoubtedly brave Indonesians often lived to fight another day by retreating down other concrete ditches leading away from the road.

This wasn't our only support. An RAF officer with the leading unit could call on Mosquitoes with cannon or Thunderbolts with 500-lb bombs whenever our enemy was well entrenched. Being able to respond with a maximum force, which really meant something, not only ensured the success of operations but also kept casualties down; even so there was a steady trickle of dead, wounded and missing.

There were either battalion or brigade operations on the 3rd, 6th, 12th, 19th and 21st of December culminating in a brigade operation on Christmas Day when the 3/3 GR, the Mahrattas and ourselves took twelve hours to fight our way along half a mile of streets in the south, clearing them house by house.

The Christmas Day operation established our dominance over the town if not our occupation of it all. A part of the success on that day was due to a mild deception plan. Quite apart from the Indonesians not believing we would attack on such a day they knew more about us than we did about them. They certainly knew about Brigade HQ Officers Mess having its Christmas party on Christmas Eve - they would have heard us. It went on until the early hours of the morning of the 25th when we rushed back to kit ourselves in field service order, less large pack, and PT shoes. A silent march brought us to the start line for H hour at 0500. When we

got back that evening there was a special rum issue all round and we got on with Christmas again.

Christmas parties were held on the 25th (3/5 RGR) 26th (3/3 GR) 28th (3 Indian Field) 29th (3/5 RGR again) and 31st (Mahrattas). Our CO insisted we kept fit so there was an officers' run each morning. It says much for our discipline that we even got out of bed. Needless to say we were in a chronic state of collapse by New Year's Day 1946.

Preparing for Expansion - January 1946

Operations in January aimed at clearing the build-up of opposition to the north in Lembang and surrounding areas. In any case we needed that area for ourselves with 23rd Indian Div. HQ arriving the following month; and they were going to take over our comfortable buildings in the centre of town for themselves.

I can remember only two particular incidents that month. The first was a Japanese disarmament parade where the arms listed did not tally with the number handed in. As acting adjutant I told the senior Japanese officer that the figures did not tally. His eyes bulged and his body swelling with indignation at this insult to his honour. I felt intensely glad that he had already disposed of his own sword. He hurried away to check my allegation and, as I was right, to deal with the culprit.

The second involved Mr. Howes, our British civilian interpreter. I wish I could remember more about a marvellous man whose long knowledge of Java, skill and patience saved so many internees in the hands of Pemoedas. The TKR (later TRI), or Indonesian Republican Army, had some good and many bad elements in it, but it was often difficult to distinguish one from the other until too late. Mr. Howes had made contact with Aredji, I think his name was, who commanded both the TKR and its Military Police in South Bandoeng. The TKR was beginning to take a more responsible line, they'd escorted a supply train into Bandoeng and Mr. Howes took advantage of this. He arranged meetings with Aredji at the TKR HQ in South Bandoeng. I accompanied him. We were not allowed to be armed which gave me a very naked feeling after wearing a kukri slapping against my backside and a pistol on my hip. Not that they would have been of any use. We sat and drank coffee with half a dozen well turned out and well armed members of the TKR while Mr. Howes persuaded them to pressure the Pemoedas into giving up kidnapped Dutch and Eurasian families held in the south. I took no part except to look as casual as possible whilst glittering brown eyes in plump well fed faces

watched me while listening to Mr. Howes. A whisky and soda always tasted exceptionally good after these expeditions.

I think 3/10 GR joined us again in January after a literally bloody time in Semarang, Amberawa and Megelang. Another excuse for a general round of Mess parties.

Divisional HQ arrives - February 1946

3/5 RGR moved to the Lembang area and no doubt others had to move to make way for Divisional HQ. The effect of its arrival was like the headmaster joining a midnight feast in the dormitory. Military police sprang up like weeds and severely handicapped our social life, most of which had been taking place after curfew. Pallid staff captains wrote rude letters over the General's name trying to get us to hand in our illegal acquisitions - exotic pistols, powerful binoculars and other trophies according to taste.

The party, in more than one sense, was over and it was almost a relief to find that the 3/5 RGR were going 'on the road' to protect convoys but it meant leaving 37th Brigade and joining Brigadier Wingrove's 1st Brigade. Life was never quite the same again.

Before we left Bandoeng in March we were able to watch the Indonesians blow up a large part of South Bandoeng on the evening before two brigades moved in to make the town entirely ours. We also went out to help bring in convoys which had been attacked on their way into the town.

The Royal Indian Army Service Corps, the RIASC (fondly known as the Rice Corps), supplied Bandoeng, us and the internees in the face of well organised, effective and vicious opposition. No thanks are too great for their officers and men. They may not have had glamour but they had all the guts needed.

On the Road - April to June 1946

1st Brigade had B Sector on the Batavia to Bandoeng road. Brigade HQ was at Tjiandjor in the middle with the Patiala State Infantry. 1st Seaforth was on the west and 3/5 RGR on the east. Our twelve mile section had the kampong (village) of Tjirandang in the middle, where Battalion HQ and two companies squatted with some 25-pdrs. The other two companies protected bridges at either

end of the sector. A twelve foot monitor lizard lived under one of these bridges, eating left over food thrown down to him.

Tjirandjang consisted of deserted hovels on either side of the raised road running through paddy fields. Other kampongs were perched on palm covered knolls in the flat paddy. Thick undergrowth edged the road where cultivation was impossible. Volcanoes stood on the horizon. Something of a contrast to Bandoeng - rather like leaving a West End hotel to go and live in a derelict croft.

The Indonesians worked their fields by day and many of these, no doubt, collected their rifles and grenades at dusk to make life difficult for our patrols the coming night. One morning in Tjirandjang we awoke to find we had been under attack without knowing it. The palm thatched roofs were bristling with poisoned blow pipe darts. Very rustic.

