



CHOWKIDAR

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Editor: Dr. Rosie Llewellyn-Jones

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AIMS OF BACSA

This Association was formed in October 1976 to bring together people with a concern for the many hundreds of European cemeteries, isolated graves and monuments in South Asia. There is a steadily growing membership of over 1,300 drawn from a wide circle of interest - Government; Churches; Services; Business; Museums; Historical and Genealogical Societies. More members are needed to support the rapidly expanding activities of the Association - the setting up of local Branches in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Burma, Ceylon, Malaysia etc., the building up of a Records file in the India Office Library & Records; and many other projects for the preservation of historical and architectural monuments.

The annual subscription rate is £2, with an enrolment fee of £8. There are special rates for joint membership (husband and wife), for life membership and for associate membership. Full details obtainable from the Secretary.

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A CAVALIER AT THE MUGHAL COURT

Towards the end of 1655 East India Company officials in Surat reported to their London Directors that 'ye pretended Englishe Ambassador who goeth under ye style of ye Lord Bellamount' had arrived from Isfahan. When they learned that the false ambassador was on a begging mission from the Royalist supporters of the exiled Charles II, and hoping to raise money from the Mughal Court they found themselves in a peculiar dilemma. News travelled so slowly from England that perhaps Oliver Cromwell was already dead and the King reinstated. On the other hand, they could not afford to alienate the Protectorate, if it survived, by giving succour to the mysterious Lord Bellomont.

This hitherto unknown story of 17th century intrigue is one that came only recently to light in an article by P.J.O. Taylor, a BACSA member who has long been 'a Bellomont hunter' as he puts it. (Even R.C. Prasad, in his book 'Early English Travellers in India' does not mention it.) Writing in the Indian 'Statesman', Taylor carefully traces the original Lord Bellomont, who does not get a mention in the Dictionary of National Biography. Henry Bard was born in 1656 at Staines in Middlesex, where his father was the vicar. He was educated at Eton and King's College, Cambridge, where he became a Fellow in 1635. He travelled extensively in Europe and Turkey, Arabia and Egypt, and when he returned to England in 1642, he presented a fine copy of the Koran to his college; it is still there, in King's College Library.

By now the Civil War was raging in Britain. Bard was a Cavalier and fought for King Charles I as a Colonel. He was badly wounded in the battle of Alresford, and escaped Roundhead captivity to rejoin his King in Oxford. Here he was given command of a brigade and won various titles for his valour. On 18 July 1645 he was created Baron Bard of Drombooy and Viscount Bellomont of Co. Dublin. In the same year he married, thus severing his connection with King's College, since Fellows, at that time, had to be celibate. On the execution of the King, Bellomont, as he now was, accompanied Charles II into exile in Holland and then France. Here they schemed how to restore the Monarchy. Money was one of the main problems. It was thought natural that Royalty should seek finance from other royal heads of State. Sir Andrew Cogan, the 'founder' of Madras, was given the task of approaching the Mughal Court, but because he never returned to India, the job fell on Henry, Viscount Bellomont. At first he

was accredited only to the rulers of Persia and Morocco, but because they did not provide any money, he was sent on to India.

This is where the great Venetian traveller, Niccolae Manucci, enters the story. At the time of Bellomont's journey to India, in 1653, Manucci, a boy of fourteen, had, in his own words, 'a passionate desire to see the world.' He ran away from Venice and hid on board a vessel bound for Smyrna. It was here he met Bellomont and the noble lord took the young lad into his service, treating him like 'a beloved son.' The journey to India had taken two years, in all, because Bellomont was frequently held up for lack of money, or on suspicion of being a spy. He was detained for six months in Persia while the authorities there checked his credentials. On arrival in Surat, the two travellers found Company officials under orders to seize any Englishman who should arrive as Ambassador of Charles, and to return him to England.

Bellomont fell sick at Surat, and, not daring to ask Company doctors for help, was treated by a Dutch Company surgeon, who reported that 'The said lord seems a very well-informed, modest and courteous man, who is very affected over this accident that has happened to him.' In fact the 'accident' was the eruption of a cancerous sore on the lord's cheek, which exposed the bone. The end of the story is full of mystery. Bellomont and Manucci headed for Agra and Delhi. On the way they were feted by certain Englishmen who no doubt hoped for reward if and when Charles was returned to the English throne. Others felt that Bellomont's mission with a begging bowl to the Mughal Court, could upset their trading relations, and this is why there are rumours that he met his death from poisoning, and not from cancer.

He died on 20 June 1656, in some agony, at Hodal, between Agra and Delhi, never having reached his destination. Manucci helped to bury him and it was a distressing scene. Fifteen months later his remains were reburied in the Catholic Cemetery at Agra, at that time the only one in northern India. Presumably his bones still lie there. Manucci, his young companion, went on to become a doctor and surgeon, perhaps spurred on by the example of the Dutch surgeon who had helped his master. He died about 1710 and lies in an unmarked grave near Madras, another vivid epitome of the early adventurers to India.

MAIL BOX

The once familiar image of the memsahib in India has been undergoing a radical change during the last few years. As more research emerges it becomes clear that very many women stationed abroad worked just as hard as their husbands, albeit in different fields. Pat Barr's latest book 'The Dust in the Balance' (reviewed in the current BACSA Books section) has plenty of examples of lively women who were not just adjuncts to their menfolk, but who initiated their own ways of serving the British Raj. Major General Cosmo Nevill has sent a fascinating account of his grandmother, Guilia Nevill, whose life exemplifies our new thinking on British women in India. Guilia was the daughter of the Irish novelist, Charles Lever. She married Colonel Richard Nevill, formerly of the 7th Austrian Hussars, who was appointed Commander of the Nizam's Regular State Forces at Hyderabad about 1875. It was Guilia who originated the idea of the Imperial Service Troops - that army of the Indian Princes set apart for the defence of the Indian Empire - and she was instrumental in inducing His Highness the Nizam, whom she had known from boyhood, to start the scheme in 1885.

A tribute to this remarkable woman comes from the Indian writer S.M. Mitra in his book 'Voice for Women - without votes', who lived in Hyderabad, and knew her personally. 'She frequently kept at bay many a distinguished member of the Indian Diplomatic Service, and made her influence felt in the Imperial Council Chambers of distant Calcutta and Simla. It is not possible to write an accurate political history of Hyderabad during the last twenty years of her residence there, without constantly including her name.' An ideal wife and mother, Guilia's death occurred in 1897 and within a week, her husband, Colonel Richard Nevill, died of a broken heart. Her grandson adds the interesting snippet that the devoted couple were buried separately - Guilia in the Hyderabad Protestant cemetery, her husband in the adjoining Roman Catholic one. Photographs obtained through BACSA a few years ago show both graves in good condition, with their tombstone crosses intact.

