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THE BENGAL YEOMAN(RY)* CAVALRY

Tim Ash

The National Army Museum at Chelsea, like most museums, contains a vast amount of material not on display and indeed much of it is unsuitable for display purposes being comprised of books, collections of papers, photographs and so on. However, the Card Index system in the Reading Room allows the historian to search for any item in the Museum's Collections that may be relevant to his/her subject of research. This is probably well known to our UK membership but possibly not to all overseas members.

In 1985 I acquired an Indian Mutiny medal awarded to SERJ^{t} HENRY WALLING, BENGAL YEO. CAV^{y}. I had not heard of the Bengal Yeoman Cavalry previously and could find no reference to it in *The Revolt in India 1857-58, An Annotated Bibliography of English Language Materials* - [Ladendorf 1966], or *Guide to the Records of the India Office Military Department* - [Farrington 1982]. Or in the index of any Mutiny history I referred to.

I therefore wrote to the National Army Museum in the hope that they might be able to shed some light on the subject. Within a week I had an answer - "*We do have a microfilm of six booklets bound into one and entitled Narrative of the Mutiny of 1857. One of these booklets is a memorandum of the Bengal Yeoman Cavalry by J. T. Nash."* (The letter was signed by the Research and Information Officer - E. Talbot Rice (Miss). Miss Talbot Rice, T.D., now long retired from the NAM and a member of the IMHS, still does sterling work as TR Military Search.) I duly ordered a paper copy, which revealed just about all in a slim volume of 28 pages! The title page reads,

> *MEMORANDUM OF THE BENGAL YEOMAN CAVALRY 1857 - 1858*. by J.T.N., 1st Troop, Right Squadron, Bengal Yeoman Cavalry. "Honi soit qui mal y pense" Calcutta, J.F. Bellamy, Englishman Press. NOTICE The title of the following Pamphlet explains its object: it is intended to contain a MEMORANDUM of a "transitory Regiment". The writer has confined himself to pure unvarnished facts, and, if he has partially succeeded in briefly recording the doings of the Bengal Yeoman Cavalry during the Corps` first years servitude he will consider himself thrice recompensed for the step ventured by publication. Camp Bustee, Goruckpoor District. 23rd July, 1858.

John Tulloch Nash, to give him his full name, is certainly to be congratulated!

The Regiment was embodied in a Notification by the Governor General in Council, Lord Canning, No. 931 dated 23 July 1857. It was composed of civilian volunteers from all walks of life. The Regiment was to be constituted as follows: -

1	Major	Commandant
1	Captain	Second in Command
1	Adjutant	

*The booklet on which this article is based uses the term Bengal Yeoman Cavalry. The illustration accompanying the article shows Yeomanry and it is that term which appears on the Mutiny Medal Roll, as well as in the following article by Alan Harfield. See also the book review of John Brooks' diaries at page 119 below.

4	Lieutenants
8	Cornets
1	Medical Officer
200	Men

The Regiment was to be divided into 4 Troops. 1 Lieutenant and 2 Cornets to be attached to each Troop. Those who enlisted were to be provided by Government with a horse, arms, uniform, accoutrements and tents. The uniform comprised brown corduroy breeches, over which were drawn jack boots reaching above the knees; loose blue flannel blouses; grey felt helmets enveloped in huge white turbans. A heavy sabre, light carbine, and formidable revolvers were their arms. The Notification also laid down rates of pay for each rank. Lieutenants and Cornets were to be chosen by the members of the Regiment from amongst their own number, subject to the approval of the Governor General in Council. Enlistment was for one year with a provision for further time should it be necessary. In the event of death by enemy action widows were to be granted life pensions. Nash then proceeds to give a complete listing by Christian name and Surname of all those who served in the Regiment.

The Regiment was embodied, equipped, and partially drilled at the Allipore Lower Orphan School and left Calcutta for Raneegunge and the disturbed districts on 13 October 1857. From Raneegunge the 1st Troop was detached with a force of H.M.'s service in pursuit of mutineers of the 32nd BNI whom they were unable to catch. The 1st Troop then re-joined the main force at Gayah and marched to Patna, crossed the Ganges, and proceeded to Poosah in Tirhoot. The Regiment, surprisingly, had more servants and traps than a full Regiment of the line, but by the use of country ponies managed to keep their kit with them. The Bengal Yeoman Cavalry then spent many toilsome days journeying through the districts of Tirhoot, the planters' paradise. They were the only body of European troops in the area and were credited with acting as a great deterrent in frustrating a threatened invasion of the mutineers. Later they entered into the Goruckpoor District, which had suffered considerable damage from the rebels. From here the Bengal Yeoman Cavalry progressed to Amorah on the Oude frontier.

The Sarun Field Force under Brigadier Rowcroft arrived at Amorah on 2 March 1858. The battle of Amorah was fought on 5 March against an overwhelming force of the enemy, officially reported to be 4,000 Sepoys, 10,000 Irregulars, 300 Sowars and nine guns. By contrast Brigadier Rowcroft had

Royal Marines	32
Naval Brigade of HMS	140
Bengal Yeoman Cavalry	200
Sikhs	39
Goorkhas	850
12 pounder Howitzers x 4	

In his despatch No 168 dated 6 March Rowcroft states:

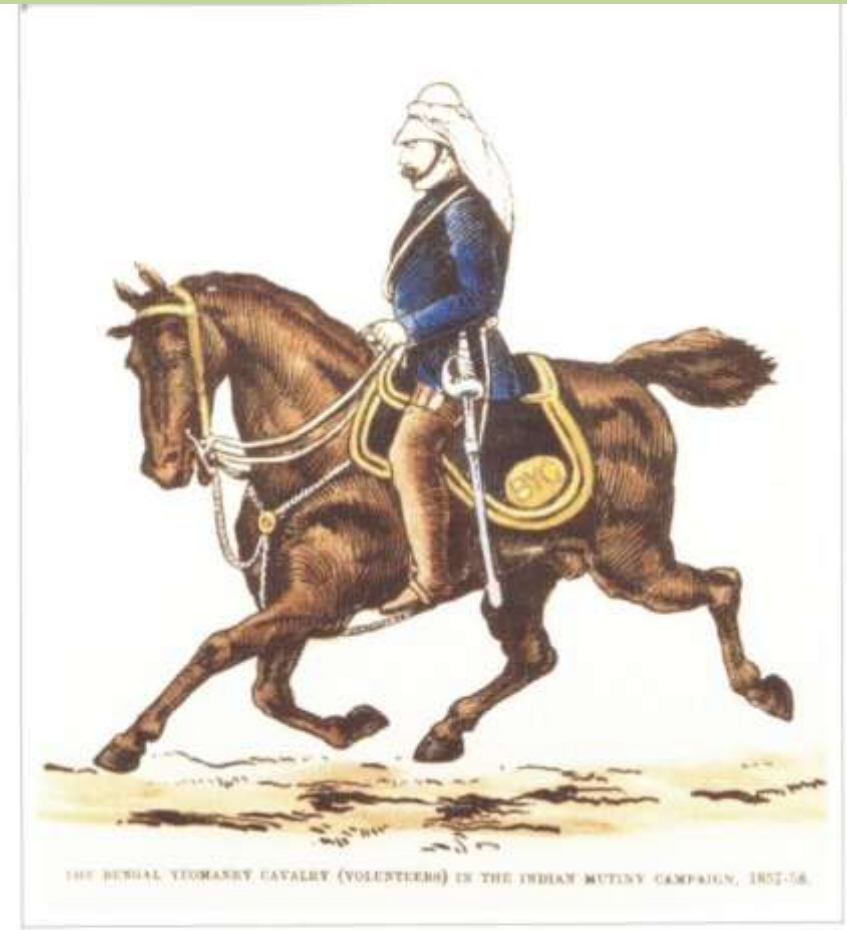
> "I saw there was no time to be lost and that a rapid and decisive blow must be struck. I rode to the Right Squadron (Bengal Yeoman Cavalry) and ordered it to advance rapidly inclining to the right and to charge the enemy's Sowars and Infantry hoping it would shake their centre. The result of this movement was soon apparent. I saw the left of the enemy hesitate, and some pressing towards their centre, the Sowars in rapid retreat. Down came the Yeomanry at a charging pace, well and steadily together on the moving masses of Infantry routing them, and cutting down and killing great numbers upwards of 90 reported. The whole left of the enemy soon gave way. I galloped up to the Yeoman Cavalry and thanked them for their gallant movement and charge, and ordered them to move towards