I can't remember any of the convoys going through our bit of B Sector being attacked; but presumably this was because our patrols - day and night - did their job by drawing the poison out of the enemy's sting. In three months there were nearly thirty attacks.

Patrols sometimes had a Forward Observation Officer with them and the 25-pdrs with battalion HQ were always on call and not infrequently used. I suspect the effects on the buildings near the guns were greater than on the enemy at the far end but they were very comforting to have.

The few foot patrols I took out at night were never attacked. Padding along the edge of the road in the dark we were accompanied by the sound of frogs and cicadas and in the distance the sound of village drums plotting our progress. I never could make up my mind which weapon to have in hand. Each had its potential, mostly for damaging my long suffering companions, so grenades, a pistol or sten were eventually rejected in favour of the more selective kukri. Some patrols, especially those in the day, had some outstanding successes and reduced the number of active pamoedas quite considerably.

The Indonesians had some success in getting Indians to desert but it was often difficult to know whether disappearances might not be the kidnapping of careless soldiers. Rewards offered by the opposition were 'an egg for a bullet, a woman for a gun'. They didn't particularly want the soldiers, although their black versus white propaganda must have had some effect in one or two units. We

'lost' three men whilst on the road as well as in Bandoeng. Having Gurkhas under command meant we were less bothered by propaganda.

The three months were dry, dusty and tiring with few comforts. Even the luxury of tinned peaches from large wooden Pacific ration boxes quickly became rather nauseating. The one thing that never palled was the daily ration of canned beer. Do I remember a rumbling paraffin-operated 'frig making it ice cold?

Our jungle green uniforms were by now beginning to look very elderly and when we got to the Poentjak in July we had to have an air drop of boots as well. It was a free drop without parachutes and some of our less experienced Gurkhas rushed out to try and catch the SEAC packs as they fell. Fortunately only one achieved his ambition of getting there first but soon recovered from the physical and mental effects of being hit by twenty pairs of metal studded boots on his shaven head (Gurkhas had their heads shaved, except for a top knot, until 1947).

By now the Dutch army was established in Batavia and Bandoeng and was to fight for three years before Indonesia became independent.

The Last Phase – July and August 1946

We had two weeks in July at the small hill station of Poentjak recovering from the previous dreary months. We explored a live volcano, Groet Gede, shaving in its sulphurous waters. This had a magical effect on our skin. The consequences of a poor diet and dry dusty conditions disappeared almost at once. It was the best shave I've ever had. Perhaps hot sulphur water has commercial possibilities.

Our next location was Klender and then gruesome Bekassi, with the job of protecting Batavia on its east flank. Again we were committed to regular patrolling supported by artillery. I was due for three months' leave in the UK in mid-August and would only return to the Battalion after its arrival in Kota Bahru in NE Malaya. Before going on home leave (the first in nearly four years) my last job was to tell Jimmy Arkell's Dutch fiancée that he had been killed whilst leading a fighting patrol near Bekassi. This brought our total of dead and wounded to over fifty

Epilogue

After an eight month stay in Malaya, 3/5 RGR returned to Calcutta at the end of August 1947, by which time India had celebrated its independence. Our Gurkha

regiment was one of the six remaining in India's army – the other four opting for the British Army where they have since been amalgamated into today's 'The Royal Gurkha Rifles'. The title adopted by the Indian Army for the 5 RGR title was, and still is, '5th Gorkha Rifles (Frontier Force)', no longer Royal but retaining the 'Royal Cord' or Scarlet Lanyard. The title 'Frontier Force' is also perpetuated in the Pakistan Army for the successors of the old Piffer units – all of which, apart from 5 RGR, went to Pakistan after Partition. With a few exceptions, British officers had no choice but to leave India before the end of 1947 which saw most of us back in the UK by January 1948.

Editor's note
Following wartime service with 5 RGR, the author, Lt. Col. Anthony Sydney Ashton 'Tony' Carr, went on to serve in the RASC and the Royal Corps of Transport, with interludes in the 5th Nigeria Regt and King's African Rifles, before retiring in 1975.

5TH ROYAL GURKHA RIFLES (FRONTIER FORCE)

Battle Honours 1858-1947

Peiwar Kotal, Charasiah, Kabul 1879, Kandahar 1880, Afghanistan 1878-80, Punjab Frontier, Helles, Krithia, Suvla, Sari Bair, Gallipoli 1915, Suez Canal, Egypt 1915-17, Khan Baghdadi, Mesopotamia 1916-18, North West Frontier India 1917, Afghanistan 1919, North West Frontier 1930, North West Frontier 1936-37, Sangro, Caldari, Cassino II, Sant'Angelo in Teodice, Rocca d'Arce, Rippa Ridge, Femmina Morta, Monte San Bartolo, The Senio, Italy 1943-45, Sittang 1942, Kyaukse 1942, Yenangyaung, Stockades, Buthidaung, Imphal, Sakawng, Shenam Pass, Bishenpur, The Irrawaddy, Sittang 1945, Burma 1942-45

Five Early Military Graves (c. 1853 - 1888) at the Old Christian (Anglican) Cemetery, Abbottabad, Pakistan

Part 1

Omer Tarin and Sarkees Najmuddin

Abbottabad is a famous cantonment and garrison town in the hills of the Hazara district of the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) of what is now Pakistan. It was 'founded' in January 1853 by James Abbott[1], the first Deputy Commissioner, whose name it still bears. It is situated at approximately 4,150 feet above sea level, and even today retains, more than any other similar town founded by the British, something of the old 'colonial' aura.

