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CASUALTIES OF WAR

THE FATE OF SOME INDIAN ARMY POWs HELD BY THE JAPANESE IN THE FAR EAST

Chris Peterson

Much has been written about the fall of Singapore on 15 February 1942, with critical analysis, finger pointing and head shaking regarding the “impregnable fortress” of the Far East. Equally, a great deal has been recorded of the vicissitudes of the Caucasian allied POWs; indeed, an Academy Award winning film depicting the construction of a bridge on the infamous ‘Railway of Death’ was produced in the 1960s to great acclaim. But what of the 30,000 Indian soldiers who became prisoners when the island fell?

Immediately upon surrender, allied prisoners were divided according to race/ethnicity. Caucasian prisoners were sent to Changi, while Asian prisoners were marched off to Farrar Park. There a Colonel Hunt, described as “the Representative of the British Government”, officially handed all of these soldiers over to the Japanese. Major Fujiwara, Commander of Japanese Intelligence for the area, in turn, handed the prisoners over to Captain Mohan Singh, who declared himself to be the GOC of all Indian prisoners.ⁱ This must have come as a great shock to both the King’s Commissioned Indian Officers (KCIOs) and Viceroy’s Commissioned Officers (VCOs) alike, as there were any number of more senior KCIOs who had many more years of service and a great deal more experience than Capt. Mohan Singh. It is likely that a great many of the other ranks found this confusing as well. For all, it must have seemed that the world had turned upside down.

Captain Mohan Singh then gave a speech in which he made it known that an Indian National Army was being raised to fight for India’s freedom and that it would fight alongside the Japanese to throw off the yoke of British rule. All were invited to join. The cat was out of the bag, and what followed was most likely a time of considerable inner turmoil and mental anguish for a great many men. For others, there is no doubt that a choice was made immediately. A number of POW camps were established on the island including Kranji Camp, Seleter Camp, Bidadari Camp, and the largest, Neesoon Camp with approximately 20,000 men, commanded by Captain Shah Nawaz Khan. What followed was a very difficult time as camp facilities and food were inadequate for the numbers of troops involved. Regular visits by cadres of INA recruiters insured a volatile mix of factions, and order and discipline suffered. It became apparent immediately that large numbers of Muslim soldiers had no inclination to join the INA. At Bidadari Camp, which held mostly Gurkhas, a near riot occurred after an INA recruitment speech.ⁱⁱ Clearly the Gurkhas also showed a marked disinclination to have anything to do with the INA.

By December 1942, the growing friction between Mohan Singh, the Indian Independence League, and the Japanese Command resulted in Mohan Singh’s arrest, and the dissolution of the INA. Subhas Chandra Bose would fill the void in 1943 and a rejuvenated INA would be reborn.ⁱⁱⁱ Throughout this period, the Japanese army was experiencing success upon success, with an ever-lengthening supply line. They were in desperate need of logistical support. The

Japanese high command had planned on a huge volunteer labour force as a result of the “liberation of their Asian brothers”. It simply had not materialized, and so great batches of Indian Army POWs began to be shipped out to islands throughout the Pacific to fulfil the labour needs of the campaign.^{iv}

My interest in the fate of these soldiers was renewed when I sat down to reorganize and re-evaluate my medal collection. I took another look at the medals that represented Singapore casualties. It seems that I had looked closely at the soldiers who were killed during the retreat, noting the Battalion movements and specific actions in which they may have lost their lives. However, when it came to the men who died as POWs, I’m afraid I never really looked into the specific dates or circumstances. The assumption was that the combination of mistreatment, malnutrition and disease took the lives of these men in a steady trickle.

Fortunately, some time ago, I had purchased from the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, the complete register of the Singapore Memorial at Kranji. I now began to look at the dates of death from a completely different perspective. Two medals became the impetus for a more detailed study of the memorial register.

Indian General Service Medal, George VI, Clasp North West Frontier 1937-39 (16898 RFN. GHULAM MOHD, 2-6 RAJ. RIF.)

Indian Army Meritorious Service Medal, George VI (430 BN. HAV. MAJ. SUBA KHAN, 7-6 RAJ. RIF.)

Both of these men appear on the Singapore Memorial register as having died on February 25, 1944 and as having served with the 7/6th Rajputana Rifles.^v Suba Khan is shown as a Jemadar, having been promoted on August 15, 1941. I thought this an odd coincidence that I should have the medals of 2 POWs who died on exactly the same day, two years after the surrender.

The 7th Bn 6th Rajputana Rifles was raised on February 1, 1941 with 17 VCOs and 230 other ranks ‘milked’ from the other active battalions. Between February and November 1941, 714 recruits joined the battalion. By December 21, 1941 the 7/6th Raj Rif was bound for Malaya as part of the 45th Indian Infantry Brigade. As of January 10, 1942, the battalion, filled with inexperienced recruits, found itself disposed on both sides of the Muar River. Its mission, to try and stop the advance of elements of a seasoned Japanese Imperial Guard Division. The Japanese began probing the companies on the north side of the river on January 15 and a full-scale attack developed. The next day the Battalion Commanding Officer and Second in Command were killed and all companies had withdrawn across the river by January 17. Needless to say, by January 20, the battalion had been all but destroyed as a fighting force. The remnants joined with the 3/17th Dogras and continued to fight until the surrender.^{vi}

A detailed breakdown of the 7/6th Raj Rif casualties as listed in the Singapore Memorial register is shown in the following table.

7th Bn 6th Rajputana Rifles Casualties

Singapore Memorial

Month	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945
January		7	1	1	
February		113*	2	79**	2
March			4		
April					
May		1	1		1
June					
July		4	3	1	
August				1	
September		3	1	1	
October				1	
November		1			2
December	1	8***	1		
Totals	1	137	13	84	5

* 111 of these on February 15, the day of capitulation.

** All of these on February 25.

*** These 8 casualties listed as missing Jan – Dec 1942.

From the above table, one can very quickly see that February 15, 1942 and February 25, 1944 are key dates for battalion losses. The first date marks the end of hostilities after continuous fighting by the battalion for almost four weeks. It seems clear that this date of surrender was used as a date of death for most of the casualties suffered throughout the period of fighting.

The 79 casualties listed for February 25, 1944 looked ominous. Also, almost all of these soldiers were Punjabi Mussalmans.

Clearly, more investigation was needed. A decision was made to examine the casualties of another battalion. I chose the 3/16th Punjab Regt, as I had the medals of a VCO of the regiment who was also in the register. This battalion was a regular pre-war battalion with a sterling reputation, and was part of the 11th Indian Division. It immediately became obvious that record keeping for this battalion was of a much higher standard. Many more dates for casualties listed, with Dec 10, 11, and 12, 1941 showing 42, 27, and 40 respectively. These dates represent the battalion's desperate action against Japanese tanks at Kroh.^{vii} The pattern of a spike in casualties for February 15, 1942 showed once again, but not nearly as great as for the Raj Rif. Post capitulation findings showed spikes for Mar 11, 1942 at 30; Feb 25, 1944 at 29; and Nov 15, 1945 at 39.

I have been unable to find a cause for the Mar 11, 1942 spike and it still remains a mystery. The Nov 15, 1945 spike appears to be a final reckoning of all outstanding casualties for this battalion for the period of captivity. The Feb 25, 1944 spike confirmed the need to examine the entire register for the instance of this date of death. It was also no surprise to find that all of the Feb 25 casualties for the 3/16th were Punjabi Mussalmans or Pathans.

The task now was to review the entire 11,400 names recorded as Indian Army personnel on the memorial register. My aim was to note all units with significant numbers of casualties reported for February 25, 1944. Below is a numerical abstract, by unit, of that effort.

1 st Bn 13 th Frontier Force Rifles	123
1 st Bn 8 th Punjab Regiment	89
7 th Bn 6 th Rajputana Rifles	79
3 rd Bn 16 th Punjab Regiment	29
5 th Bn 2 nd Punjab Regiment	21
42 nd Field Company	
Royal Bombay Sappers & Miners	54
Royal Bombay Sappers & Miners	53
No. 1 Artesian Works Company	
Indian Engineers	11
Total	459

The above soldiers are all Punjabi Mussalmans or Pathans with the exception of a small number of soldiers of the Rajputana Rifles and the 53 soldiers of the Royal Bombay Sappers & Miners who had no company designation listed. All the units went into Japanese hands at the fall of Singapore on February 15, 1942.

Noting the considerable number of deaths listed for the Frontier Force Rifles, I turned to Condon's regimental history for a possible explanation. Two sentences confirmed my growing suspicions:

“Later in the year a batch of seventy Pathans and Punjabi Mussalmans, sent overseas under Subadar Mohammad Khan, were torpedoed, many losing their lives. Among them were Jemadars Spin Gul and Ismail.”^{viii}

While no Subadar Mohd Khan could be found on the memorial register, Jemadars Spin Gul and Ismail Khan were definitely there. It certainly looked as though February 25, 1944, represented the loss of a Japanese freighter.