the left to threaten the enemy's centre. When ordering the Right Squadron to advance I detached a party of twenty Troopers to the rear of the Naval guns to cover and protect them, and this party, by their gallant and excellent service aided in capturing some of the guns. This most successful action by the Field Force so greatly out-numbered by the enemy in men and guns, may be considered to have saved Goruckpoor a second and immediate rebellion."

The Sarun Field Force took up a permanent position on the level plain adjacent to Amorah. On 17 April it was found that the rebels were again moving towards Amorah and the Field Force turned out for battle. The enemy was soon in retreat and pursued to Thilga, near Belwa, where the enemy decided to make a final stand. The final stroke of the action fell to the Bengal Yeoman Cavalry. Brigadier Rowcroft in his despatch, No. 241 dated 19 April wrote:

"I ordered Major Richardson in command of the Right Squadron Bengal Yeoman Cavalry to move from my right flank and charge this body of the enemy. The Squadron under its gallant leader made a noble charge and though they came upon a larger body of the enemy behind a village, and the Sepoys made a desperate resistance nothing stopped this brave Cavalry and they cut down and killed full sixty of the rebels and captured a 6 pounder gun with limber and the enemy were completely dispersed."

The Right Squadron on this occasion mustered 90 sabres, out of which forty were placed hors-de-combat, i.e. seventeen members and twenty-three horses were killed and wounded in the charge.



A Trooper of the Bengal Yeoman Cavalry

The Bengal Yeoman Cavalry continued its services with the Sarun Field Force. During lulls in marches and chasing rebels they were employed on videttes by day and patrols by night. The mutineers, scattered and beaten from Lucknow and the Doab, sought an asylum in Gorruckpore district and rapidly began to reappear and concentrate in different quarters of that district. However they were no match for the Sarun Field Force and the Bengal Yeoman Cavalry and were quickly defeated and scattered.

The Sarun Field Force in seven different actions invariably was successful, always against long odds and often opposed by ten times its numbers. Now, at the approach of the rainy season, it went into quarters at Bustee, "and here terminated the first year's servitude of the Bengal Yeoman Cavalry."

Nash then follows with a listing by name of the members of the Bengal Yeoman Cavalry who fell during the campaign of 1857-58 - 1 Lieutenant, 3 Cornets, 12 Troopers, and also those who were wounded - 20.

However, the Bengal Yeoman Cavalry continued its services until it was disbanded in early 1859 having been mentioned in the Government Gazettes on a dozen occasions. The Viceroy and Governor General in Council duly acknowledged it services in the following words published in the Government Gazette.

> The Governor General in Council desires to convey to the brave Officers and men of the Bengal Yeoman Cavalry - a Regiment of which all who have belonged to it may be proud - his best thanks for the good services they have rendered to the State, and in disbanding the Corps, he wishes the members of it a hearty farewell.

But what of Henry Walling who started this quest in the first place? In 1858 he would have been in his early twenties and was employed in a merchant's office at Calcutta. He was obviously a man of some education to be appointed a Sergeant in the BYC. Subsequent to the Mutiny he was employed by Thacker, Spink & Co., and the Auction Company where he is described as a Sale Master. In June of 1860 he married at Old Church, in Calcutta, where his first two children were baptised in 1861 and 1862 respectively. The Baptism of the second child records his profession as Tea Planter, though resident at Calcutta. However, by 1865 when the third child was born the Walling family had moved to Assam where he was employed as an Estate Manager by the Assam Company with a total of 6000 acres under cultivation, mainly in the Sibsagar district of eastern Assam on the southern side of the Brahmaputra River. Latterly he was Manager of the Bonmali Tea Estate at Sibsagar.

Henry Walling died on 9 October 1903 of carcinoma of the oesophagus, aged 68, at the Presidency General Hospital, Calcutta. He was buried the next day at the Military Cemetery - possibly with regard to his service in the Bengal Yeoman Cavalry during the Mutiny. A notice of his death appeared in THE ENGLISHMAN newspaper published at Calcutta on Monday 12 October 1903.

WILLIAM BRENDISH - TELEGRAPHIST

Alan Harfield

In the article 'Telegraphic Communications in India in May 1857' (Durbar Vol. 20, No. 3, August 2003, pp87-94) I referred to the fact that the Meerut Postmaster sent 'a private telegram to his Aunt in

Agra at about midnight' notifying her of the unrest at Meerut which is generally considered to be the 'first mutiny message'.
It was whilst reading archive material dealing with the Northern United Provinces Horse that I found a reference, which appeared to identify the telegrapher who was on duty at the Meerut telegraph office on 10 May as being 'Mr Brendish'. The note reads:

> ... was Brendish the telegraphist who with a companion remained with great gallantry until the very last moment in the Meerut office sending messages of the news of the 3rd Light Cavalry mutiny, escaping at the last moment with a woman and child he had rescued.

The woman and child are not identified in the note; neither does it give details as to where Mr Brendish and his party travelled after their escape.

Unfortunately the information, which was written sometime after the events of 1857, is not completely accurate. Whilst looking to confirm the story it was noted that, in regard to the events covering the despatch of messages from Meerut and Delhi, William Brendish is not mentioned by name in the usual standard works on the subject. However, an article, written by P.V. Luke, CIE, under the title *How the electric telegraph saved India* (not listed in Ladendorf), does confirm the part played by Brendish, who was based at the Delhi telegraph office, not the Meerut office, and also gives the name of the woman and child that he 'saved'.