Dr. Donald Black recently purchased a number of letters by a 'P & O' captain called Seaton, written to his wife in Southampton during the 1870s. The letters contain a wealth of information about the various ships, their captains and their routes as they plied between India and England. One in particular, dated 27 February 1877 tells of a tragedy in Bombay. 'We have had a dreadful accident [here]. Captain and Mrs. Henry were driving down to

...[illegible] when by some manner the poles of the carriage broke and the horses ran away and in a slant ran against a wall and both were thrown out. Mrs. H. was not hurt but Capt. Henry was pitched out on his head and never spoke again tho' he lived about an hour in unconscious state. Is this not sad?'

A subsequent letter of 25 March 1877 continues 'Captain Henry is very much regretted by the inhabitants of Bombay and by many in the Service. Many others, mostly Chief Officers, will not regret him. There is no doubt that he was a most able man and had wonderful tact and where he did not take a personal dislike a very fair man and very liberal, but, if he did not like anyone for any reason of his own, a most bitter enemy. He was one of the cleverest and most magnetic men in Bombay and was connected in some way with every institution in the place. President of the Chamber of Commerce, Chairman of the Harbour Board, Director of the Bank of Bombay and in fact a General Authority on the place. Mrs. Henry went home in the 'Pekin'. She was a Miss Ruskell and about a year younger than Capt. Henry was. They are going to erect a very handsome monument to his Memory.' One wonders if this monument is still intact.

Our regular correspondent R.R. Langham-Carter, from South Africa, has contributed a note on the Anglican Cathedral in Rangoon. During the second World War, while under enemy occupation, the Japanese used the building as a brewery. When the town was recaptured, volunteer parties of all ranks in the Allied Forces cleared out the vats, trolleys and rubbish that had accumulated. Nearly all the furnishings had gone, but the church authorities were fortunate to have the help of a gifted woman, Margaret Dyer, wife of a Burma missionary, who served as chaplain between 1948-9. Mrs. Dyer designed the lectern, rood and an aumbry and also the memorial book containing the names and units of all who had fallen in the Burma campaign. Before the Japanese occupation there used to be a number of memorial tablets in the Cathedral and one wonders if they survived the building's odd, temporary use. (A recent appeal by the Royal Hussars has raised £7,000 towards urgently needed repairs of the Forces Chapel in the Cathedral.)

It would be nice to think that churches in England would be well cared for, but unfortunately we know that this does not always happen. With falling congregations, there has to be a certain amount of rationalisation, but there are tragic cases of beautiful buildings simply falling into ruin. The church of St. Matthias, Poplar,

south of the East India Dock Road, in London, is a particularly sorry example and one that concerns BACSA because it was the old East India church, with early memorials to those who served abroad. St. Matthias was completed in 1654, during the Commonwealth, the rarest period for church building. It was taken over by the ecclesiastical commissioners from the East India Company, presumably around 1858, on the Company's demise. A clumsy Victorian shell was built over it, but the interior, with its cross vaulting supported on wooden Tuscan columns, is still nearly intact. Unfortunately, it was declared 'redundant' in 1976 and has suffered serious deterioration since. Holes in the roof have widened with recent storms, plaster is falling from the ceiling, the floors have been ripped up and roof slates and furnishings stolen. Despite concern by English Heritage, the London Docklands Development Corporation, the St. Matthias Trust and the Tower Hamlets Conservation Department, nothing has been done to prevent further decay. Ambitious schemes for restoration have flourished and the church may simply have to be demolished as a 'dangerous structure' a sad end for a building so redolent of our Indian connections.

A happier conservation story is that of the 'Foudroyant', the world's second oldest ship afloat, built in the Bombay Dock Yard by the Parsi naval architects, the Wadias. The ship, which was originally called HMS Trincomalee, was renamed in 1897 after Nelson's flagship. She not only sailed between Bombay and Portsmouth, but to places as far afield as Alaska and the Falklands, before becoming a Royal Navy drill ship in the 1860s. Now that her importance has been recognised, there is keen competition between her several ports, including Bombay, to have her berthed permanently and become tourist attraction. At the moment she resides in Hartlepool while the Foudroyant Trust decides on the most suitable place for this enduring reminder of the Indian shipbuilders' skills.

Although BACSA is mainly concerned with events before 1947, letters occasionally arrive which remind us that sudden deaths among Europeans in India do, of course, still occur. David Anderson, from Suffolk, was a tea planter with James Finlay and worked at Rungamuttee in the Dooars, north west Bengal, between 1959 and 1962. His family has long connections with India and he himself was born there. Family members are buried in Bangalore, Coonoor and Ootacamund, with one remaining aunt still living in Ooty. In January 1961 Mr Anderson had the sad duty of attending the burial of a fellow tea planter,

Murray Sargieson, who had been killed the previous weekend, by a wild elephant on 'mast'. Together with another colleague, David Ingram and our correspondent, the three men, all in their early twenties, had made a bet to see who could shoot the first wild boar of the season.

Sargieson's burial service, in the Rungamuttee Cemetery, tucked away in a corner of the tea estate, was conducted by a Scottish padre from the neighbouring estate of Chulsa. Even then, despite his grief, David Anderson noted the number of Britons buried there, including Ronald Beaton, subject of an earlier Chowkidar article (Vol. 4 No. 3). BACSA was able to establish then, in 1986, that the little cemetery was being admirably maintained by its Manager Mr Shamsher Dogra, and we hope that his good work extends to Sargieson's grave too.

A LIVERPOOL TRAGEDY

Recently the editor had the delightful task of researching material on old Liverpool in the British Library and came across the following story in a 'chap-book', a printed booklet of early 19th century ballads sold for a penny. What is interesting is the amount of detail in the 'tragedy' which rings absolutely true. The sub title is 'A Warning to disobedient Children and Covetous Parents'. Robert Fuller, a cattle farmer of Liverpool, had a son called John, who went to sea as a surgeon's mate, apprenticed to a Mr Brown. This was against his father's wishes, who wanted him to follow the family trade (hence the 'disobedient child'.) John Fuller was shipwrecked on the journey to India, but managed to get to Bengal. Here he prospered, married an Indian woman, and had six children. After a decade he returned to England on the East India ship 'Prince', leaving his family behind, and bringing with him £1,000 in gold. Arriving in Liverpool late one night, he sought out his sister and made himself known to her. His parents, he learnt, were now running a lodging house, and he decided to play what he thought was a harmless trick on them. He sought lodging for the night concealing his identity, but not, apparently, his wealth. During the night Robert Fuller and his wife (the covetous parents) killed the 'lodger' by cutting his throat, and stole the gold. When the truth was revealed the next morning the parents killed themselves in remorse, and the sister went raving mad - a terrible climax to what should have been a joyous homecoming.