Abbottabad is the headquarters of the civil administration of the Hazara region, and has been thus since 1853. The Hazara itself is the only one of the administrative districts of the NWFP located Cis-Indus. In days gone by, it was originally a part of the Durrani (Afghan) kingdom, attached to its Kashmir *subah* (governorship). Between 1820-1849 it came under the Lahore Sikh *durbar*, and these few decades were indeed turbulent times, as the Hazara natives, predominantly Muslim, refused to accept Sikh suzerainty, and refused to pay any revenues to Lahore. In response, the Sikhs brought about an extremely harsh regime to bear on the people and a very chaotic, lawless situation ensued.[2]

In March 1846, a peace was concluded between the Sikh *durbar* of Lahore and the British, following the First Sikh War. According to the terms of the Treaty of Lahore, Henry Lawrence was appointed British Resident at Lahore[3]; and some areas of the Sikh kingdom, primarily the Vale of Kashmir and its dependencies and adjacent areas, were ceded to Raja Gulab Singh, Dogra, including the Hazara. In May 1846, Gulab Singh sent Diwan Hari Chand there, as his factor, to try to collect the considerable arrears in revenue, due to the disturbed state of the country. However, over the next few months, Hari Chand failed to do so and the situation in Hazara remained chaotic and lawless.

---

[1] Major (later Gen) Sir James Abbott, 1807-1896

[2] Dr. S.B. Panni, *Tarikh I Hazara* [in Urdu: A History of the Hazara], N.P., Peshawar 1964; pp.12-27

[3] Harold Lee, *Brothers in the Raj: The Lives of John and Henry Lawrence*, Oxford UP, Karachi 2002; p.242

Meanwhile, in November 1846, Sheikh Imam-ud-Din, the Sikh-appointed governor at Srinagar (Kashmir), finally ceded to Gulab Singh's authority, on coercion by the presence of a British troop under Van Agnews and H. Lumsden[4], assistants to the Lahore Resident; and indeed, Henry Lawrence himself went up a little later, accompanying Gulab Singh, and marching from Srinagar via Muzaffarabad to Upper Hazara (Kaghan Valley), to 'establish their writ'[5]. After some ineffectual resistance, in January 1847 the people submitted to Gulab Singh. However, by this time, he had decided against keeping this troublesome charge and in the same month, exchanged the Hazara for Jammu, returning the former to the Lahore *durbar.* According to the earliest Hazara District Gazetteer 'the basis of this exchange was that [there was a need for] an equitable assessment [which] should first be made in Hazara [including] the release of *jagirs* and other rent-free holdings...'[6]. Sardar Chatar Singh was nominated by Lahore to be *nazim* (administrator/governor) for Hazara, and (then) Captain James Abbott, another of Lawrence's assistants, deputed to go along to make an honest revenue assessment and restore order, as much as possible.

Abbott did so, very successfully indeed, between January/February 1847 and February/March 1848, in the process winning the hearts and minds of the majority of the Hazara chiefs and notables, as well as the common folk.[7] This benevolent governance was briefly interrupted by the Second Sikh War of 1848-49 and it is to Abbott's credit that the people of Hazara by and large stood with the British, against the Sikhs, at this time.

On the conclusion of this Second War, the Sikh kingdom ended and the Punjab was formally annexed on 29th March 1849. Hazara was now part of British rule, on what used to be 'the Punjab Frontier' and in 1901 finally became the NWFP. Major James Abbott was made first Deputy Commissioner of this district, where he continued his reforms from 1849 to 1853. Abbott's seat of government/administration remained Haripur town, as during Sikh times, but he was already assessing the possibilities of relocating the headquarters up into the hills, for various strategic and climatic reasons. In 1852, he secured the site of what is now Abbottabad, and the bulk of the British military garrison in

[4] Panni, op. cit.; p. 69
[5] Lee, op. cit.; p.263
[6] *The Hazara District Gazetteer, 1883-84,* Government of the Punjab, Lahore 1884 (reprint, Sang-i-Meel, Lahore 1990); p.33
[7] Panni, op. cit.; p.91

Hazara was stationed up there in a tented village and, later, *pukkah* barracks, with a small number of civilian contractors (mostly *Bohra* Muslim merchants from India[8]) to cater to their various needs. Abbott also built himself a bungalow in these hills, to escape the heat of the plains during summer and, gradually, more and more British officers were attracted to the place and to the nearby *Galiyat* hills, which extended all the way to what was to become the hill-resort of Murree.[9]

In late 1852, Abbott decided to shift his civilian headquarters to this (yet unnamed) locale and in January 1853, he set about doing so. But time was against him and he was ordered away by the Government of India, leaving his beloved hills and new-found town in April 1853, to be replaced in May of that year by Herbert Edwardes as the second Deputy Commissioner of the district. It was Edwardes who formally named the town 'Abbottabad' after its founder and who continued in earnest with its planning and establishment. By the time his tenure here was up, in September 1853, Abbottabad was well on its way as a peaceful and prosperous little community and as a military cantonment/garrison of some importance. The town continues, today, in contemporary Pakistan, to maintain its military importance. It is home to the Frontier Force Regiment and Baluch Regiment as well as the Pakistan Army Medical Corps, the famed Army School of Music, the PT and Mountaineering School and the Pakistan Military Academy, in nearby Kakul neighborhood; and also remains the district administrative headquarters for civilian affairs[10]. The town is considered as an important strategic location on the Kara Koram Highway (KKH) which leads to China via the Gilgit Agency of Northern Pakistan; and is also important as a military depot and 'connection' to *Azad* (Pakistani) Kashmir. Its continued importance as a military cantonment and base is further attested to by the fact that it is the main 'forward base' in the present military operations against the Taliban in the Trans-Indus territories of Swat, Buner and Dir (Malakand division).

Due to its strategic military location and continued importance as a cantonment and garrison town since 1853, Abbottabad has a number of historically important locations, associated with the British Indian Army, in days of yore.

---

[8] Their descendants still live in Abbottabad and Rawalpindi cantonments and are prosperous, highly respected businessmen.

[9] This, too, was first 'discovered' by Abbott.