Fortunately, a first rate, scholarly work on the subject of POW losses in Japanese ships was published in 2002. *Death on the Hellships: Prisoners at Sea in the Pacific War* by Gregory Michno chronicles these losses. More than 126,000 Allied prisoners were transported in the hellships with 21,000 casualties. While this work is the only source that even mentions Indian Army POWs, Mr. Michno states the following.

“Although the existence of more than 150 hellships has been confirmed, research into this subject is not complete. The majority of hellships involved in this study carried white men of European ancestry. There were also many shipments of Indians, Chinese, Koreans, and East Indians. During the drive up New Guinea's north coast in 1944 and 1945 the Australians and Americans found perhaps 8,000 or more Indian soldiers who had been shipped there from Malaya.”^{ix}

In this book's appendix of hellship voyages and POW deaths I noted the following entry under 1944:

Ship	Date Sailed	POWs	Deaths	Days	Voyage ^x
Tango Maru	24 Feb 44	3,500	3,000	2	Java to Ambon

In the body of his work, Michno describes the sinking of the *Tango Maru* by the American submarine *USS Rasher* on February 25, 1944:

“While plotting the attack, the port escort moved ahead of the *Tango Maru*'s beam and pulled thirty-eight hundred yards ahead. With that opening, *Rasher* bored in one hundred yards astern of the escort and, at 1943 hrs., fired four torpedoes with a zero gyro angle, straight to the target about one hundred yards away. As the sub pulled away to reload, three torpedoes connected and ripped the maru apart. Within five minutes of the torpedo hits, *Tango Maru*, disappeared beneath the waves. Ten minutes later, three great underwater explosions were heard from the ship's boilers. More than three thousand native laborers and POWs were killed.”^{xi}

Unfortunately, no identification of the nationality of the POWs on board the *Tango Maru* is made. I was determined to find some kind of documentation of Indian POWs on the ship.

As part of my continuing investigation I constructed a detailed database showing name, rank, regimental number and unit for all of the casualties. While entering the details, I came across a Subadar Muhammad Yusuf, IOM, 7/6th Raj Rif. I had not noticed the IOM notation during

my initial research. Having some years ago published a book on Second World War Indian Order of Merit winners, I was a bit chagrined. Here was a fellow I had completely missed. On entering his name into the London Gazette on-line search engine for the war years, I was rewarded with the following entry:

Supplement to the London Gazette, 25 September 1947

India Office, 25 September 1947

The following awards have been made in recognition of gallant and distinguished services in Malaya prior to the fall of Singapore in 1942: -

Indian Order of Merit.

Subadar MOHD YUSUF, 6th Rajputana Rifles, Indian Army (posthumous)^{xii}

Further down the page, there was another listing for the IOM, this time, “made in recognition of gallant and distinguished services while prisoners of war in the Far East”. There appeared to be a mix up with Mohd Yusuf’s entry. He clearly could not have earned a posthumous award for service prior to the fall of Singapore, if he had not died until February 1944. I reasoned that his entry should have been listed with the awards for POW service. This elicited excitement on my part. Having read hundreds of IOM recommendations, I knew that if indeed his award was posthumous and for POW services, then surely the circumstances of his death would be included in the citation.

A request was made through Jonathan Collins research services for a copy of Mohd Yusuf’s recommendation. A copy of that recommendation is reproduced below:^{xiii}

Given that the *Tango Maru* was the only Japanese ship documented as carrying POWs in February 1944 that was sunk by an Allied submarine, it appears that the mystery had now been solved. Another bit of information found during this research was the discovery of an additional Mentioned in Dispatches list in the September 25, 1947 London Gazette Supplement for ‘gallant and distinguished services whilst prisoners of war in the Far East’. Both Subadar Mohd Yusuf and Jemadar Suba Khan have posthumous mentions on this list.^{xiv}

What a tragic end for soldiers who, in the face of brutal treatment and innumerable physical indignities, held on to the belief that their honor required them to keep the faith with their regiment and comrades in arms.

ⁱ Moti Ram, *The Historic Trials in Red Fort*, 104-106

ⁱⁱ Moti Ram, 7-8.

ⁱⁱⁱ R.C. Bharwaj, *Netaji and the INA*, 43-44.

^{iv} Kaori Maekawa, “Forgotten Soldiers in the Japanese Army: Asian personnel in Papua New Guinea”, 3-4.

^v Commonwealth War Graves Commission, “Indian Units Commemorated on Singapore Memorial”, 446, 456.

^{vi} Major M G Abhyankar, *The Rajputana Rifles, A History of the Regiment 1775-1947*, 399-403.

^{vii} Lt Col J P Lawford, MC & Major W E Catto, *Solah Punjab, The History of the 16th Punjab Regiment*, 178-181.

^{viii} Brig W E Condon, *The Frontier Force Rifles*, 174.

^{ix} Gregory Michno, *Death on the Hellships: Prisoners at Sea in the Pacific War*, 276.

^x Gregory Michno, 314.

^{xi} Gregory Michno, 156.

- xii London Gazette Supplement, September 25, 1947, 4517.
- xiii WO 373/104, The "London Omnibus" List, 704.
- xiv London Gazette Supplement, September 25, 1947, 4514

704

Delhi Independent
Distt. Division

Brigade..... Division.....

Corps.....

Schedule No. 7. THE BN, THE RAJ. Unit.
(to be left blank)

Army No. and Rank..... Subedar Mohd Yusuf

Name..... MOHD. YUSUF
(Christian names must be stated)

Army Form W.3121.
Date recommendation passed forward

Received | Passed

Brigade.....

Division.....

Corps.....

Army.....

ACTION FOR WHICH RECOMMENDED. (Date and place of action must be stated)	RECOMMENDED BY	HONOUR OR REWARD	(TO BE LEFT BLANK).
<p>This Officer was the senior Missalman V.C.O. of the Battalion. On 15th January 1942 at MJAR, M.S. YA, when his Company Commander was killed and the Company cut off from the rest of the unit, Subedar Mohd Yusuf at once assumed command of the Coy., and without any hope of support or relief continued to resist the enemy for four days until lack of ammunition and the exhaustion of himself and his men through lack of food and rest forced him to surrender.</p> <p>After capture, the example and leadership of Subedar Mohd Yusuf, with the loyal support of the other Missalman V.C.O.s of the Battalion, was such that out of the 135 P.M. ex P.O. who have returned to the Regimental Centre, only eight are "grey" and there are no "blacks".</p> <p>The above figures are a worthy testimony to the personal example of steadfastness and loyalty set by Subedar Mohd Yusuf in the face of Japanese coercion and brutality, an example which he continued to set off till he lost his life in February 1944, when the enemy ship in which he and other loyal P.s. of War were being conveyed was sunk by an Allied submarine.</p>	<p style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg);">COMMANDANT, 10TH BN, THE RAJ. INF. BATTAL, M.S. YA</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">I.O.M. (posthumous).</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Previous Awards NIL.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">At the time he was awarded the award of the I.O.M.</p>
<p><i>M. Ali</i> Colonel Commandant 10th Bn. The Raj. Inf. B. C. 31st Mar 46.</p>	<p>RECOMMENDED.</p> <p><i>Ghanchandekar</i> Major General Commandant-in-Chief in India. 15. Jan. 47</p>	<p><i>[Signature]</i> Major General Commandant-in-Chief in India</p>	

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Public Records Office, War Office Papers, WO 373/104

THE GRANTEE CAMEL CORPS IN WORLD WAR 1

Cliff Parrett

By chance when browsing through the Punjab District war histories¹, in the Lyallpur District edition I came across an interesting summary of the embodiment and war services of the four Grantee Camel Corps that existed during the WW1 period.² As very little has appeared in print about these corps, the following unabridged transcript from the Lyallpur history may interest members.

THE CAMEL CORPS

There are 85 villages in which land is held on camel conditions. Camel owning tenants are bound by conditions to keep up a camel for each unit of land (square or half square) allotted to them and to supply sarwans³ and gear for the camels. The camels and men maintained on these conditions are formed into the 59th, 60th, 61st and 62nd Grantee Camel Corps. These corps have rendered useful service during the war. Their services may be separately examined.

59TH GRANTEE CAMEL CORPS

This corps was embodied for service in October 1915. A good many rejections were necessary in order to eliminate poor camels. After three months peace service, the eight troops of this corps proceeded on field service to Egypt. The personnel of the corps returned at the end of 1916 after eleven months service in Egypt. Many of the camels died in Egypt and the residue were taken over by the Egyptian Government.

On return by the personnel the corps was raised again *de novo*. 840 camels were raised at once and a total number of 1040 were raised by October. Unfortunately, while the corps was being raised in 1917, there was a very heavy monsoon which caused a considerable outbreak of surra⁴. Many camels had to be cross-branded as infected or unfit after branding. The corps was re-embodied for peace service and despatched to Rawalpindi in 1918 where they continue to work in connection with military operations. The number of camels produced from start to finish has been considerable. 1040 camels had to be found when the corps was re-embodied, and since then 108 camels have died and had to be replaced, while between 1914 and 1918 607 camels have been rejected all of which have had to be replaced by the grantees.