HINDUSTANI NURSERY RHYMES

When Mr A. Salisbury enquired in the last Chowkidar if readers could help with a collection of nursery rhymes he was compiling, he could not have anticipated the interest that this would arouse. We have been deluged with rhymes in Hindustani, many meticulously typed out. All of this material will go to Mr Salisbury and his collection is eagerly awaited. The rhymes divided quite clearly into two kinds - straight translations from English and original Indian rhymes. Many of the former were published by T.F. Bignold of the ICS between 1863 and 1888. It is not clear whether he translated them himself or collected them from his friends. A typical example runs 'Dekho re, dekho re dekh/ghari bajegi ek/jab ghanta hua, to kud para chuha/dekho re, dekho re, dekh!' (Hickory dickory dock). Another similar one came from Simon Digby of Jersey C.I. who, as a child in the Central Provinces in the 1930s, learnt rhymes from 'Uncle Mac' McKelvie, a family friend. 'Billi kidhar se aya/Rana ka darshan Landan men paya/billi aur kya hua?/kursi ke niche se bhaga chuha' (Pussy cat, pussy cat, where have you been?)

Mr Digby, a greatly respected academic, took the trouble to analyse these rhymes in detail and he points out that certain features make it clear they were translations by English people, not native speakers. 'The accentual metre, copying the English originals, is alien to most Indian poetry and folksong, and I doubt whether these rhymes entered the ayah's repertory. The normal blunted British ear does not hear the difference between aspirated and unaspirated consonants, or between the hard and soft t, d and r. To this must be added the flouting of genders, which mark the non-native speaker - 'billi' for the genus cattus is as decisively feminine as the French 'chat' is masculine.'

John Whitehead of Shropshire has provided some authentic Indian rhymes, which may be new to readers, and which certainly stand translation: 'Athuli Pathuli puri pakaya/usmen dala ghi/bari bazar men bechni gaya/thanda hua ji' (Athuli Pathuli cooked some puris/and put ghee into them/went to the big bazar to sell them/but they had turned cold.) Another little piece, delightful in its inconsequentiality reads: 'Ek tha raja/ek thi rani/donon margaya/khatam kahani.' 'There was a raja/there was a rani/both are dead/the end of the story.' Has there ever been an anthology of such poems? Perhaps we will now have an Indian Opie!

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As BACSA expands to embrace more members and more interests it is natural that we should be seen as a valuable source of knowledge for those researching in Pre-Independence India. Indeed it is safe to say that BACSA today is the best repository of 'Anglo-Indian lore'. That is why it is so important to record as much as we can while it is still possible. The Association is now being approached fairly regularly by learned and academic bodies who have learnt of our members' expertise in bringing the past to life.

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Descriptions of items only, in the first instance please to:

Katherine Soriano, Exhibitions Officer, National Portrait Gallery, St. Martin's Place, London WC2.

From the Museum of Mankind, London, comes another unusual request, this time for information on 'time capsules'. These are contemporary objects buried either in the foundations of buildings or in coffins with the deceased. In the former case, there seems to be a deliberate attempt to send out a message to future generations. As 'grave goods', articles used by the dead are interred with them to act perhaps as familiar markers on the journey ahead. The example of Colonel Hodson (of Hodson's Horse) buried in uniform with his monocle, at Lucknow, is perhaps, a slight example, yet none the less, interesting to our enquirer, Dr Brian Durrans. Were any

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Mention of an old lady in Kasauli in the last Chowkidar prompted Peter Collister, the author, to write to us asking for more information on Miss Durrani-Warburton. He was able to give us some background notes on this interesting Anglo-Afghan family. In November 1841, he tells us, Captain Robert Warburton married Shah Jahan Begum, a divorced lady, niece of Dost Muhammad and a relative also of Shah Shuja, the rulers of Afghanistan displaced and replaced respectively by the British. The wedding ceremony took place in Kabul and was witnessed by Sir Alexander Burnes, who was shortly to lose his life in the first Afghan War. Robert Warburton was taken prisoner during the hostilities and his wife only survived by fleeing from house to house of her relatives and friends. After being reunited by the returning British at the end of the War, the couple lived together at various stations in India, although the Captain did not take his wife with him on a two year leave in Ireland, neither did he tell his family of her existence.

This may have been because there was some doubt over the parentage of Paul, the eldest child of the marriage. Was he in fact Warburton's son, or the son of his wife's first (Afghan) husband? Paul provided a home for his mother at Ludhiana, and became known as the famous 'Button Sahib' of the Punjab Police. The younger son, Robert, acknowledged by his father, became the equally famous 'Warburton of the Frontier'. Warburton Senior was a cousin of 'Hellfire Jack' (General Sir William Olpherts) the subject of a recent BACSA book, and Peter Collister is related, through his wife Ann, to both Olpherts and Warburton. The eldest daughter of Warburton Senior and Shah Jahan Begum took the name 'Durrani', so the old lady in Kasauli is obviously a descendant. Peter Collister is hoping to write a book on this fascinating family and would be grateful to be put in touch with anyone who may have information or contacts. Letters to BACSA Secretary please.

Readers may also be able to help with the following brief queries: (Letters again to BACSA Secretary, unless otherwise stated.)

* Meerut: Alan Harfield who is writing a handbook on Meerut Cantonment Cemetery still needs a few late 19th/early 20th century photographs of the cemetery.

* Shikar Diaries: a new member from California, Leslie D. Melvill would like the loan of any 'shikar' diaries readers may hold. He also wants information about the famous gamecocks of India, more properly known as 'asil'.

* Allahabad: Keith Cornelius of Surrey is looking for news on the graves of two ancestors who were indigo planters in the region - Nicholas Flouest, who died in 1864 and Frederick Peter Flouest in 1870/71.

* Ian Stoye is seeking information on the Boxer family of Bengal, and in particular, John Boxer who was married at Exeter in 1811 to Elizabeth Perryman. The Register shows that he was 'born at Bengal in the East Indies, 1784'. In this case the address for replies is 'Fairfield', Thorverton, Exeter, Devon EX5 5NG.