[10] *Hazara Development Report 1994-1995*, Government of the NWFP, Pakistan, Peshawar 1995; pp.15-26

Some of these, such as the 'PIFFERS' mess and museum/archives, are better known to overseas visitors – but very few people get to visit the Old Christian (later Anglican) Cemetery on Hill Road, in the old cantonment area. Yet, this cemetery has a fascinating number and variety of military graves, dating from c.1853 to the 1940s, almost all of them 'connected', one way or the other, to frontier campaigns and/or regimental life and service here. In this paper, we have tried to introduce some of the oldest graves in the Old Christian Cemetery (OCC), Abbottabad[11] to readers, focusing on the five oldest physically verifiable graves in the cemetery, by trying not only to record them for posterity but also to provide what information we have been able to glean about their occupants. Due to various limitations of time and space, this present paper has not been expanded to include many other, later graves, which we hope to document in later articles perhaps.[12]

The OCC Abbottabad, probably established as early as 1853 as a main common burial ground for the Christian community in the Hazara[13], came under the effective jurisdiction of the Anglican Church around/after 1864, when St. Luke's Church was completed and formally consecrated.[14] However, until the Roman Catholic congregation and the American Presbyterian Mission became active in these parts (c. late 1890s -1900), some other non-Anglican Christians continued to be buried in the OCC, and hence it was also known, for

[11] An important note: we owe a special debt of gratitude to the Rev. Riaz, Vicar, St.Luke's Church, Abbottabad, for helping us during September-October 2008, by providing access to church records and also accompanying us for physical verification to the OCC.

[12] For further information about the OCC, especially the early development of the Anglican church in Abbottabad and the role of its traditional caretakers (one Muslim family for over hundred years), please see Omer Tarin's article 'St.Luke's, Abbottabad' in *The Weekly Pulse*, Islamabad, Pakistan, 4-11th September 1998, pp.10-11; and also his unpublished Interview & Report 'Tending to the Dead Sahibs', read as a Paper at an Ethnological Seminar at the South Asian Studies Institute (SASI), University of the Punjab, Lahore, November 2006.

[13] Although there are also some small graveyards and/or individual graves in other parts, including Haripur, Mansehra and the *Galiyat* hill tracts, this was the central cemetery.

[14] St. Luke's, Abbottabad, Records, 1863-1865 (the earliest registers available today). The church was consecrated by the Bishop of Calcutta, the senior Anglican prelate in India. See Account/Report of Mr. J.H. Pratt, Archdeacon, during his visitation to Abbottabad, 1864-65. There is also an earlier record of a visitation by Archdeacon Pratt of 8th October 1863, in which he refers to the earliest establishment of 'Church boundaries' and the maintenance of Registers etc. So the church had its presence before, too, but 1864 probably marked a formal benchmark of sorts.

quite some time, as the 'European Cemetery' - the few native Christians (including local converts) being buried in a smaller tract elsewhere in town[15], although it was never very commonly used and most people still refer to it as (purely) the *Purana Angrezi Qabristan* (the Old English/Anglican Cemetery).

The OCC is located on Hill Road, in the Old Cantonment centre, Abbottabad, within walking distance of the Baluch and Frontier Force regimental centers and very near to St. Luke's Church, opposite the main Cantonment Bazaar and the central GPO. It is situated in the foothills of Mount Shimla[16], on rather sloping, uneven ground, about an acre and a half, enclosed by a strong stone wall[17] with a small gateway leading inside. Although a family of caretakers lives inside[18], in a small hut, the general condition of the OCC is rather dilapidated as far as care of the older graves is concerned; although the lush grounds contain a wide variety of fine trees and flowering bushes and the overall aura is one of peace and quiet. [19]

As we are only focusing on older graves, we could physically verify around 65 graves, dating from c.1945 or earlier; and there are an additional 12-15 graves which seem old but cannot be identified properly at all, due to their condition.

---

[15] It was around 1947 (at the time of Partition/Independence) that the first native/local Christians found burial space here. Some of these families still live in Abbottabad and members are still buried here, despite the extreme lack of space in the OCC. There is however another larger plot available for burials, today, for members of the Church of Pakistan; whereas the Catholic Church and Presbyterians have their own spaces.

[16] Part of the Sherwan Range, not to be confused with Simla, the Indian hill station. In the local Hindko-Punjabi dialect, *Shimla* or *Shumla* signifies the crest of a *pugree*, or turban, and the Mount could be seen as the 'crest' of this range, tapering down to Abbottabad town.

[17] Abbottabad, sadly, like much of Pakistan today, is a victim to the notorious 'land mafia', a group or groups of criminals who attempt to seize and take over any land they can lay their hands on. As recently as the 1990s, this wall only used to run for a bit along the road but not around the whole perimeter. The Church of Pakistan was forced to extend it to protect the OCC land from these people. The OCC is now not accessible to the general public, unless one first gets written permission from the Vicarage.

[18] See previous footnote 12.

[19] The authors' latest on-site physical verification was made in September-October 2008. According to the Rev. Riaz, Vicar of St. Luke's, this was the only such exercise carried out for some time and we were also able to help him update and correct some of his own records. According to the Rev, the British Council in Pakistan has some sort of record/s of this and other similar old cemeteries in the country but this isn't accessible to scholars/researchers, for some reason, unfortunately.

All of these graves are of Europeans. Out of these, the vast majority are graves of either (a) military personnel or (b) family of military personnel, with very few exceptions.

A record of early British memorials of historical interest in the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Provinces, Kashmir and Afghanistan was compiled one hundred years ago by Miles Irving and George de Rhé-Philipe.[20] OCC Abbottabad was not overlooked in this exercise which records a total of seven military graves dating from 1853 to 1903, and, in addition to this, ten memorial tablets in St. Luke's Church. We have concentrated our attention on five graves that remain in an identifiable state – one of which was not recorded by Meesrs Irving & de Rhé-Philipe.[21] This leaves three previously recorded military graves that are now no longer recognizable.[22]

1. Captain William Wheatley Repton, born 1822, died 1853

The India Office Records retain details of his marriage to Charlotte Arabella Crawfurd, on 15th April 1846 at Agra, when he was a Lieutenant in the 56th Bengal Native Infantry [N.I.].[23] He died in September 1853 at Abbottabad and is buried in the OCC. This is the *oldest* physically verifiable grave in this cemetery and, as can be seen in the photograph on the following page, it is in rather a bad way.