60TH GRANTEE CAMEL CORPS

This corps was embodied in early 1916 when its eight troops were sent to Rawalpindi. A few months later five troops proceeded to Nushki where they have continued to serve with the Seistan Field Force. Up to March 1918 all deficiencies and casualties were replaced by the grantees. Since then Government has found replacement camels for the five troops with the Seistan Field Force.

The remaining three troops went on field service with the Waziristan Field Force in May 1917. These troops suffered somewhat severely from surra. 433 replacements for dead camels and 481 replacements for rejection had to be found by the grantees during the war.

61ST GRANTEE CAMEL CORPS

This corps was embodied in November 1915 and sent to Rawalpindi. In June 1918 it was despatched to Nushki where it has served ever since on the Eastern Persian Cordon. The grantees of the corps had to find 483 camels to replace death casualties and 282 camels to replace rejections.

62ND GRANTEE CAMEL CORPS

This corps went on service in Egypt in 1916. The personnel returned after 11 months service in that country; 75% camels died in Egypt and the remainder were taken over by the Egyptian Government.

The corps was raised again in 1917 and by October 1917 had a strength of 1055 camels. It suffered severely from surra during the summer of 1917. The corps was re-embodied for peace service and sent off to Rawalpindi in May 1918 where it is still employed on military

work. In addition to raising a whole corps on return from Egypt the grantees have had since the end of 1916 to find 96 camels for death casualties and 484 for rejections.

The grantees have had a difficult time in all four corps in finding their replacements as the price of camels has been steadily rising and camels have become scarcer and they have had to compete in the market with those buying camels for Government corps. The monsoon of 1917 prejudicially affected the health and condition of camels.

As regards sarwans, there have been many death casualties, some desertions and fairly frequent discharges for illness. The Beloch and Jat camel owners have had to find a constant stream of sarwan replacements throughout the war. Altogether 2200 sarwans were produced and approved and sent on service by the Registration Officer Grantee Camel Corps.

Some camels were purchased for Government Corps on two occasions in this district by Major E. Shrine, Transport Officer, Ambala. S. Nur Mohammad, E.A.C., and Shahzad Khan, Zaildar, served on the committee for determining prices of these camels which were acquired under the Punjab Military Transport Act.

Source

A History of the War. Lyallpur District. From August 1914. By G.F. de Montmorency I.C.S., C.I.E., Deputy Commissioner, Lyallpur 1919; printed at the George Steam Press, Lyallpur by D. Daulat Ram, Manager & Proprietor (ages 37-40). British Library, Oriental & India Office Collection, Neg. 5545/5547 Punjab District War Histories.

Notes:

1. The O&IOC archives contain WW1 histories for at least fifteen Punjab states. They were published between 1919 and 1921 and were mostly printed in Lahore. They include a wealth of fine detail on the contribution of the states in men, money and material (including animals). They list gallantry and service awards, often with citations (mostly IOM from the Gazette of India, but also some OBI, IDSM and IMSM citations). They summarise the war services of units strongly associated with specific states. Also listed, mostly in good detail, are honours and awards made to reward state dignitaries, tribal leaders, leading businessmen etc. for their personal contributions to the war effort. For example, the Hoshiarpur District history includes a nominal list of the following awards – recruiting badges, robes of honour, khillats, revolvers, guns, gold watches, silver watches, lungis (different values)*, life muafis*, 1st class sanads, 2nd class sanads.
2. It may be that the arrangement in Lyallpur regarding land grants and the liability to provide the government with camels was first established in 1905, this being the date given by Chris Kempton for the raising of the Grantee Camel Corps (*Register of Titles of Units of the HEIC & Indian Armies 1666-1947*, British Empire & Commonwealth Museum, 1997). For this reason I have used the term *embodiment* rather than *raising*.
3. Camel driver.
4. Severe, often fatal, disease transmitted by insect bites and characterised by fever and internal bleeding.

**Editor's Note: Cliff and I have discussed the question of different valued lungis, and life muafis, but we are none the wiser. Can anyone elaborate please? Ed.*

CAPTAIN IVOR BALLANTYNE EVANS AND THE 5TH LIGHT INFANTRY

Kimberley John Lindsay.

I was pleasantly surprised to see Sushil Talwar's article "5th (Musalman) Bengal Native (Light) Infantry" in DURBAR, Spring 2004. I was aware that the regiment had mutinied at Singapore in 1915, but not that this had also happened earlier in the regimental history. Sushil Talwar did not mention that 5th Light Infantry took part in the Third Afghan War, 1919. This is shown in *"The Story of the Indian General Service Medal 1908-1935"* (1992) by R. G. M. Stiles: 'When news of the unrest reached Baluchistan Field Force HQ in Quetta, 10th Infantry Brigade, consisting of Patiala Lancers, 3/124th Baluchis, 1/5th Light Infantry, and one section 281 Company, MGC, were dispatched to restore the situation. Contact was made with the Fort Sandeman garrison on 19th June, 1919, and punitive actions against local Waziri clans launched. Ambushes were set and a large number of truculent tribesmen were accounted for.'

I have another, unfortunately unknown, source which states the following:

'... 5th Light Infantry- Mutinied at Singapore 1915. Reformed and sent to East Africa, returned [after service in Aden] to see action in Baluchistan during the Third Afghan War 1919. 'On 13th June 1919 they joined Brigadier-General O'Grady's column to march through the Zhob, to show the flag. Reports had been received of raids by parties of Abdullazais, the most restless of the tribes of the Zhob. On 1st July a column including the 5th Light Infantry marched from Fort Sandeman to punish the Abdullazais. The 5th Light Infantry were not involved in a fight which the column had with 200 tribesmen on 6th July. At the end of July a determined attack was made on the defences at Khojak and in consequence these were strengthened with the 5th Light Infantry. 5th Light Infantry was disbanded on 12th January 1922.'

I am particularly conversant with 5th Light Infantry's participation in the Third Afghan War, due to the fact that I hold the medals of the 2 i/c, A/Major Ivor Ballantyne Evans. Indeed, he was apparently "Mentioned" for his efforts, although this has not yet been found in a London Gazette. Furthermore, I have yet to see relevant extracts from the 5th Light Infantry War Diary for Third Afghan, which may or may not be held at the National Archives, Kew.

His medals are the 1914-15 Star (2.LIEUT, I. B. EVANS, MANCH. R.); British War Medal 1914-18 (LIEUT. I. B. EVANS.); Victory Medal 1914-19 (CAPT. I. B. EVANS.); India General Service 1908, clasp "Afghanistan N. W. F. 1919" (A/CAPT. I. B. EVANS, 5/INFY.); Defence Medal 1939-45 (un-named).

Ivor Ballantyne Evans was born on 13th June 1893 at Danybryn, Lanishen in the sub-district of Whitechurch, County of Glamorgan (Registration District Cardiff). His father, Edgar Ivor

Evans, was a Civil Engineer. The young Ivor's mother was May Evans (nee Carter). He attended Felsted public school from September 1908 to December 1910, and at some stage, styled himself Ivor Ballantyne-Evans (as did, subsequently, his four sons who all attended Felsted: one, Michael Carter Ballantyne-Evans, being decorated with the MC in the Second World War).

The 1950 Felsted Alumni List reveals the following: -

'EVANS, Ivor Ballantyne- (e). Sept, 1908 - Dec. 1910.12 Vint Crescent, Colchester. 1914-17, Manch. R. Transf. to Indian Army 1917. Served on N. W. Frontier and Afghanistan (one despatch). Retired as Capt. 1922. Afterwards farming. Father of John Clayton Ballantyne-Evans (Bimbashi, E. Arab Corps, Sudan; Capt., Royal Tank Regt./ wounded; later Major, Royal Tanks); Michael Carter Ballantyne-Evans (Capt., MC, Royal Artillery; later Air Observation Pilot); Anthony Petre Ballantyne-Evans (British East Africa Corporation, Tanganyika; later 12th Lancers) and Ivor Robin Ballantyne-Evans (Blantyre, Nyasaland; later RAFVR).'

To better understand what type of officer came to 5th Light Infantry in the years 1917-22, it may be helpful to outline the wartime career of I. B. Evans. He was commissioned on 15th August 1914 as 2nd Lieut, on Probation (Special Reserve) into 4th Battalion, Manchester Regt. Evans resigned his Special Reserve commission on 17th February 1915. The Royal Military Academy Sandhurst records state that Ivor Ballantyne Evans, date of birth 13th June 1893, was a Gentleman Cadet ("D" Company) in the Royal Military College, Sandhurst, from 18th February 1915 until 14th July 1915. "The Manchesters" (1916) shows clearly: 'Evans. 2nd Lieut. I. B., 1st Bn. First Appt. 14 July 1915. War Services - The War of 1914-16 - France, with 1st Bn.' This latter is of note, because his Medal Index Card shows 'Salonika' as Theatre of War first served in; date of entry: '10th Nov. 1915.' (The Regimental History [Manchester Regiment] has the following: 'Evans, Ivor Ballantyne. 2/Lieut. Manch. R. 14.7.1915, Lieut. 2.7.1916, Ind. Army 17.10.1917.')