* Lady Borwick, nee Caroline Johnstone, was the daughter of the evangelical missionary the Rev. Richard Johnstone of Kurnool, Madras, and the great grand-daughter of the Vicomte de Santiges, who was connected with the Danish Court. During the 1857 uprising Caroline, aged only two, escaped by bullock cart from the troubles. Now her grand-daughter, the Hon. Diana Uhlman of Croft Castle is seeking information on the Johnstone family, and incidentally, reminding us that in some cases, the events of 1857 are still only three generations away!

* Another vivid link with our Indian past comes in a query from Mrs. V.E. Latimer of Cape Town, great grand-daughter of John Blomefield, Chaplain of Daniel Wilson, Bishop of Calcutta from 1850-56. Mrs. Latimer is the lucky possessor of many 'India letters' which she feels would make a fascinating book and she would be grateful for any light that readers could shed on John Blomefield and the Bishop. Replies in this case to: Mrs. V.E. Latimer of 17, Greenfield, Pinewood Road, Rondebosch 7700, South Africa.

* 'Military Music in India: were you involved with it?' asks Pat Goddard, a young researcher from Oxford. 'If so', she continues, 'I would be very interested to hear from you. I am currently making a study of military music during the British rule, and examining all aspects of it.' Please reply to Pat Goddard, 5, Fairfax Avenue, Old Marston, Oxford OX3 0RP.

Chowkidar's query on the origin and meaning of the 'Kaiser-i-Hind' medal understandably brought in a good response. A description tells us that the 'award was introduced by Queen Victoria in 1900 and was given

irrespective of nationality, colour, creed or sex, to those who had performed useful public service in India, being frequently issued for social work and similar services. The decoration in gold, was awarded by the Sovereign on the recommendation of the Secretary of State for India, and in silver, was awarded by the Governor General. It was abolished upon Partition in 1947. The medal was worn from a riband fashioned into a bow when awarded to a lady.'

A typical citation, kindly sent in by Bill Saumarez-Smith, was to T.M. Coffey, of the Indian Forest Service, who reached the rank of Conservator after twenty years' service. His 'enthusiasm and ability to get the best out of his staff, together with his experience of forestry work in Bengal, were of great value to the Province.' During the Second World War, Coffey was able to 'supply the army with the very large quantities of timber required for war purposes'. The actual meaning of 'Kaiser-i-Hind' is simply 'Emperor of India' and was selected because the word 'kaiser' is the same in both Sanskrit and Persian, thus being appropriate for Hindus and Muslims, as well as the Britons to whom it was also awarded, including several BACSA ladies.

COLONEL DIXON'S TOMB

As a child, BACSA member A.M. Carstairs lived in Beawar, Rajputana, where his parents were missionaries. (It was George Carstairs who wrote the excellent biography of a fellow missionary, entitled 'Shepherd of Udaipur'). One of his childhood memories was of the elaborate marble tomb of Colonel Charles George Dixon of the Bengal Artillery and he recently enquired whether the tomb was still intact. Research by a retired Indian Army officer has produced a beautiful set of photographs, one of which is reproduced on p.108 and a fascinating story as well. Colonel Dixon, who was born in 1795 and died on 25 July 1857 (from natural causes), commanded the Merwara Local Battalion for 22 years. He was also the Superintendent and Commissioner of Ajmer and Merwara and founded the town of Beawar in 1835. He drew up plans for the city, on a regular pattern, had trees planted, and got fine houses built. Although said not to have married, he left money to a natural son, by an Indian lady, and Bibi Dixon's maqbara is a pleasant little walled shrine on the Ajmer Road. The Colonel's tomb is in the Christian Cemetery on the Chaoni Road. It is impeccably maintained by the Church Committee, as well as the local people 'who revere him like a god and perform puja at his grave.'

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* Shikar Diaries: a new member from California, Leslie D. Melvill would like the loan of any 'shikar' diaries readers may hold. He also wants information about the famous gamecocks of India, more properly known as 'asil'.

* Allahabad: Keith Cornelius of Surrey is looking for news on the graves of two ancestors who were indigo planters in the region - Nicholas Flouest, who died in 1864 and Frederick Peter Flouest in 1870/71.

* Ian Stoye is seeking information on the Boxer family of Bengal, and in particular, John Boxer who was married at Exeter in 1811 to Elizabeth Perryman. The Register shows that he was 'born at Bengal in the East Indies, 1784'. In this case the address for replies is 'Fairfield', Thorverton, Exeter, Devon EX5 5NG.

* Lady Borwick, nee Caroline Johnstone, was the daughter of the evangelical missionary the Rev. Richard Johnstone of Kurnool, Madras, and the great grand-daughter of the Vicomte de Santiges, who was connected with the Danish Court. During the 1857 uprising Caroline, aged only two, escaped by bullock cart from the troubles. Now her grand-daughter, the Hon. Diana Uhlman of Croft Castle is seeking information on the Johnstone family, and incidentally, reminding us that in some cases, the events of 1857 are still only three generations away!

* Another vivid link with our Indian past comes in a query from Mrs. V.E. Latimer of Cape Town, great grand-daughter of John Blomefield, Chaplain of Daniel Wilson, Bishop of Calcutta from 1850-56. Mrs. Latimer is the lucky possessor of many 'India letters' which she feels would make a fascinating book and she would be grateful for any light that readers could shed on John Blomefield and the Bishop. Replies in this case to: Mrs. V.E. Latimer of 17, Greenfield, Pinewood Road, Rondebosch 7700, South Africa.

* 'Military Music in India: were you involved with it?' asks Pat Goddard, a young researcher from Oxford. 'If so', she continues, 'I would be very interested to hear from you. I am currently making a study of military music during the British rule, and examining all aspects of it.' Please reply to Pat Goddard, 5, Fairfax Avenue, Old Marston, Oxford OX3 0RP.