---

[20] Miles Irving I.C.S. and George William de Rhé-Philipe, *Inscriptions on Christian Tombs or Monuments in the Punjab, the North-West Frontier Province, Kashmir and Afghanistan*, Punjab Government Press, Lahore; Part I 1910, Part II 1912. This most useful publication has been reprinted twice with the new title *Soldiers of the Raj*, by London Stamp Exchange in 1989, and by Naval & Military Press in 2009.

[21] The main source of relevant material remains the valuable compilation by Irving & de Rhé-Philipe (previous footnote). To this we have added our physical verification and site inspection, and referral to local records. We have tried to provide as much information as we could find out about these, from various other sources too; chiefly, the British Library, London and its various resources from the India Office Records, relating to births, careers, marriages and baptisms and deaths (files and registers, numbers/references of which are cited).

[22] Capt. CHH Beley, 25th Punjab Infy (killed in action 1888); Col. ACW Crookshank, 34th Pioneers (killed in action 1888); Lt. Col. JA Brown, 37th Dogras (died 1903)

[23] British Library, *India Office Records*, shelf mark N/1/69 f.154

MEMORIAL OF CAPTAIN REPTON

Most of the writing on the memorial has been obliterated by the effect of weather and neglect, although the new vicar is attempting his best to improve maintenance and record/preserve some of the inscriptions for posterity, with little support from the Diocese which lacks adequate funds for historical preservation purposes. Fortunately the details of Repton's memorial were recorded for posterity by Irving and de Rhé-Philipe.[24]

Sacred to the Memory of Captain W.W. Repton, 56th Regt N.I.
Who departed this life of 5th September 1853: aged 31
May his soul be forever blessed
through the merits of our saviour Jesus Christ.
This Monument is erected in his memory by his Brother Officers
as a mark of their regard

Nothing has been found on the circumstances of Captain Repton's demise, and the regimental records are not helpful. He had arrived at Abbottabad in January 1853 with his regiment, the 3rd Sikh Local Infantry, Punjab Irregular Force, to

[24] Irving & de Rhé-Philipe, Part I p.145, Part II p.287

which he had been appointed Commandant two months previously. It was not an easy time for the new incumbent.

> On 11th January [the Regiment] moved up to Abbottabad for the purpose of forming a cantonment at that station. In July an insubordinate and mutinous spirit having shown itself in the Regiment, in consequence of the men being called on to build their own lines, a Special Court of Inquiry, composed of experienced Officers, was assembled to investigate the subject. On the 5th September the Commandant, Captain W.W. Repton, died.[25]

It is likely, as conjecture, that his death at the early age of 31 was due to illness or disease, maybe when his morale was low. India was often quite hard on early British settlers, including officers and their families. Many graves of women and children in the OCC, Abbottabad, testify to this.

2. Major Hugh Rees James, born 1823-24, died 1864

There is a record of his services in Irving and de Rhé-Philipe's biographical notices, although as usual this source does not include personal details. In regard to the latter, aside from the date of his birth and death, it is noted that he was the son of a former Attorney-General of Jamaica, in the West Indies.[26] It is known that he married Lavinia Berkeley on 7th December 1843 at Bareilly.[27] Major Rees James was with the 4th Bengal Native Infantry during his early career. Later he was appointed to the Bengal Staff Corps and served as Commissioner and Superintendent of the Peshawar Division. A tablet on his memorial in the OCC at Abbottabad (see facing page) gives some more information about him, the detailed inscription being:

In Memory of Major Rees James C.B.
Eldest Surviving Son of the Late Honbl Hugo Rees James,
Attorney General of Jamaica, and of Amilie, his wife;
Comr and Superintendent of the Peshwaur Division
Died October 10th 1864
In the 41st Year of his age

[25] Anon, *The Historical Records of the 3rd Sikh Infantry, Punjab Frontier Force*, no details of publisher or printer in original volume, circa 1903 (but most likely the Punjab Government Press in Lahore); p,6
[26] Irving & de Rhé-Philipe, op. cit., Pt.II, p.183
[27] *East India Register*, 1844, 2nd ed. (Bengal, List of Births, Marriages & Deaths)

TABLET ON THE CEMETERY MEMORIAL OF MAJOR REES JAMES.

There is also a memorial plaque to Major Rees James within St. Luke's Church, Abbottabad.

Major James held an important position on what was the old 'Punjab Frontier' (later the North-West Frontier Province from 1901 onwards). After several years of regimental service, during which he received the medal for the Punjab campaign of 1848-49 with one clasp for Mooltan [Multan], his services were placed at the disposal of the Resident at Lahore. There followed an active career in political employment, culminating with the important position of Commissioner and Superintendent of the Peshawar Division, of which Abbottabad (and the whole of the Hazara district) was part. But we have not come across any significant published records of his military and/or civilian administrative career, whereas the lives and careers of many younger officers on the Frontier are well-documented, in particular those of Henry Lawrence's 'Paladins of the Punjab' – men such as James Abbott, Herbert Edwardes, John Nicholson and others. Yet Hugh Rees James was a competent and highly regarded officer, even if he never achieved the 'legendary status' that Victorian Britain accorded to the likes mentioned above. One may take it that his competence was well known to the Government of India, and no lesser

personage than the Secretary of State for India remarked on his achievements during the proceeding and the aftermath of the particularly sanguinous Frontier conflict generally known as the Umbeyla Expedition between November and January 1863-64.