2nd Lieut. Evans certainly entered the "Salonika Side Show" towards the end of 1915, but it is not clear in which capacity - the Manchesters not being involved, apparently. On 24th July 1916 Lieut. Evans was attached to the 5th (Service) Battalion Royal Irish Regt., and later served as Adjutant from 1st April 1917 to 9th September 1917. I have yet to consult the War Diary for this period, which may be found at National Archives.

The Supplement to the London Gazette, 1st December 1917, had a notice under the heading Manchester Regiment: 'Lieut. I. B. Evans is seconded for service with the Indian Army (on probation). 11th October 1917.' The October 1918 Indian Army List shows the 1st Battalion, 5th Light Infantry under the command of Lt. Col. W. L. Cotton (who was appointed 8 July 1915, probably after the mutiny). Attached; Lieut. I. B. Evans (1st Commission 15 May 1915), appointed 23rd October 1917 (9 months forfeited for seniority under conditions of I. A. O. 511 of 1917): I. A. (on probation). Officiating Adjutant, 25th February 1918. Clearly, the Indian Army got officers at bargain prices in those days. Promotion to Captain followed on 15th May 1919, as listed in the July 1919 Indian Army List, which also shows Evans as a Company Officer ('Attached') of 1st Battalion, 5th Light Infantry, most of the other officers being either on leave or posted away. The Officiating Adjutant was Lieut. Edgson - Cheshire Regt., I. A. (on probation). Indeed, the unit had to rely heavily on officers from the Indian Army Reserve of Officers (I. A. R. O.).

The London Gazette, 19th December 1919, had a notice under the heading "1/5th Light Infantry": Lieut. I. B. Evans, I. A., to be acting Major while temporary second in command 16th June 1919. At this point, I might add that I am still searching for a group photo including Ivor Ballantyne Evans.

By the time of the appearance of the April 1921 Indian Army List, the unit was titled '5th Light Infantry' for the reasons set out by Sushil Talwar. Capt. I. B. Evans was still a Company Officer (Attached) and had once again become the Officiating Adjutant – now under the command of Brevet Lt.Col. M. G. D. Rowlandson, DSO, psc, [L]. (It is worth mentioning that the colonel's qualifications were of an exceptionally high standard. Decorated for operations in Russia and Rumania with the DSO. Despatches; Staff College; 'Qualified as a 1st class interpreter in a Modern Foreign Language'. He was formerly 38th Dogras, and 'Official Interpreter in Russian.'). The position of Second-in-Command was vacant, this being filled by a mere 'officiating' captain (W. G. Strover). None of the few remaining officers were I. A. R. O. - the latter's services being no longer needed.

At this time, of course, the far-reaching reorganisation and reduction of the Indian Army was taking effect, following the huge wartime expansion. Gallant and capable officers were now "two a penny" as it were. Clearly, many old regiments were no longer needed. This no doubt applied double to those which had mutinied in the past: the observation that 'Mutiny invariably casts a long shadow' being a logical conclusion, especially in times of drastic cutbacks.

The last Indian Army List entry of April 1922 showed Capt. Ivor Ballantyne Evans in the Gradation section, with no Regiment given under the "Remarks" column. Furthermore, although he had the fairly basic qualification '207a' (Hindustani, Colloquial), the ominous asterisk before his name meant 'Has not passed the final examination'.

Interestingly enough - and this seems to tie into Sushil Talwar's theory of the other ranks following their officers - the same April 1922 Indian Army List shows Capt. I. B. Evans as a Company Officer (Attached) with 7th Duke of Connaught's Own Rajputs, under the command of Lt. Col. F. C. Tregear. One of the Subedars shown in the same List (Aziz-ud-Din Khan, IDSM; appointed to 7th Rajputs on 3rd June 1915), was mentioned by Sushil Talwar, as well as the three Jemadars Suleman Khan, Ghulam Nabi Khan IDSM (with Training Bn.), and Manzur Ahmad Khan (all appointed 24th June 1918).

The last word is with the London Gazette of 21st July 1922. "INDIAN ARMY. The KING has approved the retirement of the following officers under the provisions of the Royal Warrant dated 25th April 1922." No doubt this meant gratuities for the officers involved, perhaps thankfully accepted? Be that as it may, nine captains and seven lieutenants were listed, including "J. (sic) B. Evans. 25th June 1922." He had outlasted his old Regiment by only a few months.

I also received two other letters in response to Sushil Talwar's article and for the sake of completeness show them here rather than in the letters section.

● Field Marshal Sir John Chapple writes:

It is difficult to know how this regiment survived after the Mutiny of 1857, as only about fifty men remained loyal. It is not so difficult to understand why they were disbanded in 1922. They were a single class regiment by then, and these had become very much the exception among the line infantry. The Singapore Mutiny of 1915 sent shock waves far wider than India. Incidentally the Malay States Guides (page 28) had only about 200 men willing to return to Malaya from Aden at the end of the War. They too had trouble at the time at the beginning of the War.

The class composition table shown at page 31 is not complete because, as can be seen from the lineage on page 32, the Regiment became all Muslim in 1893 when its title changed to 5th (Musalman) Bengal Light Infantry.

On the same page 32, the change of title from 42nd to 5th Bengal Native Infantry did not take place until 1861/2 (not in 1857). The original 5th did not have Musalman as part of its title (see entry against 1857).

On page 33 it states that the “vacant slot of the numeral 5 went to the Maratha Light Infantry”. This is not correct. All three Presidency Armies, Bengal, Madras and Bombay, had by chance a 5th Regiment which were Light Infantry. The 5th Bengal retained that number in the 1903 reorganisation; the 5th Madras became the 65th Carnatic Light Infantry and disbanded in 1904; the 5th Bombay became the 105th Mahratta Light Infantry. The 1922 regrouping had no real connection with these numbers, and it was chance that the 105th became the 2nd Battalion of the newly created large Regiment of the 5th Mahratta Light Infantry. The numeral “5th” was dropped on 27 October 1945.

● Brian Stevens writes:

The following additional notes concerning the 5th Light Infantry may prove to be interesting to members.

The 5th, together with the then 2nd, 16th, 38th and 43rd Regiments of Bengal Native Infantry provided the regular infantry component of Major General Nott’s force which marched from Kandahar to Kabul in August and September 1842 to join General Pollock’s “Army of Retribution” in front of Kabul. Nott referred to his native infantry as “his splendid Sepoy Regiments”. Unusually all five regiments were honoured with a change of designation, the 2nd and 16th becoming Grenadier regiments and the 38th, 42nd and 43rd being created Light Infantry Corps (G.O.G.G. 4th October 1843). Only two, the 42nd and 43rd, survived the Mutiny.

In January 1857 there were 16 regiments of Native Infantry in the Bengal Army which included a rifle company in their establishment, and this was usually numbered the 8th Company. Of these sixteen, five had received their rifle companies as a consequence of being made Light Infantry. The other eleven corps had formed theirs in the early eighteen forties.

G.G.O. No. 1277 of 1859 dated 8th September 1859 was the authority for the removal from the Army List of a large number of Corps existing in January 1857. It consisted of 60

paragraphs and publication required four pages, 515-518, in the 1859 Volume of General Orders. The paragraphs that concerned the 42nd are worth repeating:

“1. The old Native Army of Bengal, although by far the larger portion of its Regiments have mutinied against the Government, and have ceased to exist, yet contained, as is well known, several Corps whose loyalty was proof against temptation, fanaticism, and threats, and who have throughout the late disturbances continued at their respective posts; some employed in their ordinary Military duties, and others actively engaged in conflict with the Mutineers and Rebels.”

Paragraph 2 lists all the loyal elements and is split into several sections. The preamble reads:

“2. The Corps and portions of Corps which have remained loyal and have retained their Arms are the following.”

(The first part gives one troop Horse Artillery, one company Foot Artillery, a few men of two other Foot Artillery companies, a local company of artillery in Assam, a portion of the Sappers and Miners, a small portion of the 3rd Light Cavalry, the 21st, 31st (Light Infantry), 66th (Gurkha) and 73rd Native Infantry. The next section reads as follows):

“Portions of the 13th, 48th and 71st Regiments now formed into the Lucknow Regiment; - of the 42nd Light Infantry; a few men of the 1st, 7th, 8th, 11th, 12th, 15th, 29th, 30th, 39th, 40th, 50th, 52nd and 67th Regiments of Native Infantry.” (Then follows a long list of local and Irregular Corps who remained loyal).

“3. His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council, in enumerating these faithful Regiments, desires to award to them all the praise which their excellent conduct has earned; and to notice briefly the services of those which have most distinguished themselves.”

“6. The 31st Native Infantry pre-eminently distinguished itself by its loyalty under severe trials; and the larger portion of the 42nd Light Infantry and the 3rd Irregular Cavalry, which served in the same District, have, by their devotion and gallantry, well earned the thanks of the Government.”