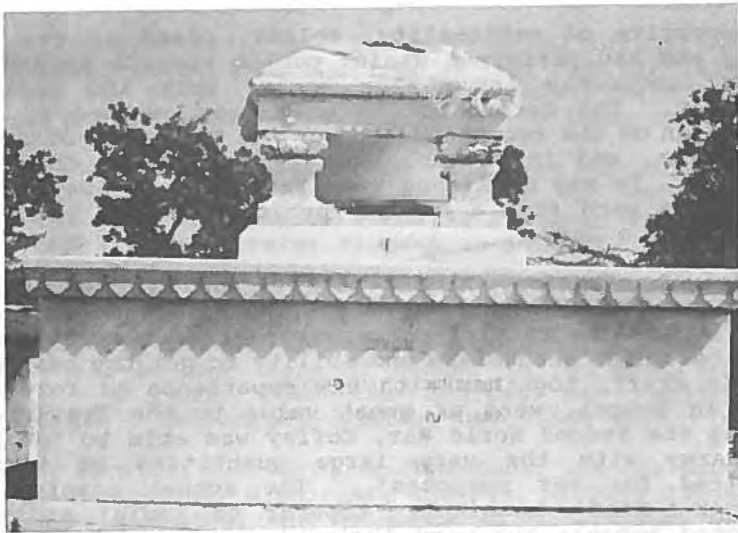
Chowkidar's query on the origin and meaning of the 'Kaiser-i-Hind' medal understandably brought in a good response. A description tells us that the 'award was introduced by Queen Victoria in 1900 and was given

irrespective of nationality, colour, creed or sex, to those who had performed useful public service in India, being frequently issued for social work and similar services. The decoration in gold, was awarded by the Sovereign on the recommendation of the Secretary of State for India, and in silver, was awarded by the Governor General. It was abolished upon Partition in 1947. The medal was worn from a riband fashioned into a bow when awarded to a lady.'

A typical citation, kindly sent in by Bill Saumarez-Smith, was to T.M. Coffey, of the Indian Forest Service, who reached the rank of Conservator after twenty years' service. His 'enthusiasm and ability to get the best out of his staff, together with his experience of forestry work in Bengal, were of great value to the Province.' During the Second World War, Coffey was able to 'supply the army with the very large quantities of timber required for war purposes'. The actual meaning of 'Kaiser-i-Hind' is simply 'Emperor of India' and was selected because the word 'kaiser' is the same in both Sanskrit and Persian, thus being appropriate for Hindus and Muslims, as well as the Britons to whom it was also awarded, including several BACSA ladies.

COLONEL DIXON'S TOMB

As a child, BACSA member A.M. Carstairs lived in Beawar, Rajputana, where his parents were missionaries. (It was George Carstairs who wrote the excellent biography of a fellow missionary, entitled 'Shepherd of Udaipur'). One of his childhood memories was of the elaborate marble tomb of Colonel Charles George Dixon of the Bengal Artillery and he recently enquired whether the tomb was still intact. Research by a retired Indian Army officer has produced a beautiful set of photographs, one of which is reproduced on p.108 and a fascinating story as well. Colonel Dixon, who was born in 1795 and died on 25 July 1857 (from natural causes), commanded the Merwara Local Battalion for 22 years. He was also the Superintendent and Commissioner of Ajmer and Merwara and founded the town of Beawar in 1835. He drew up plans for the city, on a regular pattern, had trees planted, and got fine houses built. Although said not to have married, he left money to a natural son, by an Indian lady, and Bibi Dixon's maqbara is a pleasant little walled shrine on the Ajmer Road. The Colonel's tomb is in the Christian Cemetery on the Chaoni Road. It is impeccably maintained by the Church Committee, as well as the local people 'who revere him like a god and perform puja at his grave.'



top: the marble tomb of Colonel Dixon at Beawar (see p.107).

below: the Buxar cemetery after the removal of jungle growth. The pastor, the Rev. D.D.Singh stands amid the tombs.



top: the Multan obelisk, beautifully restored, commemorates the murder, in 1848, of two British officers, Vans Agnew and Anderson. Revenge for their deaths led to the 2nd Sikh War and the annexation of the Punjab a year later.

below: handsome tombs at Mhow cemetery stand in a pastoral scene before the annual grass clearing after the monsoon.



Black spots in the marble are from joss sticks burnt during prayers, and the tomb is never without its marigold garland. A memorial to the Colonel stood in the town centre until 1972, when it was demolished by the municipality in a road-widening scheme. Strangely enough there have been poor monsoons ever since this event and the locals are now pressing for the memorial to be re-erected on an alternate site.

BOOKS BY BACSA AUTHORS

The Amritsar Legacy - Golden Temple to Caxton Hall - the story of a killing Roger Perkins

In his introduction to this book, the author felicitously narrates that, by 1980, he had become a collector and amateur researcher of British campaign and gallantry awards, and happened to purchase two Indian General Service medals which somehow seemed to him to be related to each other. The first bore the clasp 'Afghanistan NWF 1919' and the name impressed was 'Lieutenant J.C. O'Dwyer, Indian Army Reserve of Officers'. The other had the clasp 'Waziristan 1919-21' and bore the name of 'Udham Singh, Railways.' It transpired that J.C. O'Dwyer was the son of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, a former Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab, who had been killed in revenge by this self-same Udham Singh, latterly a Ghadr (Revolutionary) party member, in the Caxton Hall, London, in 1940. The author adds 'How, when and why the two medals had first been brought into union was at that stage a puzzle, but the search for an answer to that minor mystery brought me back once again ... to the much larger story of Amritsar and Brigadier General Reginald Dyer, Indian Army'.

With such strands, the author has skilfully interwoven the woof and warp of the firing at Jallianwala Bagh in 1919. Early in April that year there had been an outbreak of violence in Amritsar, following the arrest of two local nationalist leaders, in which violence some Europeans were killed and injured and some Government buildings set on fire. Brigadier General Dyer arrived on 11 April and the next day issued orders forbidding any assembly, proclaiming by beat of drum that disobedience would be met by force. When he learnt on 13 April that a meeting was to be held at the Jallianwala Bagh, Dyer proceeded there with 90 troops and two armoured cars. Without further warning, he ordered his troops to open fire, and the unarmed, peaceful crowd, unable to disperse

quickly, since Dyer's troops occupied the one proper exit, were mown down. The firing continued for ten minutes, 1650 rounds officially killing 379 and wounding over 1200, many being women and children. Udham Singh was probably among the wounded. The narration is succinct and objective, the author candidly admitting, 'There is no vision more perfect than hindsight. It is so easy, at leisure and seventy years later, to examine what happened in the Punjab in 1919, and to find fault'. Apart from the official 1920 Hunter Committee report, there have been several accounts, listed by the author under 'Sources' of what historian Alfred Draper has described as 'the massacre that ended the Raj'.