The telegraph office at Delhi was located outside the city walls about one mile from the Kashmir (Cashmere) Gate and the same distance from the Flagstaff Tower. The staff consisted of Mr C Todd, who was in charge of the station, his wife and child, and two young signallers, William Brendish and Pilkington, a young man with a leg deformity who wore a special boot but who was able to undertake his duties in the telegraph office and on local line maintenance in spite of his disability. As mentioned in the previous article, the Meerut and Delhi stations closed from 9am to 4pm on Sundays. When the Delhi telegraph office reopened at 4pm on Sunday 10 May it was found that the line from Meerut was interrupted and Mr Todd then sent Brendish and Pilkington out to check on the Delhi-Meerut line, which crossed the Jumna River. The two men found that they could communicate from the far side of the Jumna back to the Delhi office but that the line was interrupted, or broken, between the Jumna crossing point and Meerut. It was, by then, too late to check the line that night and Mr Todd arranged to go out himself next morning to try to restore communications with the Meerut garrison.

At 8am on Monday 11 May Mr Todd set out in a gharry to check the line but was never heard of again, nor was his body found. It was generally believed that he was killed by the disaffected men of the 3rd Cavalry who were advancing on Delhi from Meerut. The Delhi telegraph office was manned on that day by Brendish and Pilkington who took Mrs Todd and her child into their care. During the morning some mention of the events that were taking place in Delhi were communicated to Ambala but merely as 'signaller's chatter'. In his article Luke believed that what is generally referred to as 'the second mutiny message' was transmitted as 'signaller's chatter', but the timing of the message, timed at '111500hrs May' [sic], proved this theory to be incorrect as the time was after the office had been evacuated. At about noon Brendish went out on to the main road leading past the office and met a wounded officer, who was making his way from the city to the cantonment. The unidentified officer advised him to return to the office and secure the place. The situation was deteriorating rapidly and the two telegraphists wished to get away from their isolated position but Mrs Todd was reluctant to leave, as at this time she had no idea as to the fate of her husband. At about 2pm they eventually convinced Mrs Todd that she and her child should leave with them to go to Flagstaff Tower where it was known that other refugees from the city and cantonment were assembling. The small party, led by Brendish, safely covered the mile to the assembly point.

In later years Brendish commented that during the morning of 11 May no civil or military officer came to the telegraph office to despatch an official telegram notifying the problems at Delhi to Ambala. It is believed that the reason for this failure in communication to the authorities can be attributed to the fact that, as the telegraph system was still in its infancy, officials did not regard it as a regular means of communication. Brendish confirmed that he sent the 'second' telegram, although he did not specify if it was sent from the established Telegraph office or from the temporary telegraph station that was set up at Hindu Rao's House. He further stated that neither he nor Pilkington originated the 'third message', but that this was written by a military officer and that it was 'sent' by Pilkington who had been instructed to return to the Telegraph office with a military escort specifically to transmit the message to Ambala.

Brendish remained in the Flagstaff Tower area until dark when it was intended that an attempt be made to reach the British garrison at Meerut. In the dark the party became separated but at Kumaul Brendish met up again with Pilkington and Mrs Todd and her child and then escorted them to Ambala. On arrival they reported to the Assistant in charge of the Telegraph office who was under the impression that all the Delhi staff had been killed. It appeared that in the late afternoon of 11 May the telegraph needle at Ambala moved, as though someone was trying to communicate, but when questioned as to the name of the operator there was no response. It was then assumed that the staff at Delhi had all been killed.

Brendish, having reported to the Ambala Telegraph office, was transferred to the office at Loodiana. In November 1857 he resigned from the Telegraph Department in order to volunteer for service with the Meerut Light Horse. His service with that volunteer unit is confirmed by his award of the Indian Mutiny Medal on the medal roll submitted by Lieutenant J. E. Pearson, the former adjutant of the Meerut Light Horse (see British Library (Oriental and India Office Collection) reference L/Mil/5/100, page 238R). Luke comments that Brendish later transferred to the Bengal Yeomanry Cavalry and served with that unit until it was disbanded in July 1859. He is not listed in the medal roll of that unit, having claimed the medal for his previous service with the Meerut Light Horse. On the disbandment of the Bengal Yeomanry Cavalry he re-joined the Telegraph department and then served for forty years with the department. Much of the information given in the article by Luke was taken chiefly from statements written by Brendish.

He later joined a volunteer corps that eventually became the Northern Regiment, United Provinces Horse, and was one of a number of men who, in their younger days, had served in the Meerut Light Horse. The Northern Regiment, United Provinces Horse, was created by the amalgamation of the Dehra Dun Mounted Rifles, the mounted infantry company of the Naini Tal Volunteer Rifles and the United Provinces Light Horse, Northern Regiment.

Of Mr Pilkington little is known of his subsequent career after his arrival at Ambala, with Brendish and Mrs Todd, other than he continued in the service of the Telegraph Department without attaining any senior appointment.

I am grateful to member Cliff Parrett for his help in respect of information on the Meerut Light Horse and the Bengal Yeomanry Cavalry.

COLONEL HARRY ERNEST CONNOP - 35TH SCINDE HORSE

Peter Chapman

The swansong of the Indian Army horsed cavalry was neither in Mesopotamia nor in Palestine during the 1914-18 War, but in the post-war Arab Revolt in Mesopotamia 1920-22.

The defeat of the Turks and the subsequent end of Ottoman rule created a void, a vacuum, and the British and Indian armies, weary from four years of war were obliged to step in during the Mandate to stabilise a vast area and, ultimately when all was done, to create the state of Iraq. The troops involved in this drawn out 'campaign' were to be rewarded with the General Service Medal with the clasp 'Iraq'.

At least five Indian cavalry regiments, not all at full strength, were involved …. 5th, 11th, 32nd, 35th and 37th.

The 35th – the Scinde Horse – had not had an exciting war. Retained throughout in India on 'internal duties', the regiment's 'beat' had been the North West Frontier, including tours of duty in Dera Ismail Khan and at Tank. Under the command of Lt Col Robert Clarence Wellesley Lukin, ex 9th Hodson's Horse, they did have their 'moments' – indeed Lukin was awarded a DSO in 1915.

But finally, in 1920, the regiment was posted to join General Sir Aylmer Haldane's army in Mespot. It is novel for us, today, to read in the newspapers of place names once familiar to Haldane's army. And of those place names none is so evocative of catastrophe to British arms as Hillah.

Hillah is on the Euphrates and, at not far distant Rumeitha, 350 men of the 99th Infantry and the 114th Mahrattas were besieged by the Arabs. Colonel Lukin, being the senior man 'on the spot' was hived off to command the garrison at Hillah from which the relieving columns set out. Command of the 35th Scinde Horse devolved on his 2 i/c, Major Henry Ernest Connop.

Connop was 40. He had been commissioned into the 12th Lancers (British Army) well in time to see varied, detached service in South Africa and had been Mentioned in Despatches at Dera Ismail Khan.