This paragraph would seem to imply that there were in fact a considerable number of loyal men. To support this possibility the Regimental Entry for the 42nd in the Army List, corrected to 30th September 1858, states that the regiment mutinied at Saugor but out of an establishment of 26 officers, the Colonel, Lieutenant Colonel T. Fiddes, was in Europe; the Lieutenant Colonel was in Civil Employ, and the Major was in command. Of the seven Captains two were extra regimentally employed and two were on sick leave. Of the ten Lieutenants two were in Civil Employ, three were extra regimentally employed and one was on sick leave. The Corps was deficient one Lieutenant and five Ensigns. On the face of it, one Major, three Captains and four Lieutenants seem to be an excessive number of officers to command fifty men.

I have always understood that the 5th Light Infantry was stationed at Singapore on the outbreak of the First World War, and not in India. It was a pity that the nine regiments of the 1914 establishment disbanded in 1921-22 should not have been awarded Battle Honours for

their services during 1914-19, which would have given the 5th a unique Honour for the Cameroons. Subsequently they served in East Africa from March 1916 to December 1917 except for two companies who remained until June 1918.

GENERAL SERVICE MEDAL 1918 clasp S.E.ASIA 1945 - 46

Colonel J R Cawthorne

The General Service Medal 1918 with clasp S.E. ASIA 1945-46 has only received three brief and passing mentions in Durbar, most significantly Volume 3, Number 2, page 8, which noted the existence of both five digit and seven digit numbers on medals to Dogras and Sikhs in the Frontier Force. The article suggested that the seven digit numbers identified those who served in the Indian Army after 1947, even though the medals seemed to show their wartime unit, while those with five digit numbers had probably been discharged soon after the war and therefore showed their wartime numbers.

My interest stems from medal groups to Gurkha regiments of which the Second World War medals are named to one battalion and the GSM 18 clasp S.E-ASIA 1945 - 46, to the same soldier, is named to another battalion (or in one case to another Gurkha regiment). Examples are;

Second World War medals (to include the Burma Star) named to 2-1 GR and the GSM 18 clasp S.E.ASIA 1945 - 46 named to 3-1 GR.

Second World War medals (to include the Burma Star) named to 5-8 GR and the GSM 18 clasp S.E.ASIA 1945 - 46 named to 4-2 GR.

Second World War medals (to include the Burma Star) named to 2-8 GR and the GSM 18 clasp S.E.ASIA 1945 - 46 named to 3-8 GR.

All three battalions named on the GSM 1918 (e.g. 3-1, 4-2 and 3-8 GR) served in French Indo-China and were eligible for the GSM 18 clasp S.E.ASIA 1945 - 46. However, the regiment/battalion named on the Second World War medals are not consistent with their wartime service as the following shows:

2-1 GR served in Malaya, was interned in Singapore in 1942, and was eligible for the Pacific Star as opposed to the Burma Star.

5-8 GR was not formed until 1948 and therefore was not eligible to Second World War medals.

2-8 GR served in North Africa and Italy and was therefore eligible for the Africa and Italy Stars as opposed to the Burma Star (2-8 GR in fact served in Palestine and was eligible for the GSM 18 clasp PALESTINE 1945 - 48).

Having read the article "WW2 Stars and Medals Named to Indian Army Soldiers" by Anthony Sudlow TD (Durbar Volume 7, No. 1), I have deduced that the Second World War medals were named to the recipient's unit at the time of issue as opposed to the unit with whom he served during the War. I have therefore assumed that-

- The Second World War medals named to 2-1 GR and the GSM 16 clasp S.E. ASIA 1945 - 46 named to 3-1 GR would suggest that the soldier served with 3-1 GR, a wartime raised battalion, in Burma. In 1946, 3-1 GR was reconstituted as 2-1 GR with whom the recipient was serving at the time he was issued with his Second World War medals.
- The Second World War medals named to 5-8 GR and the GSM 18 clasp S.E.ASIA 1945 - 46 named to 4-2 GR would suggest that the soldier served with 4-2 GR, a wartime raised battalion, in Burma. In 1948, 4-2 GR was re-designated 5-8 GR with whom the recipient was serving at the time he was issued with his Second World War medals.
- The Second World War medals named to 2-8 GR and the GSM 16 clasp S.E.ASIA 1945 - 46 named to 3-8 GR would suggest that the soldier served with 3-8 GR, a wartime raised battalion, in Burma. On the disbandment of 3-8 GR in 1946, some individuals were absorbed into the remaining battalions of 8 GR (in this case it is assumed 2-8 GR) with whom the recipient was serving at the time he was issued with his Second World War medals.

Medal dealers I have spoken to were not aware of the background to the naming of Second World War medals to the Indian Army. Perhaps other members can add to this discussion from medals in their own collections.

(Although no longer a collector, I had a number of Second World War medals to various Punjab States Forces units, e.g. Patiala, named to PEPSU (Patiala and East Punjab States Union). This did not come into effect until 1951 and clearly supports Colonel Cawthorne's view that such medals could be named to the unit with which the soldier was serving at the time of receipt, not the one he served with during the war. Ed.)



BENGAL ARMY VETERINARY SURGEONS SERVING IN 1857

Alan Harfield

Some years ago, whilst working on a project in what was the Royal Army Veterinary Corps historical collection, I was given permission to make notes from an unpublished list of British and East India Company, Bengal Army, Veterinary Surgeons who served in India during the Sepoy mutiny of 1857. Although much of the following information is available from various sources, these notes may be helpful for any member researching the Bengal army veterinary service in India.

The following is based on The East-India Register and Army List for 1857 which lists the following Veterinary Surgeons as serving in the Bengal army at that date. The list is in order

of seniority of service and not in the order of the Veterinary Surgeons Indian Mutiny Roll (Veterinary Roll).

Robert Burgess Parry Date entered service - 10 April 1827. Served at the Haupper Stud. He was in Delhi during the initial outbreak of violence but escaped from the city and made his way to Meerut arriving there on 13th May. He is not listed as having taken part in any other action. Died in 1878.

James Harris Date entered service - 8 January 1828. Graduated in 1827. Served with the 6th Regiment, Light Cavalry at Nowgong. No campaign service recorded. Died 1885.

Isaac Bricknell Date entered service - 10 May 1828. Served with the 1st Brigade Bengal Horse Artillery. No campaign service recorded. Retired 11 March 1873.

Henry Charles Hulse Date entered service -23 August 1828. Listed as being on furlough.

John Philips Date entered service - 7 March 1833. Graduated London 15 December 1831. Shown in the East-India Register and Army List for 1857, at page 219, as 'unposted' although on 10 May 1857 Philips was serving with the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry at Meerut. The Veterinary Roll gives the following account of events:

'Colonel (George Munro) Carmichael-Smyth of the 3rd Light Cavalry was entertaining to dinner his Regimental Surgeon, Surgeon Major (Robert) Christie, and his regimental Veterinary Surgeon, John Philips. At approximately 5.45 pm they had finished dinner when Major (Frederick Joseph) Harriott (Deputy Judge Advocate General, Meerut) came in with the news that there was a row in the 20th N.I. Lines. At that time shots were heard in the distance. Smyth sent Harriott off in his buggy and Christie and Philips went off in another. In Cannon Row, a portion of the cantonment allocated to the British Regiments, Philips was shot and mutilated by five mutineers. Dr Christie was shot in the jaw and sadly [sic] disfigured. Philips was buried in St John's (Cantonment) Cemetery. (Details of the entry in the Burial Register are contained in "*Meerut. The First Sixty Years (1815-1875)*", published by the British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia, (BACSA), London. 1992, page 148). The headstone in the cemetery carries the following inscription;

Sacred to the Memory of
JOHN PHILIPS
Vety Surgeon, 3rd Bengal Cavalry.
Murdered during the Mutiny
At Meerut on the 10th of May 1857.
This tomb is erected by George Carmichael Smyth,
Colonel of the Regiment,
In token of his affectionate regard.

Richard Willis Date entered service - 27 October 1835. Graduated 16 May 1835. Listed as being on furlough.

William Parish Barrett Date entered service - 12 November 1837. Graduated 1837. Listed as being on furlough. Died 1877.

William McDermott Date entered service - 11 February 1839. Graduated 14 December 1835. Listed as being on furlough. Died 1868.

John Robert Hoey Date entered service - 1 April 1840. Served with 3rd Brigade, Bombay Horse Artillery. No record of any campaign service.

Archibald Campbell Williams Date entered service - 5 October 1843. Listed as being on furlough.

John Siddall Date entered service -17 July 1844. Served with the Central Province Stud Department at Kurruntadhee. On the outbreak of the mutiny he joined a small party of volunteers, led by Lieutenant Francis Constable Jackson, which eventually joined Major (Vincent) Eyre's force and succeeded in relieving the garrison at Arrah. This small party of 18 volunteers became known as Jackson's Volunteer Horse and following the relief of Arrah continued to serve in the actions at Bibiganj on 2 August and at Jagdispur on 12 August with Siddall acting as second-in-command to Jackson. Siddall was twice 'Mentioned in Despatches' by Major Vincent Eyre which were published in *The London Gazette* of 24 November and 4 December 1857 and on a third occasion in the despatch by Captain L'Estrange which was also published in *The London Gazette* of 4 December 1857. Siddall is believed to have been the first Bengal Veterinary Surgeon to have been 'Mentioned in Despatches' in *The London Gazette*. Following the campaign he suffered from ill health and returned to England on a Medical Certificate. On his return to India he rejoined the Stud Farm and died whilst still serving there on 15 November 1867.