The author generously records his indebtedness to Draper and comes to the reasoned conclusion: 'One may argue round the point, but the statement is basically true'. Overall, an unputdownable and well researched book, though a few minor corrections could be taken note of. The photograph on page 202 is not that of Mrs Gandhi's assassin Beant Singh, a policeman, but of a sowar of the President of India's Bodyguard (formerly the Governor General's Bodyguard). The 1909 killer of Sir William Curzon-Wylie was Madan Lal (not Madha Lao) Dhingra. The Indian Minister who received Udham Singh's remains in 1974 was Swaran (not Swami) Singh. (SLM)

Picton Publishing (Chippenham) 9 Queensbridge Cottages, Patterdown, Chippenham, Wiltshire SN15 2NS, 1989 £16.95 + £1.00 P&P pp 233

Regiments of the Empire - a bibliography of their published histories Compiled by Roger Perkins

This is an unique, pioneering work, encompassing in its ambit all the uniformed forces of the Dominions, former Colonies and Mandated Territories that served the erstwhile British Empire. It complements White's book on British Army histories, and thus fills an important gap that has subsisted for an unduly protracted period on the aforesaid regiments/units. The greater part of the book is taken up by Indian regiments. The only similar bibliographic work known to the reviewer is M.A. Myers' 1957 thesis 'Regimental Histories of the Indian Army' (National Army Museum, London). In the present publication, some 200 individuals in 14 countries have assisted the compiler over three years. Nearly 1,000 unit designations appear in the Indices, representing more than 900 published titles. Nevertheless the compiler rightly indicates that a second (revised)

edition will be produced about 1995 and requests that any deficiencies in this publication be brought to his notice. An example that comes to mind is that of the 43rd Erinpura Regiment, disbanded along with the 42nd Deoli Regiment and 44th Merwara Regiment in the early 1920s. The reviewer had come across an official publication on the Erinpura Regiment in the India Office Library and Records.

Separately there were official handbooks issued by Army Headquarters, New Delhi, in the 1920s and early 1930s on the various classes recruited into the Indian Army. These also cover the regimental connections of the concerned classes. In the absence of the regimental histories of the disbanded units, some of these official handbooks could serve as regimental references in the next edition of this publication. A case in point is the official handbook on 'Moplahs', a reminder that there were in the 1890s, the short-lived 77th and 78th Moplah Rifles. Similarly, just as it has been possible to trace the unpublished history of 5/4th Bombay Grenadiers up to the time it was disbanded in 1921, it may be possible to trace other, similar compilations pertaining, for instance, to the 11th Gurkha Rifles and the Christian Regiment raised for World War I, and the Ajmer Regiment and Chamar Regiment raised for World War II, to mention just a few such examples.

Overall, an encyclopaedic work of considerable value to several different categories of reader or researcher. (SLM)

Privately printed by the author PO Box 29 Newton Abbott, Devon TQ12 1XU 1989 £24.50 + £1.70 P&P pp 382

India - A Pageant of Prints Pauline Rohatgi and Peroza Godrej

A pictorial feast. This generous and well chosen selection is an assembly of sixteen articles by people who are authorities on their subjects. Well written, and profusely illustrated in colour and black and white, each article has the stamp of diligently acquired expertise, displayed in an intelligent and attractive way. The book is well constructed and easy to enjoy and assimilate.

The first chapter, vitally important about prints, makes simple the intricacies of the art of printing and its peripheral evolution. For me, at any rate, it has cleared up a fog of nebulous misconceptions.

The book continues with a procession of beautifully reproduced prints by the men who crystallised their visions of India so many years ago. William Hodges, the strange genius who was a precursor of the Impressionists; Thomas Daniell and his nephew William Daniell, those indefatigable travellers and talented painters, who traversed the vastness of India, from the Garhwal mountains in the North to Cape Comorin, the land's end of India; the work of Henry Salt, Charles Gold, James Baillie Fraser, and Sir Charles D'Oyly whose father and first wife lie buried in the South Park Street Cemetery in Calcutta; and the work of many others who captured the magic of India.

One is entranced by the landscapes and portraits and the flora and fauna of India. There is even an illustrated chapter on the Viceroy, the men who ruled India, and whose legacies remain to this day.

'A pageant of prints' will teach us a great deal, and will enchant us, and will fill us with nostalgia, and we shall return to it again and again.

Hindoostan, many tongued, many handed,
Why camest thou to dazzle our eyes,
To lend all thy lures when we landed'
Thy sun, and thy scent and thy skies. (MS)

Marg Publications 1989 £30 incl. P&P from BACSA Secretary, pp.218.

Scenic Splendours: India through the printed image
Pheroza Godrej and Pauline Rohatgi

Poor co-ordination on the part of the two publishers has meant that 'Scenic Splendours' appeared almost simultaneously with 'India - a pageant of prints' by the same authors (reviewed above). The subject matter necessarily overlaps, though the many, well-produced illustrations are mostly different. The price of both books reflects the work that has gone into them, so purchasers must make their own choice based on their particular interests. 'Scenic Splendours' is primarily about places, though it does have lively pictures of Indians and Britons. (A memorable one entitled 'Landing on the North Beach, Madras' by Charles Hunt after Sir James Butler East, has plump Victorian women, doggedly holding on to their parasols, being carried ashore by Indians, and carefully folded into palanquins by their

husbands). The authors have arranged their subject matter by areas - Calcutta and environs; along the Ganges; cities of the northern plains; mountains and deserts of the north; Madras and Bombay. This has advantage of letting the reader trace European images along the artists' routes. The section on Bombay is particularly interesting because its rather mundane charms were often neglected by those in search of more exotic locations. The work of the almost unknown Portuguese Goan, Jose Gonsalves (who later accompanied Alexander Burnes to Kabul), is a rare find. The disadvantage of dividing the book into separate locations is that many artists like the Daniells, William Hodges, Henry Salt, etc often covered wide areas of India, so tracing a complete oeuvre means a lot of page hopping. Biographies of the artists are given in the text, and, most valuably, their own comments on what they saw, from their journals. We are fortunate that so many early artists wrote as well as they drew, so that the immediacy of their work, often carried out in difficult circumstances, adds interest to the illustrations. The index, appendix and bibliography are excellent. One small, technical quibble - the reviewer was probably unlucky with her copy, but one does not expect to find pages from a book of this price detaching themselves from the spine, before handling. (RLJ)