The relief column for Rumeitha consisted of a company of sappers, 39th RFA, a company of pioneers…and the 2nd Manchesters "full of half trained recruits, town-bred men, not physically fit". The disaster that overtook this column is well known. But it was Connop's Sowars who kept the marauding Arabs at bay, and the column's ill-advised retreat, at night, resulted in disaster. Connop was the only officer present (save for the now distant Lukin) who had seen pre-war service and the only officer with experience of Arab warfare.

During the chaos at night, when 5,000 Arabs almost enveloped the exhausted, fleeing troops, it was the 35th who were to fend off repeated attacks, aided only by the moonlight. Connop, with but four officers, leading in both Troop and Squadron strength, repeated charges with the drawn sword. All the officers had two horses shot beneath them; Connop had three. He personally sabred two Arabs and, against fearful odds, shepherded what survivors there were back to Hillah and safety. The Scinde Horse was heaped with both praise and honours, on Connop's recommendations. Naturally he was not able to mention his own behaviour, but when the dust settled his leadership was rewarded with a DSO.

General Haldane wrote: "…and Major Connop of the 35th Scinde Horse, both of whose squadron leaders were wounded, behaved like heroes and it is to their example…that a complete disaster was averted."
In October of the same year (1920) and at the relief of Kufah, the 35th, now joined by squadrons of the 37th Lancers (The Baluch Horse) made spectacular charges against the Arabs in squadrons in line with levelled lances and drawn swords, the Scinde Horse, now very short of sabres, using borrowed scabbards from the 37th with which they beat the enemy about the head.

Following the reorganisation of the Indian Army in 1922 Connop, promoted Lieutenant Colonel, was given command of the 13th Lancers (Duke of Connaught's Own) and retired from the army in 1930.

Many (40) years ago I determined to give a final answer to the question 'when was the last cavalry charge?' and, to that end, amassed a quantity of material embracing armies worldwide. The Marquess of Anglesey most kindly allowed me to contribute to his monumental and all-encompassing work on British Cavalry (returning to me all other 'stuff' concerning Poles, Germans, Russia and so on) and on page 352 of Volume Eight (the final volume) allowed me a footnote claim. Ah, posterity!

However, I do think Connop's charges before Kufah in late 1920 do stand examination as the last charge by British-led Indian cavalry in line with sword and lance. Connop retired on his 50th birthday on 1930 and I believe died in Yaxley, Suffolk, in July 1943.

Now for a feast of footnotes. The paucity of swords can be traced directly to the meanness of the Baghdad Ordnance. Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose!

I have floated this theory (about the last charge) in my own regimental journal, the rather ferociously titled 'The Delhi Spearman', but I was reminded (I think that's the word) by the then (and late) editor that many such claims had been made. Nonetheless…

Colonel Connop stares at me now, as I write, from a photograph above his DSO and medals, a rather more distinguished 12th Lancer than I ever was and a man who, I believe, has a unique place in Indian Army history.

Lt Col Henry (Harry) Ernest Connop (1880-1943).
Lt. 12th Lancers (British Army), OC 35th Scinde Horse, Iraq, CO 13th Lancers. DSO, QSA (3 clasps), KSA (2 clasps), BWM (MID), Iraq (MID)

Further reading:

1. In general. Cole and Priestley, *British Military History,* 1937.
2. In general. Haldane, *The Insurrection in Mesopotamia.*
3. In detail. Col. E B Maunsell, *Prince of Wales's Own, The Scinde Horse,* 1926.

THE MALAY STATES GUIDES

Brian Stevens

As the existence of the Malay States Guides is almost unknown the following may be of interest to members as it was to all intents and purposes an Indian Regiment, in much the same way as the former Hong Kong Regiment.

It was formed in 1896 by a Lieutenant Colonel Walker, who had come to Malaya in 1874. He was an officer of the British and not the Indian Army. Walker raised the Indian, mainly Sikh, element of the Perak Armed Police, designation later changed to 1st Perak Sikhs. In 1896 the Malay States Guides were formed from the existing Armed Police forces of Perak, Selangor, Pahang, and Negri Sembilan, the first of which dated back to 1873. As mentioned above, these Armed Police Forces included a very strong element of Indians, Sikhs, Hindus and Pathans. The Guides only enlisted Indian Soldiers, the Malay element remaining in the Police. The new Corps was some 900 Strong, formed into eight companies, six Infantry and two Artillery - eventually the Artillery being formed into a Mountain Battery. Four of the Infantry Companies were Sikhs and the other two, E and F, were either Punjabi or Pathan Muslims with a few Punjabi Hindus in E Company. The expenses of the Regiment were born by the Sultans of the States concerned.

The Commandant in August 1914 was Lieutenant Colonel Lees, of the 53rd Sikhs. He had taken command in about 1912/13. His predecessor had only stayed for two years, having succeeded Colonel Walker who had raised and commanded the Guides for some fourteen years. It will be seen that to have had the command changed twice since Walker's retirement in 1910 must have had an unsettling effect on the Sepoys.

According to a history of the Regiment, published in 1965 by the son of a former Havildar, the unrest in the unit was occasioned by the Subadar Major who, without consulting the Indian officers and men, informed the Commandant that the Corps wished to serve overseas, notwithstanding their having only enlisted for Local Service. The Subadar Major had unusually achieved that rank after only two years' service in the Regiment.

This man, who was a graduate of the Punjab University, had come to Malaya as a Punjabi Interpreter in the Malay Magistrates' Courts. He then got himself transferred to the Guides as an Interpreter with the rank of Jemadar, and was soon advanced to the rank of Subadar. When he was promoted Subadar Major after such a short time, although by no means the senior Subadar, the usual disquiet was voiced in the ranks. But as the senior Subadar who had been passed over was prepared to accept the situation rather than go on a pension, a face saving option that he had been offered and refused, the Regiment accepted the situation.

In August 1914 the Guides moved to Singapore from their normal station at Taiping and came into close contact with the 5th Light Infantry.

When the new Subadar Major first informed the Commandant of the Regiment's wish to serve overseas, the request was passed through the G.O.C. Malaya to the War Office, but was turned down as Colonel Walker, the retired former Commandant, when consulted, pointed out that as the corps was

specially trained for service in the jungles of Malaya, to send it to France or Egypt and then replace it with a battalion of the Indian Army was not a sound policy.

When the news of this refusal of their services was published in Regimental Orders the consternation amongst the other Indian Officers and men can be imagined, being thanked for an offer they had not made. The Subadar Major, who must be given credit for his tenacity, now approached the Commandant a second time, giving him to understand that the Guides were very anxious to proceed on Active Service and asking if he would forward their wishes to the proper authorities. This time the offer was accepted as the Indian Regiments in France were suffering heavy losses, in particular the 15th Ludhiana Sikhs.