> The excellent judgment displayed by Major James in his negotiation with the tribes, and especially the manner in which he converted the Bunerwals into serviceable allies, and employed them in the destruction of the fanatics at Malka, indicated in a still higher degree those qualities which have already earned for him the confidence of the Government of India. [28]

He lived and died after solid but unassuming service. It was people like Major James who were the backbone of the British Indian Army and Civil Services. The management and settlement of the often volatile, troublesome Frontier required intelligence and commitment, and no small measure of courage. As an interesting sidelight, his younger brother, Lieutenant Hugo James, was also in the service of the East India Company's forces. During the Indian Mutiny he was employed by the Punjab Government and posted as Adjutant of Raja Jowahir Singh's Contingent, part of the irregular force under General Van Courtland operating in the Hariana District. He suffered from ill health, and en route for sick leave he died in Ambala, in the Punjab (now Indian Punjab) in November 1858 and is buried there.[29]

Part 2 of this article will follow in the next edition of Durbar.

[28] Irving & de Rhé-Philipe, op. cit., Part II p.184. Previous to this, in May 1860, in recognition of his eminent political services on the North-West Frontier of India, he had been appointed a Companion of the Civil Division of the Order of the Bath (C.B.).
[29] Ibid.

The Indian Mutiny medal with four clasps to the 3rd Company 1st Battalion Bengal Foot Artillery

Cliff Parrett

The 3-1 Ben.A submitted two main rolls of claims for the Indian Mutiny medal. There were in addition five supplementary rolls. Overall claims accumulated to 203 medals evenly split between European and Indian ranks.

The first roll was compiled at Camp Beneegunge on 19th November 1858 and lists 184 claims, not one of which was for the CENTRAL INDIA clasp. The second roll compiled at Lucknow on 13th September 1860 includes 193 claims, duplicating all those on the former roll, adding nine new claims for medals and, more significantly, 155 claims for the CENTRAL INDIA clasp. An interesting notation at the foot of this roll records the requirement for '155 clasps for C.I. to be sent' which indicates that the medals had already been made by the Royal Mint and sent to India without the requisite CENTRAL INDIA clasps mounted.

In 1861 and 1862 three supplementary rolls were submitted including claims by six gun lascars, one native doctor and three bullock drivers. There was also a claim submitted by Captain C.H. Blunt in March 1862, for the CENTRAL INDIA clasp only, for service with 3-1 Ben.A. This officer stated in his claim that he had already received the medal with two clasps for service with the 3rd Brigade Bengal Horse Artillery, and his claim for the 'clasp only' has not been included in the tabulated analysis of 3-1 Ben.A medals and clasps.

The medal rolls of 3-1 Ben.A are particularly significant as, with the sole exception of the retrospective claimed by Lieut. William Gulley[1] on a roll submitted by the Peshawar Mountain Train Battery (albeit for service with 3-1 Ben.A), they include all 139 known claims for the Mutiny medal with the maximum possible four clasps.[2] These rare medals were claimed by forty-six Europeans and ninety-three Indian ranks. Among the remaining sixty-four claims on the 3-1 Ben.A rolls are eight other configurations of clasp including three different combinations of three-clasp medals. The listing of a four-clasp medal to a Syce Driver of the 3-1 Ben.A in a Spink catalogue of 1924, and of another to a Driver in the same company, confirms that this rare combination

[1] The medal claimed by Gulley is the only Mutiny medal known to have been originally issued by the Royal Mint with all four clasps attached.
[2] The clasps were: 'Delhi', 'Relief of Lucknow', 'Lucknow', 'Central India'.

of clasps was effectively issued to the Indian ranks of the company. The medal made to meet the claims of Indian ranks would have been shipped from the Royal Mint unnamed and subsequently named in India in engraved script. This was of course not the case with the medals to the British compliment of 3-1 Ben.A whose medals were named in impressed capitals at the Mint before distribution, this being the standard procedure.

The late distribution of the CENTRAL INDIA clasps claimed by 3-1 Ben.A is evident from an examination of four authentic four-clasp medals issued to Gunners William McDonald and William Boyle (DNW, Ritchie Collection), Corporal. John Enright (DNW, Nowell Collection), and Sergeant J. Doolin (private collection). A feature common to all four examples is that the CENTRAL INDIA clasps, to which they were all properly entitled, show signs of having been fitted some time after the medals, made up by the Mint with only three clasps, were originally distributed.

Archives in the British Library's India Office Records contain much pertinent information on the services of British NCOs and other ranks of the HEIC Army, of which the following is a brief extract relating to two men who claimed the Mutiny medal with four clasps.

6271 Sergeant John Doolin

Doolin served with 3-1 Ben.A throughout the Mutiny campaign, and a claim was entered on behalf of 'Sergeant John Doolin' on the rolls of this company dated 13th September 1860 for a four-clasp medal. On his company's preliminary roll of claims for the Mutiny medal, compiled at Beneegunge on 19th November 1858, the notation 'Dead' appears against Doolin's name. The somber fact is confirmed on the Annual Casualty Roll of the Bengal Artillery for 1858 which records that Sergeant John Doolin died at Cawnpore on 11th September 1858. The cause of his death is unknown. In the Annual Account of Estates of the Bengal Artillery dated September 1859, Doolin's estate was

valued at 134 Rupees 4 Annas. Doolin was a married man and his wife was the sole beneficiary. She received the first part of the modest estate very quickly, on 11th October 1858. The remainder was distributed to her one month later.

7292 Corporal John Enright

Enright served with 3-1 Ben.A throughout the Mutiny campaign, and a claim was entered on behalf of 'Corporal John Enright' on the rolls of this company dated 13th September 1860 for a four-clasp medal. He attested to having been wounded by a bullet in the calf of his left leg on 17th November 1857 during the so-called 2nd Relief of Lucknow, although this is not recorded in Tavender's Casualty Roll. It did not prevent him from continuing on to fight in the Central India campaign. In 1861 he opted for continued service in the Royal Artillery, his last posting being as a Conductor R.A. with the Fort William Arsenal. He transferred to the Pension Establishment in April 1883.