British Library Publications 1989 £25.00 pp.167

The Dust in the Balance: British Women in India 1905-1945
Pat Barr

'Women in all countries are considered such dust in the balance when their interests are pitted against those of men' wrote Fanny Parks in 1850, in 'Travels in India'. At the time, except for a few brave souls, including Fanny, the statement was justified. Pat Barr's fascinating book is the story of how British women gradually began to liberate themselves and how, in so doing, they were able to help Indian women to do the same. It is not a feminist tract but a well written, original piece of research that provides the long awaited counterpoint to all those myths about idle white women in the sub-continent. Certainly there were memsahibs who fulfilled the usually masculine, stereotype, but Barr's women were tough, down to earth creatures who battled against primitive, dangerous conditions, the ignorance of the uneducated and unhygienic and perhaps most difficult of all, male prejudice, both Indian and British. She looks at educationists, like Florence Wyld, who opened a

school in Hyderabad with four little girls in purdah and built it up into a respected college where Indian women could sit for, and pass, the Cambridge Senior examinations. Wyld found that there were simply no textbooks available in English which taught Indian history and the idea of teaching British history struck her, for the first time, as inappropriate. There were also English governesses to princely Indian families, often ill paid, but sometimes rewarded, like Margaret Ussher, who got 'a little blue-grey Hillman Minx' to drive to the Secunderabad Club.

But many women never got close to royalty or the British hierarchy in India. They were the wives of police or forestry officers, of mining engineers, surveyors and geologists who lived in remote regions, often bringing up children with little help, and with the nearest doctor hours, if not days, away. These women were nicknamed the 'junglies' by their sophisticated urban sisters, and indeed they themselves felt uncouth and unfashionable when they had to visit Simla or Calcutta. Life in the bush was uncomfortable and sometimes dangerous, as Mrs. Dench found when she went to join her husband at Malakand just after the first World War and had to make the journey on the floor of a hired car, because of snipers in the thorn-scrub. Margery Hall, a working girl from Birmingham found when she got to Jacobabad that most of her servants had syphilis and her cook, 'Flash Harry' from Quetta, had set up a flourishing brothel in one of the servants' quarters.

Then there were the dedicated nurses who found, ironically, that discrimination in Britain forced them overseas where they had a free hand carrying out the jobs they had been trained for. 'There was more than I could ever hope to finish' wrote one, as she trained Indian staff and helped dispel the unhygienic practices surrounding childbirth. It was natural that some women, working so closely with Indians, in the 20s and 30s, should identify themselves with the cause of Indian Independence, like Marjorie Sykes, who worked with Tagore and Gandhi, and became an Indian citizen. The book concludes with the role of women during the second World War, nursing desperately sick men and supplying war weary troops with food and good humour. The photographs are particularly well chosen. They show, for the first time, women at work and at play, driving cars, climbing mountains, delivering babies, picnicking with Indian friends, even smoking! In fact women leading fulfilling and worthwhile lives. The story of how they fought to do so is inspiring and uplifting for all readers. (RLJ)
Hamish Hamilton 1989 £14.95 pp. 186

The Calcutta of Begum Johnson Ivor Edwards-Stuart

This is the story of one of the most remarkable women in the early days of the East India Company, told against the background of Calcutta; a fitting subject for that City's tercentenary in 1990.

Her lifespan covered the period during which the East India Company rose from the humble status of a commercial trading company to become the paramount power in India with its borders on the Sutlej river. Her contemporaries, and in most cases her personal friends or acquaintances, are names with a familiar historical ring - Stringer Lawrence, Robert Clive, Eyre Coote, Sir Arthur Wellesley and his brother Lord Mornington, Lord Lake, Warren Hastings and Lord Cornwallis, to name but a few.

There would be times for rejoicing - victories at Wandiwash, Arcot, Plassey, Buxar and Seringapatam. There would also be times of anguish - the Black Hole and the Patna Massacre. But all in all, to those who survived the climate and the disease, life was pleasant, comfortable and exhilarating.

The author weaves these varied elements into a coherent fabric around the person of the Begum. She was married four times and one of her grandsons became Prime Minister of England, as Lord Liverpool, in the year of her death, 1812, when she was aged 81.

The author has a personal interest in the subject as the Begum was his great x5 grandmother, so he inherited a long tradition of service in India going back as far as 1689 which he continued by joining the Royal 3rd Sikhs, Frontier Force Regiment in Kohat in 1935. He saw action on the Frontier and in the Burma Campaign when he was mentioned in Despatches, before retiring from the Indian Army in 1947 and joining the RAF regiment in Aden, Jordan, and Germany. On leaving the forces in 1959 he went into education and found time to write A John Company General - The Life of Sir Abraham Roberts, published in 1983 as a forerunner of the present title. Sir Abraham had married as his first wife Frances Isabella Ricketts, the great grand-daughter of the 'The Begum'. (TCW)

BACSA 1990 £9.00 + 75 pence P&P pp.174, 12 illustrations and maps.

An Artist on the March Colonel Cornelius Francis James, Prince of Wales' Own Bombay Grenadiers, 1838 -1889, ed. Mrs. M.F. Carey

1989 marked the centenary of the death of a gifted nineteenth century soldier artist and amateur inventor. Born in Madras, he was the second generation of his family to serve in India, his father retiring as a Major General in the Madras Army. His mother's father had also served thirty eight years in the Madras Army, as had his wife's father. His great uncle had been killed at the siege of Patna in 1759. The members of his and his wife's families aggregated four hundred years' military service in India. He himself, after Addiscombe, joined the then 20th Bombay Infantry in 1856, first seeing action in the Persian War of 1856/57. His watercolours are an evocative record of peace and war, including twenty five on the 1868 expedition of the Bombay Army to Abyssinia, under the command of Lieutenant General Sir Robert Napier, ending with the capture of Magdala.

'An Artist on the March' is the first publication of his vivid paintings, the centenary of his death prompting his family to put together a selection of his work in conjunction with major exhibitions first at Guernsey where they reside, and currently (until 29th April 1990) at the National Army Museum, London. The NAM Exhibition displays about seventy of his remarkable paintings, some owned by his family and some by the NAM. He had travelled extensively with his Régiment and while on leave. Wherever he happened to be, he sketched and painted the landscapes and people he encountered, modestly recording for an exhibition at the RUSI in 1876, 'These pictures, painted as an amusement in the leisure hours of active military life abroad, make no pretence to merit on the ground of artistic excellence'. He died of cancer on leave in England, having risen to the rank of Colonel. A fascinating exhibition and a splendid booklet of the work of a soldier whose paintings were also exhibited in 1878 at Aldershot, the exhibition being visited by Queen Victoria. (SLM)

CMA Ltd, Delta House, 1 Cornet Street, St. Peter Port, Guernsey, C.I. £7.50 + £1.20 P&P pp 48.