The History is a little vague, but when the orders for embarkation were notified to the Guides in November 1914, it appears that they refused to embark, pointing out that they had neither been consulted nor had volunteered. As a result the orders were cancelled and the Regiment was ordered to return to its barracks at Taiping where the Subadar Major was Court Martialled. The verdict was that he should be deprived of his rank, dismissed the service and ordered to leave the cantonment by 4.30 p.m. the following day. The Regiment was paraded the following morning where the verdict was read out in English and Urdu and the Crowns cut from his shoulder straps.

When the 5th Light Infantry mutinied in February 1915 the Guides remained loyal, although the mutineers killed the Battery Captain of the Guides Mountain Battery, which had remained behind in Singapore

The news of the gallantry of the 14th Ferozepore Sikhs at Gallipoli seems to have made a great impression upon the Guides as they made known their wishes to serve overseas. This time the authorities made no mistake. New engagements were made with the men, each of whom had to sign stating that he was prepared to serve overseas. Afterwards a parade was held on the Taiping Esplanade attended by one of the Malay Sultans and the Secretary to the Resident, at which the men had to take an oath before the Sultan to the effect that they were willing to serve overseas.

The Guides left Taiping for Penang on 26th September 1915 and reached Aden via Colombo on 9th October where they formed part of the Aden Field Force. Here they saw out the War. They saw their heaviest fighting on 13th January 1916, during a Turkish attack on the British lines. The Guides losses are, or were up to 1967, engraved on Bronze panels on the Steamer Point landing stage at Aden, as well as on the Perak and Taiping War Memorials.

After the war it appeared that only some 200 men were prepared to return to Malaya and, as a result, the Regiment was disbanded and the men returned to Bombay in parties of between fifty and one hundred. In future a battalion from the Indian Army would serve a three-year tour of duty in Malaya. The idea of using a battalion of the Indian Army was attractive to the Indian authorities because the cost would be found from Imperial and not Indian revenues, so that an additional Indian battalion could be retained in the inevitable post war reductions.

The barracks at Taiping were handed over to a battalion of the 70th Burma Rifles, the first unit of the Indian Army to replace the Guides.

The Colours were laid up in "All Saints" Church in Taiping during the 1930's but they were lost during the Japanese occupation.

JOHN PARKER BOYD: THE YANKEE MUGHAL

Ronald Rosner

On the night of August 16, 1797 James Kirkpatrick, the acting East India Company Resident to the court of the Nizam of Hyderabad and the central character of William Dalrymple's widely acclaimed *White Mughals*, sent a note to the commander of a mercenary "partisan corps" in the employ of Nizam. The note requested that the commander, one John Parker Boyd, deploy his troops in support of those of the Company stationed in Hyderabad, against a reported attack by the regular troops of the Nizam lead by the Jacobin Frenchman François de Raymond and stating that by doing so the commander would eventually entitle himself to "strong claims on the thanks of the British Government."[1].

While the attack was forestalled, Boyd's pro-British action resulted in his discharge from the Nizam's service. He had no choice but to march his 2,000 men to Poona and seek employment from his former patron – the Peshwa, the titular, but relatively powerless head of the Mahratta Confederation.

At this time Daulat Rao Scindia, Maharaja of Gwalior, the most powerful and anti-British of the Mahratta chiefs, was determined to gather all the reins of power into his own hands. In order to do this he had to first remove the Peshwa's Prime Minister, Nana Fadnavis. The Peshwa's troops were to be neutralized by the very Mahratta tactic of bringing the Peshwa himself into the plot against his Prime Minister, against whom the Peshwa had long harboured a deep resentment. The Peshwa deluded himself that he could stand up against Scindia in a struggle for control of the Mahratta Confederation.

Throughout the intrigues that led to the enthronement of the Peshwa in 1796, Boyd had consistently supported Nana Fadnavis. In addition he had gone to Hyderabad at the bidding of the British and actively opposed Raymond when he threatened British troops. So long as Boyd commanded his private army he presented a real danger to the plots of the Peshwa and Scindia against Nana Fadnavis and the British.

The usual Mahratta course of action would be to either secure Boyd's participation in the conspiracy through bribery or to violently remove him from the scene. However, in order to avoid unduly alarming Nana Fadnavis and the British, Daulat Rao Scindia and the Peshwa decided to force Boyd to "cash in his chips" and go home. On October 26, 1797, Josiah Uhthoff, the acting British Resident at Poona reported to the Governor General that Boyd had been "…constrained by the Scindian party, much against his own inclination to make over the whole of his corps and military apparatus to Colonel Catielho Filose, for the sum of thirty-five thousand (35,000) Rupees." Daulat Rao Scindia in "very intelligible terms" told Boyd that "he would not be permitted to take employment with any party here, nor to seek service elsewhere [in India]."[2] As Daulat Rao Scindia's favourite post-prandial entertainment was to watch opponents being trampled to death by an elephant, blown apart at the mouth of a cannon or shot into the air tied to rockets, Boyd very wisely took the money and agreed to leave India.

On December 11, 1797, Uhthoff reported that Boyd, who had been living in the British Residency since November 2nd, had left the previous day for Bombay with the intention to "..return to his native country under the Government of the United States of America."[3].

John Parker Boyd was born on December 21, 1764 in Newburyport, Massachusetts. Rejecting the mercantile traditions of his family, he was determined to pursue a military career. Unfortunately, in the years immediately following the War of Independence the American military establishment, such

as it was, gave little scope for such an ambition. It was not until 1786, when in reaction to the rebellion of Massachusetts farmers against the forced sales of their farms, that Congress passed a resolution to increase the U.S. Army, which then mustered 700 soldiers by an additional 1,340 men. Of this number 660 men were to be recruited in Massachusetts. Boyd was appointed an ensign, then the lowest commissioned rank in the infantry. When in early 1787 the rebellion was suppressed, Congress promptly lost interest in increasing the army. Boyd's regiment was disbanded without ever leaving Boston, let alone having been in action. After this inauspicious beginning twenty-one years would pass before John Parker Boyd would again wear an American uniform.

For a young man of 23 with an adventurous bent, and from the evidence there can be absolutely no doubt that Boyd was adventurous, the late 18th century offered many opportunities to test one's mettle and seek a fortune. The American frontier was only a relatively short journey to the west – the Indians were hostile and settlers beyond the Alleghenies had to be constantly prepared to defend their land. However, for the inhabitants of the maritime communities along the Massachusetts shore north of Boston, the "Indies", not the Western Frontier, had long been the source of fortune and adventure.

Up to the time the American colonies became independent, the "Indies" for New Englanders had always meant the West Indies which, along with New England and Africa, formed the infamous Triangle Trade in Rum, Molasses and Slaves. Following the War for Independence American ships were excluded from the British possessions in the Caribbean, and not particularly welcome in those of their erstwhile allies France and Spain. Although this situation was to change relatively soon under pressure from commercial interests in first the French and then the British islands, the Americans, most particularly those in Salem, Massachusetts had quickly found fresh markets. These were in the real Indies, those to the east of the Cape of Good Hope, which as a monopoly of the H.E.I.C. had been denied to all other subjects of the British Crown. The term "East Indies" at that time included China, Southeast Asia, Indonesia and the vast Indian Sub-Continent as well as islands in the Indian Ocean, particularly Mauritius and Madagascar.