Medal claims of Officer and Men of the 3rd Company 1st Battalion Bengal Artillery employed in the suppression of the Mutiny in India

	European	*Indian*	*Both*
Clasps [number]			
Medal without clasp [-]	2	0	2
Delhi [1]	15	1	16
Delhi/Relief of Lucknow [2]	3	0	3
Delhi/Relief of Lucknow/Lucknow [3]	16	0	16
Delhi/Relief of Lucknow/Lucknow/Central India [4]	46	93	139
Delhi/Lucknow/Central India [3]	3	0	3
Relief of Lucknow/Lucknow/Central India [3]	3	4	7
Lucknow [1]	1	0	1
Lucknow/Central India [2]	10	6	16
Total all medals	**99**	**104**	**203**

British Library, India Office Records: rolls of claims for the Mutiny medal

L/Mil/05/079 f. 162-69	Nov 1858	Beneegunge	184 - first 'main roll'
L/Mil/05/098 f. 288-92	Sep 1860	Lucknow	193 - second 'main' roll'
L/Mil/05/099 f. 046-48	Jan 1861	Lucknow	6 - gun lascars
L/Mil/05/099 f. 128	Jun 1861	Lucknow	1 - native doctor
L/Mil/05/100 f. 279	Sep 1862	Agra	3 - bullock drivers att'd
			203
L/Mil/05/100 f. 161	Mar 1862	Agra	1 - Capt Blunt, C.I. clasp only
L/Mil/05/096 f.140-41	Feb 1860	Peshawar	1 – Capt Gully (P'war Mtn Bty)

Thanks are due to Paul Hellier for making John Enright's service papers available.

BOOK REVIEW

Britain's Gurkha War: *The Invasion of Nepal, 1814-16;* by John Pemble. Published 2008 by Frontline Books, an imprint of Pen & Sword Books Ltd, 47 Church Street, Barnsley, S. Yorkshire, S70 2AS. Hardback, plates, maps, bibliography & index, xv & 389 pp. ISBN 978-184832-520-3. £19.99. This is a revised edition of *The Invasion of Nepal: John Company at War*, published in 1971 by Oxford University Press, which is now quite hard to find. There is a new Foreword by [Lieutenant Colonel] J.P. Cross [OBE].

The Nepal War could have been of very little interest to the British public at the time. It was fought in a remote part of the world where British interests were then controlled and managed by the Honourable East India Company, motivated as a trading organisation, rather than by the British Government. Even the HEIC's hierarchy knew very little about Nepal, and no one could have foreseen this war's future effects. Moreover, it must have been eclipsed by the threat from the nearby French *bêtes noires*, with their chief ogre's escape from Elba and the crucial Battle of Waterloo taking place in the middle of it. Yet its consequences, unimaginable at the time, have been of huge value to both Britain and Nepal. From it have followed nearly 200 years of alliance and friendship between the two nations which provided peace in an important frontier region of India and extraordinary military support for Britain ever since, including the long hard times of two World Wars besides the Indian Mutiny of 1857-58 when the going was also tough. In short, Britain has gained incalculable value from Gurkha soldiers who have been enlisted for service under the Crown since 1815.

Even now the British Army has nearly 4,500 Gurkhas in its infantry, engineer, signals, and logistics forces. In return, Nepal has also had great benefit from the inward flow of money, education and training of its people and an external source of employment for a country where jobs were once few except in domestic agriculture and basic trades.

Dr Pemble, a Senior Research Fellow at Bristol University and once on the Academic Staff at Sandhurst, is an historian and author of wide interests and considerable skill. Here he describes the invasion of Nepal with clarity and accuracy in just over half the book's content, and adds extra value by devoting almost a third of the book to setting the scene in some detail for about 50 years or more prior to 1814. In this lead-in he gives lucid and interesting descriptions and comments on the Gurkha people, their depredations and annexation of their neighbours' lands, their quarrel with the British, the geography and the truth about Himalayan trade, and the Bengal Army.

Dr Pemble's analysis of the size and state of the Company's and British forces over several decades is an eye-opener and very helpful to a reader trying to understand why they so often performed poorly during the operations of 1814-16. Officers and men, their numbers, morale, organisation, dress, equipment, pay, promotion systems, age and service, training, and the enervating effects of the Indian climate are among the topics covered and they make fascinating reading.

Although the Nepal War brought British victory in the end, it was a sorry tale of many military failures. John Pemble describes the strategy and tactics, the problems caused by immensely difficult terrain, and the qualities of people on both sides including those of the opposing commanders [most of the senior British ones proving to be inept]. There are good descriptions of the invading columns, their opponents, and their successes and failures, although it is a pity that the [b/w] maps show only the basic geography and not the columns' routes or the sites of actions.

The Bengal Army and the British regiments revealed major shortcomings in several ways for mountain warfare in inaccessible places. But fortunately for Britain, as is often the case, most of the officers and men endured hardship, dangerous living and fighting with admirable courage and fortitude. They were said to have suffered 3,000 battle casualties besides 2,000 lost from sickness and desertion. Importantly, the book also describes the circumstances and origins of recruiting those Gurkhas and other hillmen who formed the 1st and 2nd Nusseree, Sirmoor and Kemaoon Battalions in April 1815; three of which later became the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Gurkha Rifles. One of those original recruits was Senior Subedar in the Sirmoor Battalion during the Indian Mutiny 42 years later.