Note: Special Exhibition of his paintings at the National Army Museum, Chelsea, now open until 29 April 1990 (Monday - Saturday and Sunday pm).

BOOKS BY NON-MEMBERS (that will interest readers)

I have Sind - Charles Napier in India, 1841 - 44
Priscilla Napier

In her previous books 'The Sword Dance' and 'Revolution and the Napier Brothers', Priscilla Napier had recounted General Sir Charles Napier's career up to the age of sixty. His mother, a great grand-daughter of Charles II, had been a celebrated beauty, whom the youthful George III had once wished to marry. In 1841, despite his age, he accepted the command of the Poona Division of the Bombay Army, never having previously served in India. He did this, despite a poor state of health as a result of the wounds he had received at the battles of Corunna and Busaco, because he hoped to save enough money from the high pay he would receive, to provide for his two natural daughters from a Greek mistress.

In August 1842, Napier, with a contingent of the Bombay Army, was ordered to Sind by Lord Ellenborough, the then Governor General of India. At the time, Napier recorded in his Journal 'Charles! Charles Napier! Take heed of your ambition for military glory; you had scotched this snake, but this high command will, unless you are careful, give it all its vigour again. Get thee behind me Satan.' In the event in Sind, he came to be known as the 'Devil's (Shaitan) Great Brother', an appellation he relished.

The author deals meticulously with the political and military developments in Sind, within the time frame set for this book, but the main interest, apart from Napier, is her portrayal of the relationship between him, and Major (later General) James Outram, the political officer in Sind at the time of his arrival, and Captain (later General) John Jacob, the founder of the Scinde Horse. E.T. Lambrick has written biographies of both the latter and it is fascinating to discern how Priscilla Napier's narrative of Outram's and Jacob's roles varies from those of Lambrick. From the point of view of hindsight, there can be little doubt that if Sind had been left in Outram's hands, he would have quietly persuaded the Amirs of Sind to sign the new treaties, drafts of which Outram had submitted to the Governor General in June 1842 (there were separate treaties with the several Amirs), despite their harsh treatment by the previous Governor General, Lord Auckland.

There would have been no trouble, for the Amirs regarded Outram as their best friend. Ellenborough, in July, first postponed the whole question of the new treaties, and then suddenly at the end of August introduced a new element in the Sind - Baluchistan scenario by appointing Napier to be supreme military commander there and also to exercise authority over all political and civil affairs within those limits. Napier emerges as a remarkable personality - combative, radical in his views, and able to express himself pungently. Outram was first subordinated to him, and then a few weeks later unceremoniously ordered back to his regiment in the Bombay Army, for Ellenborough had now decided to wind up the whole Sind and Baluchistan Political Department. At a farewell dinner for Outram in November 1842, before the latter sought to depart on his first home leave, Napier proposed a toast, 'Gentlemen, I give you the Bayard of India, sans peur et sans reproche.' The author wryly adds, 'It is under the title which Charles gave him that the body of this brave man now lies buried in Westminster Abbey, which in view of what followed is not without irony'. In turn Jacob, the hero of the battle of Meeanee was described by Napier as the 'Seidlitz of the India Army', yet Napier turned against him too. For the convoluted details of what embittered Napier's relationship between Outram and Jacob, one needs to read this book. The reported 'Peccavi - I have Sind', attributed to Napier, was actually a satirical pun at the time by 'Punch'. (SLM).

Michael Russell, The Chantry, Wilton, Salisbury 1990
£16.95 pp 327.

Travels in Kashmir: a popular history of its people, places and crafts Brigid Keenan

The author tells us in her introduction that she has two reasons for visiting Kashmir - her interest in its papier mâché work, of which she is a collector, and because she was 'one of the last daughters of the British Raj', having been born in India. The owner of the houseboat which she hired, lent her Dr. Duke's 'Kashmir Handbook' (the revised edition of 1903), a curious vade mecum, which among other things gave instructions for un-dislocating one's shoulder (you need two shikaris for this, and a strong stomach). Back in Europe, Keenan began writing her own book, initially about papier mâché, but found that 'all sorts of people were jostling to get into the story ... Mughals, Afghans, Persians, Sikhs, Britons and Indians'. In the end, she put them all in,

and this does give the book a hotch-potch feel, rather like looking at a Kashmir shawl where the pattern meanders off into interesting little byways, perhaps losing something of the whole. The history of the Valley is covered, and the irony that while all travellers agreed it was the most beautiful place on earth, it was also subject to repeated invasions. Its inhabitants generally led wretched lives, prey to disease and famine, despite the fertility of the land. Bernier, Father Jerome Xavier, Jacquemont, Wolff and others, all left useful records and Keenan has uncovered a wealth of illustrations by English artists. Sadly the captions of many read 'this view no longer exists' or 'this pavilion has since disappeared' showing how much has changed even during living memory. The last chapter, on handicrafts, is the most original. The history of the famous shawls is traced and this would have made a book in itself. Keenan does not answer one question which has intrigued the reviewer (who has a modest collection). Where did the undoubted Chinese influence on the embroidered patterns come from, manifest in very un-Indian clouds and peonies? These seem to have appeared some years ago, presumably over the Himalayas by Chinese embroiderers. Techniques could also have been mentioned, including the recent change from crewel needles to crochet hooks. For the moment we must be satisfied by what is undoubtedly a good book to read in Kashmir, but I hope the author will pursue her interests in more detail. (RLJ).

OUP Delhi (obtainable from UK bookshops) 1989 £10.95
pp.226

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The Indian Police - Basil La Bouchardiere

40 pages of typescript A4 plus 18 pages of the "Roll of I.P. Officers 1861 to 1947" (1,700 names including all past and present members of the Indian Police (U.K.) Association). Copies may be obtained by sending a cheque to Basil La Bouchardiere, 1 Blackbridge Court, Blackbridge Lane, Horsham, West Sussex, RH12 1RH. Phone (0403) 68431. Privately printed 1989 £5.00 incl. P&P

Life Among the Pathans (Khattaks) Colonel Goodwin

His reminiscences 'Life among the Pathans (Khattaks)' was printed privately in 1969 and was sold out in a few years. A further small edition has now been re-printed and is for sale at £5.00 a copy plus 50p postage from Mrs. Janet Pott, 56 Addison Avenue, London W11 4QP (Phone 01 603 5301)



BEGUM JOHNSON'S TOMB