As a son of Newburyport, then a major maritime centre, Boyd would have been well aware of these developments. Like many other Massachusetts men of the time, Boyd sailed to India to seek his fortune, or as the contemporary phrase had it - "To shake the Pagoda Tree"[4]. What set Boyd apart is that he did not intend to do so as a merchant or a ship's officer but literally as a soldier of fortune.

In a letter to General Henry Knox written from Boston in 1799[5], after his return from India, Boyd states that before his arrival in India he had procured (he does not say from whom) letters of introduction to the Governor General of French India at Pondicherry. Upon Boyd's arrival in Pondicherry in 1789, the Governor General, perhaps not quite sure how to handle this young American, passed him on to their former common enemy, the British at nearby Madras. This was not such an extraordinary action as it might at first appear. The East India Company had a history of welcoming soldiers of varied origins into its ranks, including French deserters. One of the latter was to rise to the rank of Major General in The Company's army. The British did not have any doubts about Boyd's potential and immediately offered him a commission in The East India Company's army - which he declined.

The reason for this, as given in Boyd's letter to Henry Knox, was the slowness of promotion in The Company's service. One has only to refer to the letter, where Boyd details the amounts of money he earned in India, for there to be no doubt that he had come to India to make his fortune.
The pay of junior officers in The Company's army was woefully inadequate. Most subalterns fell deeply into debt, which they could not clear for many years, usually not until they had completed over twenty years' service, assuming, of course, they managed to survive enemy action, disease and the extraordinary quantities of alcoholic beverages normally consumed in the heat of the day. At the end

of the 18th century three or four bottles of room temperature red wine per person after dinner in the afternoon, was not considered unusual, quite the contrary[6]. Even though Boyd would not wear the Company's red coat, the British still had a use for him.

The Nizam of Hyderabad, ostensibly a vassal of the Mogul Emperor in Delhi, was the *de facto* independent ruler of what was to become the largest Native State under the British Raj. In 1789 Hyderabad was the only major Indian force between the Mahrattas in the north and Mysore in the south. With further warfare with Tippoo Sultan of Mysore[7] in the offing, the British had every reason to maintain good relations with the Nizam. Hyderabad had a considerable force of sepoys trained and officered almost entirely by French and Eurasians, the entire force being under the command of François de Raymond. In both his letter to Knox and one written from Madras to his father dated June 1790[8], Boyd relates that he was presented to the Nizam by the English Resident at Hyderabad, as The Company's representatives at the courts of native princes were called.

This sponsorship by the British certainly may help to explain how it came about that Boyd was given the command of "two *kansolars* of infantry, each of which consists of 500 men."[9] This was promotion, indeed! One wonders how Boyd described his prior military service to the British and others in India. Even though Boyd may have acquired sufficient military knowledge along the way to convince the British and the Nizam of his bona fides, it is most remarkable that this young man, a citizen of a nation which had achieved its independence only six short years before, obtained the support of his country's former colonial masters and recent foes in war to be given a sizable military command. This, without any, or given the amount time he had been in India, very little, knowledge of the language or habits of the men he was to command. While it is not noteworthy that the Indians should mistake Boyd for an Englishman, it is somewhat surprising that the British accepted him so readily - given that the incumbent Governor-General of the Honourable East India Company's domains was Lord Cornwallis, who in surrendering an entire British army to George Washington at Yorktown in 1781, effectively brought the American War for Independence to an end.

For a number of years after American independence the British in India had some difficulty in coming to grips with exactly what was the status of Americans. Prior to The War for Independence, and in India for a time thereafter, Americans were considered by the English to be a type of British sub-species, in common with the Scots, Welsh and, at least some, Irish. After independence Americans continued to serve in official positions - such as Sheriff of Bombay. It was some time before American Consuls were recognized by the British East India Company's government in India, despite their generally immediate recognition in other parts of the British Empire. Major General Sir David Ochterlony[10] and Colonel William Gardner[11] were American born contemporaries of Boyd's who achieved considerable military distinction in the service of the East India Company.

Boyd was to stay with the Nizam only a short time - at the most, two years. In his letter to Henry Knox he says he preferred the service of the "Hindoos" to that of the "Mahomentans" and had transferred his services to the Mahrattas. From references in the letter to the his pay and rank under the Mahrattas, we can with complete confidence take it that Boyd's "preference" was directly related to the level of pay and prospects for promotion. Boyd tells Knox that after being appointed in the "Army of Marrattas"[12] he was "promoted" in 1793 to the command of a brigade. This would indicate that he had entered the Mahratta service at a lower rank. The brigade consisted of the two battalions of regular infantry of the Holkar of Indore, which Boyd had a hand in establishing along with a French officer, The Chevalier Dudrenec.[13] As a brigade commander Boyd was initially paid a salary of 2,000 rupees per month. This was the pay of a Lieutenant Colonel[14].

Officers of field rank, i.e. Major, Lieutenant Colonel or Colonel could command a brigade - the grouping of two or more battalions. To cover the expense of feeding their staff, or military "family",

officers holding brigade commands were allotted an additional 100 rupees per month as "table allowance".

During Boyd's time in India at the end of the 18th century, whether in the service of the East India Company or of native princes, regular infantry sepoys trained in the European manner, wore uniform coats that closely approximately those of European troops. However, from the neck up and from the waist down their appearance was quite different. The headdress was usually in the form of an elaborate flat turban often of a "sundial" shape. The nether garments were a combination of short trousers and a cummerbund that was sometimes passed between the legs, following the form of the Indian loincloth or *dhoti*. When not barefoot the sepoys wore sandals or curly toed slippers. This was a dress that the sepoy found relatively comfortable and not too much different from his usual garb.

During his time in India Boyd was only to take part in one major battle - that of Kharda on March 11, 1795 between the Mahratta Confederation and the Nizam of Hyderabad. The battle resulted in a victory for the Mahrattas. In a report submitted to Sir Charles Malet, the British Resident at Poona[15] by his Assistant, Josiah Uhthoff, who was an eyewitness to the battle, Holkar's troops under Boyd's command, occupied the right of the line - the position of honour. They were engaged three times during the day and were in the forefront of the pursuit of the Nizam's retreating army. The flight was headlong and panic filled. In his notebook James Wales, a British artist working in Poona under the patronage of Sir Charles Malet, quotes William Tone, the brother of the Irish rebel Wolfe Tone, then a lieutenant in Holkar's service, as coming upon the bodies of two beautiful young women whose throats had been cut to prevent them from falling into the hands of the pursuing Mahrattas.[16] Tone was to serve as Boyd's second-in-command and friend throughout the rest of his time in India.