This is a definitive account of a relatively obscure war from which sprang the shoots of that wonderful alliance and friendship between Britain and Nepal which has been of huge benefit to both countries for nearly 200 years. It is not only a splendid historical record which everyone interested in Gurkhas, and in India, should have for reference, but good reading and excellent value for money as well. [Denis Wood]

CORRESPONDENCE

Rana Jodha Jang Bahadur. *Ronald F. Rosner writes ....* 'The references to Rana Jodha Jang Bahadur in the Spring and Summer 2009 issues of *Durbar* are a wonderful reminder of an often neglected aspect of Raj: the participation of the State forces and of upper-class Indian officers drawn from the 'Martial Races'. However, based upon the evidence of his name alone, Rana Johda Jang

would more likely have been related, not to the Nepalese Royal family, but to the Rana family of hereditary Nepalese prime ministers, the first of whom, Jung Bahadur Rana, killed off the opposition in the infamous Kathmandu Khot massacre. He visited London in 1850 and as result sided with the Raj in the Mutiny, thereby regaining some territory lost during the 1814-16 Anglo-Gurkha wars. The royal family, whose patronymic is Shah, was kept in ceremonial seclusion until 1951, when with the aid of the Indians the Ranas were ousted from power. Over years, because the Ranas practiced many variations of multiple marriage and concubinage, various ranks of Ranas evolved: 'A', 'B' and 'C'. An 'A' class Rana could be a general at birth, the 'Bs' were field grade officers and the 'Cs' company grade officers. In addition there were continuous internecine struggles within the Rana family, with the usual multiple murders and exiles. Such an event may have resulted in Jodha Jang Bahadur's family becoming established in Tehri Garhwal. However, it is possible that Rana Jodha Jang's antecedents come from a slightly different direction. Tehri Garhwal had been part of the Gurkha Empire until the Treaty of Segauli at the end of the Anglo-Gurkha wars. Until the establishment in 1891 of what was to eventually become the Royal Garhwal Rifles, many Garhwalis were enlisted into the Gurkha regiments of the Raj. Interestingly, even when they had their own regiment, the Garhwalis continued to wear the Gurkha slouch hat and to carry kukris. It was on secondment to the Royal Garhwal Rifles that then 2nd Lieutenant Rana Jodha Jang received his Military Cross.'

76th Armoured Regt, Indian Armoured Corps. The Commanding Officer of the 76th Armoured Regt asks for assistance in obtaining any details of the earlier incarnation of his regiment as 76th Cavalry. The regiment that first bore this number was raised in 1942 specifically for garrison duties, and was composed mainly of re-employed ex-servicemen and reservists. As far as is known, it took no part in active operations and was disbanded at Fyzabad on 15th March 1946. Some specific examples of the sort of information the C.O. is looking for are: description of the flag, officers'/VCO's names, the regiment's activities, and its locations. If any members or readers have information they feel might be pertinent, either specific or general, they are requested to kindly contact the Vice President, Rana Chhina, by email at chhina.rana@gmail.com or cafhr@usiofindia.org – or alternatively to send it by conventional mail to the Editor who will be pleased to forward it.

Colonel G.E. Leachman. Omer Tarin has written in to shed light on some recently discovered material relating to G.E. Leachman, the subject of his joint article with Sarkees Najmuddin in the Autumn and Winter 2008 editions of *Durbar* (Vol. 25, Nos. 3 and 4. There is significant mention of Leachman's

travels in a recent book entitled 'Travelers in Arabia*'* by Eid al-Yahya (Stacey International Publishers, London 2006). This offers some interesting additional reading although it does not cover much new ground. Back in 1982, the role of Leachman was played by Oliver Reed in an Arabic movie *al Mas 'Ala Al-Kubra* (Clash of Loyalties) sponsored/financed by the late Saddam Hussein, no less!

Scarcity of Militia and Levy medals. *Peter Chapman writes ....* **'**In the Summer 2002 edition of *Durbar* (Volume 19, No.2), in my letter concerning Levy and Militia units on the North-west and South-west frontiers of India, I suggested that, for the more obscure units, medals are almost never found to low ranking men. I added that medals in my own modest gathering are, for example, to jemadars in the Mohmand Militia, to a subadar in the Baluchistan Levies, and to a havildar in the Chitral Scouts. This prompted me to suggest that these units were quite small, often short lived, and so on. The other day Philip Burman's always welcome medal list arrived and included a medal to the Gilgit Scouts. In many years of collecting I have never seen another …. and I missed it by 20 minutes! This medal happened to be to a Subadar named Gauhar Aman – which seems to bear out the gist of my letter of seven years ago. On the other hand, the North Waziristan Scouts, the South Waziristan Scouts, the Tochi Scouts, the Khyber Rifles, the Zhob and Kurram Militia frequently figure on medal lists and regularly include the basic ranks of sepoy and lance naik.' [Two factors that may be pertinent when contemplating the scarcity of medals to the loosely formed militia and levy units. An unquantifiable proportion could not be distributed to claimants who had returned to their remote villages and so were unreachable or untraceable by the time their medals became available. The constant struggle against economic hardship in the frontier regions was probably a more telling factor. Silver being a highly valued commodity, many of the medals actually issued were pawned in the bazaars and eventually went into the melting pot. Ed.]

Regimental numbers. Carl-Eric Granfelt seeks clarification of the inclusion of the digit '½' in the naming detail '414½ Sepoy ….' found on an IGS 1854, clasp Waziristan 1894-95. The Editor has seen this type of numbering before, but has no idea why it was employed. Can anyone explain it? [Replies to: PO Box 613, Pinetop, AZ 85935, USA; with a copy please to the Editor]

Indian Army in the Western Desert. Neal Dando, a PhD student researching British and Commonwealth forces during the Western Desert Campaign 1940-43, would be pleased to hear from members with access to memoirs of Indian Army veterans from this campaign. [Replies to: 61 Fore Street, Chudleigh, Newton Abbot, Devon TQ13 0HY, U.K.; neal.dando@plymouth.ac.uk]