William Johnson Date entered service - 19 June 1846. Graduated June 1845. Served with the 2nd Regiment, Light Cavalry at Cawnpore but had proceeded on furlough prior to the siege of Cawnpore.

Archibald Turnbull Date entered service - 13 March 1847. Served with the 5th Regiment, Light Cavalry at Peshawar. Following the outbreak of the mutiny he then served with the 2nd Battalion, Military Train, which acted as a cavalry regiment, and was in action during the relief of Lucknow. He was employed with the party protecting the stores and covering the rear of the troops engaged in the relief of the Residency. He was present at the attack at Alum Baugh on 16 March and at the relief of Azimghur. He retired on 10 November 1876.

Charles John Dawson Date entered service - 4 January 1849. Graduated London 7 May 1836. Served with the 3rd Regiment. Light Cavalry at Meerut. The following is recorded in the *Veterinary Roll*.

'Killed during the uprising at Meerut May 10th 1857. On that fateful Sunday evening Mr Dawson and his wife were in bed suffering from smallpox. At approximately 6 p.m. they were aroused by the uproar created by the assembling mob. Dawson's bungalow No 242 adjoined the native lines, and was the first encountered by the mutineers of the 20th Native Infantry. The Dawsons came in their night clothes on to the verandah. Dawson was armed with a gun which he discharged at the crowd, only further enraging it. He was instantly shot dead.'

The report then recounts the events that led to the death of Mrs Dawson when the bungalow was set on fire. They were buried at St John's (Cantonment) Cemetery, Meerut. (Details of

the Burial Register entries are contained in "*Meerut. The First Sixty Years (1815-1875)*", BACSA, London, 1992, pages 148 and 149). The headstone carries the following inscription:

This tablet was erected by
Colonel G. Carmichael Smyth,
3rd Bengal Cavalry,
To the memory of his friend
CHARLES JOHN DAWSON
Veterinary Surgeon, Bengal Cavalry,
and
Eliza his wife.
Both murdered at Meerut
On the 10th of May 1857.

Samuel William Jeffrey Date entered service - 5 February 1849. Served with the 4th Regiment. Light Cavalry at Umballah. Died at Umballah on 3 November 1857. No record of any campaign service.

Edmund George Chalwin Date entered service - 7 March 1849. Served with the 1st Brigade, Bengal Horse Artillery at Cawnpore. He died during the defence of Cawnpore. His wife and child were killed during the massacre at the boats at Cawnpore on 27 June 1857.

Thomas Pengree Page Date entered service - 21 November 1849. Served with the 1st Regiment, Light Cavalry at Muttra. No record of any campaign service.

Forbes Augustus Hely Date entered service 11 January 1850. Served with the 7th Regiment, Light Cavalry at Jullundur. He was at Lucknow at the outbreak of the mutiny and was one of the original defenders. He was seriously wounded and died of his wounds on 2 August 1857.

John Samuel Woods Date entered service - 1 January 1851. Served with the 10th Regiment. Light Cavalry at Ferozepore. The *Veterinary Roll* records "On the 19th of August a portion of the 10th Light Cavalry, which had been disarmed at Ferozepore, mutinied and attempted to capture the guns of Captain Woodcock's battery, in which they failed. The mutineers, 100 in number..... cruelly murdered Mr Norton, the Veterinary Surgeon".

Charles Henderson Date entered service - 20 December 1851. Served with the Stud Department, North Western Provinces. Served in the campaign of 1857-1858 - no details given. In December 1858 he died en-route to England of the wounds that he had received during active service.

John Whitmore Garrard Date entered service - 14 February 1854. Graduated May 1853. Served with the 9th Regiment. Light Cavalry at Sialkot. No record of any campaign service.

Thomas Hickman Date entered service 18 March 1854. Shown as serving with the 8th Regiment Light Cavalry at Lahore in the *East-India Register and Army List* for 1857 but the *Veterinary Roll* records that he was serving with the 3rd Brigade, Bengal Horse Artillery, and was wounded slightly during the relief of Lucknow.

George Kettlewell Date entered service - 5 December 1854. Shown as serving with the 3rd Regiment, Light Cavalry at Meerut. Not recorded in the *Veterinary Roll*.

Mathew Joseph Marshall Date entered service - 22 December 1854. Served with the 2nd Brigade, Bengal Horse Artillery at Sialkot. No record of any campaign service.

Chambre Corker Date entered service 17 May 1855. Served with Lahore Light Horse. No record of any campaign service.

Robert Walter Murray Date entered service - 30 May 1857. Serving at Dum Dum. No record of any campaign service.

The *Veterinary Roll* contained one other name, although not a Veterinary Surgeon, as having served in 1857, the entry being: Mr McBath, of the Veterinary Establishment. He was murdered at Indore on 7 July 1857 along with his wife and five children.

I am grateful to Cliff Parrett who kindly made his notes on Jackson's Volunteer Horse available to me.

BOOK NOTES

● Two re-publications of works on Afghanistan make a welcome appearance from the same publisher. *THE AFGHAN WARS 1839-1919* by T.A. Heathcote. 224 pages, illustrations, maps, index. ISBN 1-86227-200-X, £20, and *THE ROAD TO KABUL – THE SECOND AFGHAN WAR, 1878-1881* by Brian Robson. 312 pages, illustrations, maps, index. ISBN 1-86227-196-8, £25. Both are published by Spellmount Publishers, Staplehurst, Kent (spellmount@mga-pr.com).

Tony Heathcote's book was first published in 1980, shortly after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, and quickly became a standard work of reference on the subject. Following the intervention of coalition forces in Afghanistan, as a consequence of the World Trade Centre attack on 9th September 2001, the book was revised to include a final section summarizing events in Afghanistan up to the present time.

As its title suggests, the book offers an overview of military events in Afghanistan since the turn of the nineteenth century, beginning with a summary of the country and its people. It then goes on to a review of British strategy on the North-West Frontier of India 1800-1838, including the relations with Ranjit Singh of the Punjab. British concerns over Russian overtures to Kabul, and their desire to control the overland route to India, not necessarily for their own use but rather to restrict the use of the route by others, led to the British involvement in Afghanistan.

The First Afghan War (1839-1842), instigated by the desire of Lord Auckland to place a pro-British ruler on the throne of Kabul, is well covered in three chapters detailing the British intentions and the initial campaign of 1839, the British disasters of 1840-41, and the

withdrawal of 1842. Relations and intrigues between the British, Russians and Afghans in the period 1854-1878 are covered in the next chapter, followed by three chapters looking at the Second Afghan War (1878-79).

This time the aim was not to dethrone the Amir, Sher Ali, though he died in February 1879, shortly after the British had successfully concluded the first phase of the campaign. 'Regime change', with the installation of a friendly ruler, then became a part of the British objective. Beyond that, however, the main aim of this campaign was twofold; first, to secure for the British the important frontier districts and secondly, and perhaps more importantly, to curtail the continuing influence of the Tsar of Russia and, indeed, to keep the Russians out of any part of Afghanistan. The initial acceptance by Sher Ali's son and successor, Yakub Khan, of Sir Louis Cavagnari's diplomatic Mission, the murder of Cavagnari and his Mission by disaffected Herati regiments, the return to Afghanistan of troops in the process of withdrawing from there, and the resignation of Yakub Khan, all set the scene for this second phase of the Second Afghan War. The weaknesses of the Indian Army, with its lack of officers, weak supply lines and cumbersome transport system, are all covered. It is those weaknesses that contributed significantly to the disaster of Maiwand and a very close run battle at Ahmed Khel.

Brian Robson, covering as he does only this Second Afghan War, obviously goes into much more detail than does Tony Heathcote. His book was first published in 1986, when the 19th Century British nightmare had become a reality and the Soviets were occupying Afghanistan. As with Tony Heathcote, brought up to date to reflect recent events in that country, Brian Robson again offers a brief overview of the land and its people, a review of Anglo-Afghan relations until 1874 and then from 1874-78, the coming of the war. The conduct of the war and its aftermath are covered in 10 chapters and draws on numerous primary sources, some not previously quoted. His final chapter – "Results and Reflections" is a masterly and informative analysis of the issues emerging from the war. There are several useful appendices, including biographical notes of the main players, the units that served, a note on uniforms and another on VCs of the war.