Boyd led one of the smallest of regular forces the Mahratta Confederation brought to the field at Kharda. Nevertheless, Uhthoff's report only refers specifically to Boyd's command. Uhthoff, who was the British official closest to Boyd, most likely accompanied his troops because none of Boyd's officers were French. Sir John Shore, the Governor General, in an effort to maintain a neutral position in the war between the Company's allies, had instructed that British representatives were not to accompany the armies into battle. From reports by British officers on both sides, all of which refer to the forces they accompanied as "our army", it is obvious that this order was completely ignored. In fact the British officers from both sides met in the no-man's-land between the armies the night before the battle. A British observer with the Hyderabad forces reported that Raymond lost between 300 and 400 killed and wounded and that the debacle was due to the Nizam's cowardice and panicked reaction to the demands of his women to flee from the noise and carnage of the battlefield[17].

The battle of Kharda was the last flicker of glory for the Mahratta Confederation. No Europeans, other than the mercenary officers on both sides, took part. Significantly it was an occasion when Indian troops, trained and lead in the European manner, were unable to overcome Indian cultural imperatives.

Boyd's conduct was sufficient to warrant an increase in pay to 3,000 rupees per month - the salary of a full colonel, and what was even more enriching, the right to raise a body of troops "…Independent of the Government entirely disposed to my command."

In the world of mercenary soldiers in India pecuniary reward was vastly more important than titles of rank or other awards of honour. In his letter to Knox, Boyd was very precise in stating the pay he received for each command. His monthly pay of 3,000 rupees was the uppermost limit of field officers' remuneration, against which the pay of other officers was judged[18]. William Tone, in a published account about the Mahrattas, cites Boyd's salary as an example of how well European officers were treated in their service[19].

Whatever military skills Boyd may have lacked upon his arrival in India, he had acquired sufficient expertise for him to be offered, in June, 1796 employment by the commander-in-chief of the Peshwa's army. At that time the Peshwa's troops were an unruly combination of north Indians, known as the *gardi* (from the English word - "guards") and mercenary Arabs. The latter enjoyed a particularly unsavoury reputation. The contemporary *Peshwa's Dairies*, written in Mahratti, more than once describe Boyd as a "European" officer of reputation and as an effective organizer and trainer of infantry[20]. Boyd's "Partisan Corps" is credited with providing the Peshwa for the first time with efficient regular battalions[21]. The turmoil caused by the constantly changing loyalties among the Mahrattas led to dissension in the army as a whole. Minor disputes would lead to serious disturbances of the peace. The most noteworthy involved the Boyd's Partisan Corps and the Peshwa's Arab troops.

On April 13, 1797 a new temple was dedicated in Poona to the Hindu god *Murlidhar* - the Fluting Krishna. Two military bands were to perform at the ceremony - one belonging to the Arab Mercenary contingent and the other to Boyd's Corps. A disagreement arose as to which band would play first. This rapidly disintegrated into a riot in which 100 or more people were killed. The temple to the dancing, flute playing, milkmaid seducing Krishna, one of the most beloved and benevolent gods of India, became known as the *Khunya Murlidhar* - The Temple of the Murderous or Bloody Krishna, and remains so to this very day[22]. This fracas would result in Boyd and his troops leaving Poona and eventually to his forced departure from India.

The fact that Boyd lived in the Poona Residency prior to final departure from India and Uhthoff's later report that he assisted in the settlement of Boyd's affairs with Filose, leave very little doubt that Boyd had been acting in the British interest in Hyderabad. Seven years later Boyd would corroborate this when claiming compensation from the Company for his action in Hyderabad on the night of August 27, 1797. This incident, the eventual consequence of which was the loss of Boyd's livelihood in India, would nevertheless be a source of later benefit to him, not however, without considerable trials and tribulations. In view of the fate - beheading, or, at best, being forced to flee with only the clothes on their backs, that befell William Gardner and other European and Eurasian officers serving the Mahrattas who refused to fight against the British at the out-break of the 2nd Mahratta War in 1803, Boyd was fortunate in being able to leave India with his life and fortune intact. However, in common with many of the other "White Mughals", Boyd did leave behind a child by his Indian mistress or *bebee.*

In a will he wrote in 1816,[23] before a trip to England about which we will hear more, Boyd left one-quarter of his estate to "Frances Boyd, my natural daughter by Housina, a Mahometan lady, born in my camp in the vicinity of Ponah (sic), in the month of June and fourth day, 1797." The will goes on to state that Frances Boyd was christened with William Tone as Godfather and Mesdames Franswa (sic) and Finglap (sic) as Godmothers. Madame "Finglap" was in all probability the wife of an Irishman, Captain Finglass the commander of another "partisan corps". Despite the mother being a Muslim and both the father and godfather having been raised as Protestants, the baptism took place in a Roman Catholic Church - the only Christian church in Poona at that time. The Godmothers, one Irish and the other apparently French, would most likely have been Catholics and could be counted on to oversee young Frances Boyd's religious upbringing and general welfare.

At the beginning of the 2nd Mahratta War in 1803 the East India Company offered compensation to those European and Eurasian officers who would leave their employment with the Mahrattas. The terms of this compensation were extremely liberal. An example of this was the commander of Scindia's forces (which included Boyd's former corps now lead by Catielho Filose's son) a one-time sergeant of British Hanoverian troops, who after losing the battle of Assaye in 1803 to the future Duke of Wellington, subsequently changed sides and ended his career as an officer in the Company's army.

When news of the payments by the British to induce officers to leave the Mahratta service reached Boyd in 1806, he was quick to travel to England to lay a claim before the Company's Court of Directors. Writing from his lodgings in London's Strand on May 27, 1806 Boyd asserted that making his demonstration in support of the British at Hyderabad on August 16, 1797 had led not only to his dismissal from the service of the Nizam but also prevented him from obtaining reemployment with the Mahrattas.[24]

The logic of Boyd's petition being that if officers were to be rewarded for not acting against British interests, then he was entitled to similar compensation based on Kirkpatrick's assurance that he could expect the thanks of the British Government for coming *actively* to the aid of the Company's troops. The Court of Directors agreed with Boyd. Moreover, they approved his novel request regarding the form of his compensation. Rather than petitioning for payment in cash, Boyd asked for permission to ship 300 tons of saltpetre from Calcutta to America.

Saltpetre or potassium nitrate, a major component of gunpowder, along with charcoal and sulphur, was in short supply in America. It was abundant in India, but its export was strictly prohibited in fear that it would fall into the hands of an enemy during the almost continuous wars between England and France and its allies. Boyd undertook to guarantee that the saltpetre would be sold only to the U.S. Government – with which, at that time, the British had reasonably cordial relations. The Court of Directors and the British Government accepted all of Boyd's proposals. On October 29, 1806 instructions were duly sent to the authorities in Calcutta instructing them to issue the necessary licenses and permit the export of Boyd's 300 tons of saltpetre. In November 1807 the saltpetre was loaded at Calcutta on board the American ship *Martha*, bound for New York.