Returning to Tony Heathcote, the Third Afghan War (1919) is covered in two chapters, detailing the neutrality of Amir Habibulla during the First World War, his assassination in February 1919 and the subsequent internal struggle for dominance between his surviving relatives. This led to the accession of Amanulla and his declaration of total independence for Afghanistan, casting off the long-held claim of Britain to act for the country's foreign policy. This coincided with internal unrest in India and, to prevent these disturbances from spreading to Afghanistan, Amanulla ordered his troops forward. They crossed the border at the top of the Khyber Pass in May 1919, though whether with the intention of starting a war is doubtful. But a war, albeit a short-lived one is what he got. The manpower difficulties of the army in India at that time, so soon after the conclusion of the First World War, are highlighted, but the conflict is probably best remembered as the first occasion that the Royal Air Force went into action in the Indian campaigns. The intrigues of Sir George Roos-Keppel, the outgoing Commissioner of the North-West Frontier Province, asked to stay on to deal with the situation, are clearly described. One is left to wonder if war would have occurred had a different Commissioner been in place.

Both books are immensely readable and highly recommended. I could have wished that the font size in Brian Robson's book had been slightly larger, but beyond that both are well produced and informative. One is struck by the conclusion of Brian Robson's introduction:

"The wheel of Afghan history turns and it is now the turn of the Americans to invade Afghanistan, topple the legitimate government and install one more to its liking. Will they be any more successful than their imperial predecessors? The events of 1878-61 offer some clues."

and by his quote from the Marquis of Hartington, Secretary of State for India in Gladstone's Liberal Government, to the Marquis of Ripon, Governor General of India, dated 21st May 1880:

"Thus it appears that as a result of two successful campaigns, of the employment of an enormous force, and of the expenditure of large sums of money, all that has yet been accomplished has been the disintegration of a State which it was desired to see strong, friendly and independent, the assumption of fresh and unwelcome liabilities in regard to one of its provinces, and a condition of anarchy throughout the remainder of the country."

One could so easily translate those sentiments to present circumstances, not only in Afghanistan but elsewhere! ANM.

● *"KELLY'S BURMA CAMPAIGN – LETTERS FROM THE CHIN HILLS"* by Desmond Kelly. 367 pages. Photographs, illustrations, maps, index. ISBN 0-9540238-1-1. Tiddim Press, PO Box 28958, Mortlake, London SW14 8XE. Fax +44 (0)20 8876 7230. E-mail: TiddimPress@aol.com. www.tiddimpress.com. £20 plus £4 p&p (UK) and plus £5 p&p surface to most overseas locations. UK cheques to Tiddim Press. Non-UK customers can pay by credit card via Pay Pal (e-mail or fax above address for further details).

Field Marshal Sir William Slim's *"Defeat into Victory"* says, on page 288, "When we withdrew from Burma in 1942 we left behind in their native hills a small force of Chin Levies with British officers. Here they held a lone outpost of the Empire until detachments of 17th Division, advancing again, had reached Tiddim in the December of that year". This book, by the son of one of those British officers, not only brings that brief statement to life but also expands upon it to tell the tale of those few British officers who stayed behind yet again when 17th Indian Division made a strategic withdrawal to Imphal in March 1944.

The author's father, Norman Kelly, arrived in Burma in 1927 as a member of the Burma Frontier Service. At the outbreak of the war he was serving in the Chin Hills District as Assistant Superintendent Tiddim, with an area covering 90 miles by 120 miles. He had already been awarded the OBE in 1938 for his work on the Boundary Commission.

As the Japanese advanced through Burma Norman delivered a rousing speech to the chiefs, headmen, elders and villagers assembled at Tiddim on 25th April 1942, in which he encouraged them to commit their bravest and strongest to a new Levy, essentially for the defence of their own villages but also to watch and report on enemy movements. "I myself will", he said, "be your Levy Commander and I pledge myself to remain with you no matter

what happens". He was to remain true to his pledge. As the war approached the Chin Hills the author, Desmond Kelly, his mother and sister were evacuated to India and from then onwards Norman Kelly wrote frequently to his wife and children, many of the letters being uncensored and therefore all the more valuable now as a primary source of information. Preserved by the family, it is around these letters, supplemented by interviews with survivors and rare access to the surviving records in post-war Rangoon, that Desmond Kelly has pieced together a most readable and fascinating account of this "forgotten" aspect of the once "Forgotten Army's" behind the lines campaign.

The early part of the book evokes the immense personal hardship of separation for what had obviously been a very close family, enjoying the pre-war delights as well as the difficulties of life with the Burma Frontier service. By June 1942 Norman, then still a civilian, was serving as Senior Civil Affairs Liaison Officer to General 'Punch' Cowan, GOC 17th Indian Division. He had earlier declined military rank but in February 1943 was commissioned as a Major in the Army Burma Reserve Officers (ABRO). His sense of responsibility for his duties prevented him taking leave to India, and this obviously added to the strain of separation. In January 1943 he handed over command of his Levies but it was not until March 1943 that he managed to take his first of only two short leave periods to India throughout the duration of the war.

On his return to Tiddim Norman found that 17th Indian Division had taken over more of the operations from the Levies but even so his own work, now that he had been promoted to Additional Deputy Commissioner, showed no sign of respite. In December 1943 he was made Deputy Commissioner Chin Hills. Between November 1943 and February 1944 a major offensive was being planned to clear the Japanese from the Chin Hills in the Spring but by February 1944 General Scoones, Commanding 4 Corps, realised that the strength of Japanese forces in the Chindwin area, coupled with his own lengthening supply lines, meant that he was facing a different situation altogether. Rather than launch an attack he ordered a tactical withdrawal to the Imphal plains and 17th Division began their move on 14th March. Norman Kelly declined to withdraw with the Division and, instead, with his 'heroic contingent', moved further into the Chin Hills west of the Manipur River where, with the exception of another brief leave in India, he remained until he joined up with the returning 5th Indian Division, by now promoted to Lieutenant Colonel.

By March 1945, his health suffering after long service and continued residence in isolated forward areas, Norman appeared before a Medical Board at Imphal but, instead of being boarded, he was declared 'unfit for active service' but still returned to Falam for duty. He suffered a heart attack soon after his return and in July 1945 was finally granted 'release leave'. In February 1946 he returned to Rangoon as Additional Secretary to the Governor. Later in the year, disappointed at not being offered the post of Assistant Director Frontier Affairs Office, he resigned and returned to England for the last time.

This is a well-researched and definitive account of the action in the Chin Hills during the war. It has many excellent maps and some truly fascinating photographs. The one question unanswered for this reviewer is why, given his outstanding service, Norman Kelly was not rewarded for his war service. Perhaps his pre-war OBE, coupled with his rank, meant that he was excluded from higher awards. If so, it is a sad commentary on the awards system.

ANM.



LETTERS AND QUERIES

I have received a number of suggestions regarding David Mahoney's request for unit identifications on medals (Vol. 21, No. 1, SPRING 2004, page 37).

● Brian Stevens writes:

The Mutiny Medal to Naib Ressaldar, Southern Mahratta Horse. This was a regiment of Bombay Irregular Cavalry raised in 1850 from cavalry in the service of the Mahratta States of Kolapore and Sattara. They had volunteered for service in Persia in 1856 and one Troop landed at Bushire. Their services during the Mutiny were noted in the Bombay General Order which ordered their reduction from 30th April 1865 (Bombay G.G.O. No. 173 of 1865). For a short period just after the Mutiny until 1862 there existed 2nd and 3rd Regiments of Southern Mahratta Horse. The Governor of Bombay's Body Guard was formed from selected officers and men of the disbanded Southern Mahratta Horse. In passing it might be noted that Naib Ressaldar was a rank in the Irregular Cavalry of Bengal and Bombay, senior to a Jemadar but junior to a Ressaldar. The rank was abolished in 1865.

● On the same subject Cliff Parrett writes:

At least thirteen rolls of claims made by officers and men of the Southern Mahratta Horse, the 1st Southern Mahratta Horse, and the 2nd Southern Mahratta Horse are filed in the L/Mil/5 series of the Oriental & India Office Collection archives at shelf marks 83, 95 and 98. The two linked regiments, and their shared headquarters, together claimed a net total of 782 medals, all without clasp (some of the rolls are duplications). The claimants consisted of 3 British officers, 43 Indian officers (including Jemadar M. Jones who was probably Eurasian or Indian Christian and not British) and 736 Indian other ranks.

A supplementary roll of the 2nd Southern Mahratta Horse filed as L/Mil/5/83 [folios 291r – 292v] includes the claim of Naib Ressaldar Taj Beg. He is the only officer with a name that comes reasonably close to matching the indistinctly-named Indian Mutiny medal mentioned in David Mahoney's enquiry. Some details of this particular roll follow.

H.M's 2nd Regiment Southern Mahratta Horse.

Supplementary roll of claimants for the medal for service during the recent operations in India granted under the provisions of G.G.O's Nos. 993 of the 20th September 1858 and 543 of the 16th June 1859.

Made at Kullughdee [HQ of S.M. Horse] on 1st September 1860.

G. Malcolm, Lt Colonel, commanding S.M. Horse
John Watts, Lieutenant, adjutant 2nd S.M. Horse

No. 3 on the roll: Naib Ressaldar Taj Beg, 2nd Troop. "Present at the action of Hulgullee". Medal without clasp.

●With regard to David Mahoney's other identification requests Brian Stevens (standard font below), Lt Col Patric Emerson and Sushil Talwar (*italic font below*) write:

IGS – Afghanistan NWF 1919. HSK Mehar Chand 16 C F A. C F A stands for Cavalry Field Ambulance. (*Lt Col Patric Emerson telephoned to say that he had been in touch with Lieutenant General Sam Menezes. They say Combined Field Ambulance, as does Sushil Talwar*). As this man was serving with a medical unit the H S might indicate that he was a Head Sweeper, although what the K stands for I have no idea. (*Sushil Talwar suggests Havildar Storekeeper*). In 1914 an Indian Cavalry Field Ambulance had 165 Public and 22 Private Followers on its establishment, but I am not sure where one can locate establishments for this type of unit.

Victory Medal – I W T. Inland Water Transport. Vessels employed on the Rivers Tigris and Euphrates in Mesopotamia/Iraq. (*Lt Col Patric Emerson and Lieutenant General Sam Menezes agree, as does Sushil Talwar*).

A B C = Army Bearer Corps (*Lt Col Patric Emerson and Lieutenant General Sam Menezes offer Ambulance Bearer Corps*). The Army Bearer Corps existed between 1901 and 1920 when the eleven surviving companies were amalgamated with the Army Hospital Corps to form the Indian Hospital Corps).

Labour Corps. These were numbered between 1 and 147 and existed between 1916 and 1925 under a variety of designations, some of which were:

Labour Companies,
Armed Labour Companies,
Jail Labour Companies,
Pathan Labour Corps, Kohat,
Military Prisoners' Labour Companies,
Labour Companies for France,
Railway Construction Companies

(See also Durbar, Vol. 17, No. 2 (Summer 2000) for an article on the Indian Labour Corps).

Regarding the Africa General Service Medal, Brian Stevens has consulted an old acquaintance of his who is a retired District Commissioner from what used to be known as Rhodesia, who also collects Africa G.S.Ms. He has come up with the following suggestions, but as he points out, he is not a Somali scholar and anything to do with the Somalis is complicated.

L.S.L. This stands for Local Somali Levies. At one time these were 1500 strong, mainly infantry with some mounted on Ponies or Mules, and a Camel Company. Indian soldiers from the Aden garrison were borrowed to help train and discipline them.

H(abr) A(wal) Adan Issa indicates his Tribe and Clan, H stands for Habr, the Tribal prefix of the Ishaks, A stands for Awal, the Clan prefix, Isa means Sheikh, but Issa can mean tribe. Adan Issa probably means Sheikh Adan. The Tribe in question, although not mentioned, is that known as Ishak who are a Division of the Asha Somalis. A probable translation would read Sepoy Robleh Mahomed of the Habr Awal Clan of the Ishaks Tribe under Sheikh Adan.

The following might prove to be useful. "*Official History of the Operations in Somaliland 1901 - 1904.*" 2 Volumes published by the War Office General Staff in 1907. Vol.1. includes the expeditions of 1901-4. Vol.2. - Organization of Staff and Commands.

In passing Brian's friend mentions that in fifty years of collecting he has only seen one or two "Jidballi & Somaliland" clasps to members of the Local Somali Levies.

● Field Marshal Sir John Chapple writes:

With reference to the article on Sowar Bhajan Singh, 20th Deccan Horse (Durbar, Vol. 21, No. 1 (Spring 2004). The illustration on page 19 contains the cap badge and shoulder titles of the 9th Royal Deccan Horse which were introduced three years after Bhajan Singh's death.

Editor's Note. I omitted to show that the letter responding to Sushil Talwar's use of the word Jharowala (Durbar, Vol. 21, No. 1, SPRING 2004, page 39) came from Brian Stevens. Sushil has now replied:

● On the question of Jharowalah/Joorawala: A Jharowalah is a Sweeper. 'Jharo' is a broom in Hindi / Hindustani and in several other languages spoken in the sub-continent. This would literally translate into a Broomwala in English. Joorawala and Jharowalah are two absolutely different tradesmen.

Gorawallah (Ghorawalah, Ghorawalla): I am not too sure and stand open to correction but a Ghorawalah could also be a Tonga (single horse carriage) driver or an Ekka (another Indian variant of a single horse carriage) driver. It is interesting to see the word being used in Bombay as an alternate to a Syce.

(And there we will, I think, leave this discussion for the moment.

Ed.)

● A person who has not yet won the lottery writes:

As a person who has not yet won the lottery – an event unlikely to mature as I do not actually buy a lottery ticket - I wonder if I did the right thing some weeks ago in buying a medal. I am what might be described as impecunious – nay, impoverished, under-pensioned, retired provincial journalist (I flatter myself) with an incurably romantic attachment to the Indian Cavalry...with whom I have no association, even second-hand. Father was a mountain gunner.

However I had, until very recently, the solitary medal to 2329 Farrier Mohd Zeman, Guides Cavalry F.F. which marked his contribution to the North West Persia business - the Qaraitu to Kasvin epic of 1919 - a General Service medal no less, a medal in good order. It became mine for a few pounds many years ago and has since hung between medals for the 23rd and the 25th Cavalry.

Now we medal collectors yearn to re-unite medals which have become separated. The chances are rare. But they are to be relished. So....suddenly in the catalogue lists appeared another medal, this the second generation George V IGS with the clasp for North West Frontier 1930-31 (The Red Shirt Rebellion). And this medal had been awarded to 2339 Farrier Major Mohd Zeman, Guides Cavalry. It will not have escaped your notice that his

regimental number is different by a digit and his name by a lower-case letter. However I had a meeting with myself and decided that the man from North West Persia had been a diligent soul, had won promotion "on the hoof". And at considerable expense, and having taken out a second mortgage, I obtained the Farrier Major's medal.

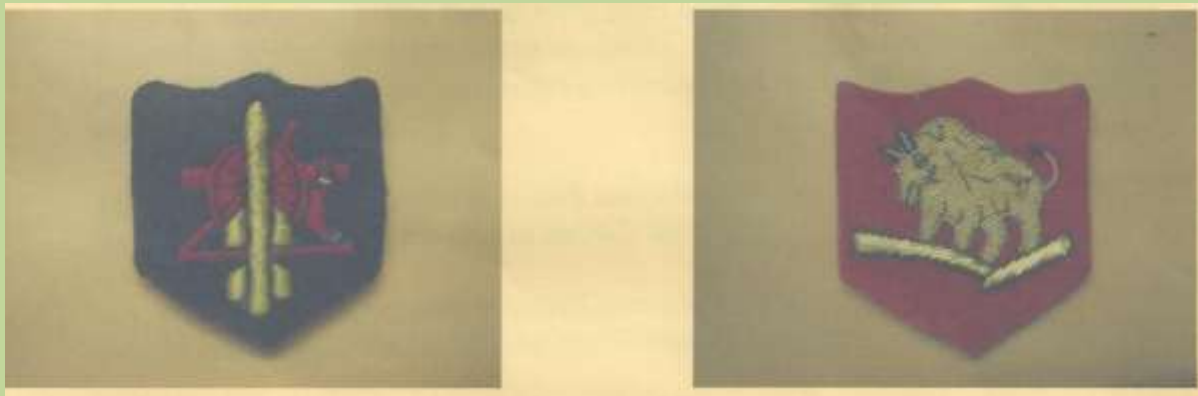
And when it arrived – and being a romantic soul – I then "re-united" the medals and kidded myself that I had done the right thing and achieved a hole-in-one...or two as the case may be. I mean, some twit doing the medal lettering has made a mistake, hasn't he? Indeed, two mistakes. Or are two mistakes one too many? These medals now hang, side by side, between 23rd and 25th and only I know what is indelibly printed on their rims.

May I go on deluding myself? Did I do the right thing? Is there inaccuracy in these matters? What shall I say to the bailiffs when they come knocking? Did Mohd Zeman change his name, re-enlist? I must have an answer!

● William J Sheridan writes:

Does anyone have any photographs of the 4th Bn., 6th Rajputana Rifles which feature the officer, Hugh Egerton GREATWOOD? He served with the above battalion from 28.5.1920 until he was appointed Commandant of the 3rd Bn., 1st Punjab Regt. On the 16.2.1941, dying of wounds on the 22.6.1941. Any help would be most appreciated.

● Can anyone identify the two formation signs shown below on page 84? The definition in the scan is not good but the first has a yellow rocket against a red cannon (barely visible in this scan) set on a black background. The second has a golden yellow bull on a red background. Answers, please, to the Editor.



Web site note: Since identified as Artillery Division (left); Delhi Area (right)

OBITUARY

We regret to record the passing of David Harvey who died on 4th March 2004 aged 57 years. David was the author of *Monuments to Courage* which appeared in 1999 and recorded the final resting place of all but a dozen of the 1,322 recipients of the VC who had died as at the

date of publication. His particular interest within the Society was the location of the graves of Victoria Cross holders and survivors of the Charge of the Light Brigade in the sub-continent.

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