One month later, in reaction to British and French restrictions on trade and the free passage of American vessels, President Thomas Jefferson imposed an embargo on foreign trade - both in and out of American ports. There were no restrictions, however, on ships returning to the United States with cargoes loaded before the embargo went into force. This meant that the value of the saltpetre, already considerable, would have been greatly enhanced. In was later determined, by a committee of the British House of Commons, no less, that Boyd would have realized a profit of close to $ 250,000 if the cargo consigned to Boyd had reached the United States[25].

At this time ships of the East India Company were not permitted to discharge cargo ("break bulk" in maritime terms) at the Cape of Good Hope. Hence there was no incentive for H.E.I.C. ships to call at Cape Town if the winds were favourable for an uninterrupted passage to England. American ships had no such impediment and regularly carried cargoes for Cape Town. American vessels were preferred by those, especially officials of the East India Company, who wished to leave India with funds the origin of which they did not want to be too closely scrutinized by the authorities. Therefore, it was not unusual that, in addition to her cargo of saltpetre, the *Martha* carried cargo and passengers for the Cape of Good Hope.

Unfortunately, upon her arrival off the Cape of Good Hope in January 1808, a British warship, *HMS Sceptre*, seized the *Martha*. In spite of the licenses issued with the approval of the British Government her cargo was condemned to be sold as "Droits of the Crown". As soon as the news reached London, Boyd's agents and the insurers of the cargo launched an appeal in the Privy Council with the result that in March of 1810, the actions of the Cape Town court were reversed. The cargo was ordered to be restored or its value paid to Boyd. However, the cargo had been sold at the Cape at a price so low that it did not cover the combined purchase price of the saltpetre at Calcutta and the cost of the freight. Seven years would pass before Boyd could pursue his claim for compensation for the loss of the saltpetre. During this time Boyd returned to service in the U.S. Army and would do battle first with

Indians, only this time they would be Native Americans, and then the British, with whose interest he had been so closely identified in India.

In 1808, Thomas Jefferson moved to increase the U.S. regular army and, at the same time, replace currently serving officers who were members of the opposition Federalist Party with the adherents to his Republican Party. Boyd, with his exotic military experience and, for strongly Federalist New England, equally exotic Republican politics received a commission as a full Colonel on October 4, 1808, and was ordered to raise a new regiment – the 4th United States Infantry. No papers have survived concerning Boyd's appointment. The major authority on the subject of Jefferson's military purges has suggested that all the files covering such appointments were intentionally destroyed by the Jefferson administration.[26]

The new 4th Infantry was to be recruited in five New England states. Boyd now set out to do something about which he had considerable experience – the establishment of a regiment of regular infantry. Even though he had been away from any military occupation for ten years, Boyd still retained his skill in organizing and training troops. His years in India would have given him an extraordinary depth of experience in the training of raw recruits in the precise, almost ballet-like, movement of 18th century warfare. This time his soldiers were not Sepoys from northern India speaking Hindustani but his own Yankee countrymen. The new Colonel did everything he could to remind his men of their region's Revolutionary War military traditions. 'Yankee Doodle' was ordered to be played every day at reveille and evening colours. When, on May 24, 1811, the 4th Regiment left Boston for Pittsburgh, then an outpost on the Western frontier, it was described as forming "…a happy example of modern discipline."[27] The 4th Infantry was not long at Pittsburgh, when it was ordered further west to the Indiana Territory, there to join General William Henry Harrison in the campaign against hostile Indians. Boyd's 4th Infantry along with an attached company of the U.S. Rifle Regiment were the only regular infantry units in a force otherwise composed of frontier militia. The regulars played a pivotal role in the decisive battle of Tippecanoe on November 7, 1811. After the battle Boyd received the thanks of the territorial legislature. Nevertheless, Boyd disparaged the performance of the militia causing a falling out with Harrison. Turning command of the 4th Infantry over to the Lieutenant Colonel, who later stated "that the 4th, then Boyd's, when command devolved on me at Vincennes, on the departure of Gen. Boyd for Washington, excelled in discipline and police any regiment I have ever seen in our army."

Boyd returned to the East, where he attempted, without success, to take credit for the victory at Harrison's expense. Nevertheless, when war was declared with Great Britain in June 1812, Boyd was advanced to the rank of Brigadier General two months later. Immediately following his promotion, Boyd was placed in command of the defences of Boston. There he had the sad task of welcoming the repatriated remnants of the 4th Infantry, which had been a part of the force disgracefully surrendered at Detroit in August 1812. In a privately published account of his service in 1811 and 1812 a soldier of the 4th Infantry had not a critical word to say of Boyd[28]. To the contrary, the author has nothing but praise for the care and attention General Boyd gave to his former comrades, who had suffered greatly during their imprisonment. When the captive 4th Infantry was being paraded through Montreal, a Canadian band intending to humiliate the defeated enemy played 'Yankee Doodle'. In a factual anticipation of the opening scene of the movie 'The Bridge on the River Kwai', the 4th Infantry joined in by whistling what was in effect, their regimental march, much to consternation of the Canadians who then tried to drown out the Americans with "Rule Britannia".[29] After Boston Boyd was given command of a Brigade in the unsuccessful American invasion of Canada.

Once he was promoted beyond command of a regiment Boyd was completely out of his realm of experience. As we have seen Boyd had only taken part in one major battle in India – that of Kharda between the Nizam and the Mahrattas. Boyd had had no strategic responsibilities, only the tactical command of two battalions. It was his lack of ability to see the 'big picture' in directing other

formations through subordinate commanders that resulted in his failure, when with a superior force, to drive the British from the field at the battle of Chrysler's Farm on November 10, 1813.

With the coming of winter, operations on the Canadian frontier were suspended and most of the generals, who were found so wanting, were retired or given assignments with limited potential for further disaster. Boyd was assigned to New York City, where he was given the command of the harbour defences and of a brigade of regular infantry. At the end of 1814, Boyd was placed in command of the entire Third Military District, which included New York. He remained in this post until June 1815. Upon the disbanding of his brigade Boyd was honoured at a public dinner given by the officers of the Third Military District "in testimony of their high respect for him as an officer and a gentleman"[30]

A common thread through Boyd's correspondence during the war was his punctilious attention to the niceties of gentlemanly rules of war – especially as they applied to the treatment of officer prisoners of war. In February 1815 James Monroe, the Secretary of War, advised Boyd that he should inform the commander of the British blocking squadron that the war had ended. Boyd immediately sent an officer to sea in a revenue cutter with an offer to provide the British with "such refreshments as yours may require". After five days the cutter returned without making contact with the British.[31]

With his discharge from the army in 1815, Boyd was able to turn his attention to his claim for compensation for the saltpetre seized at the Cape of Good Hope in 1807.

In 1816 Boyd again travelled to England in an attempt to recover losses incurred when the British captured the *Martha.* As he had when he first left American for India 32 years before, Boyd had a letter of introduction which, as before, would not only open doors but would also prove to be the key to the success of his mission. This time we know much about both the writer of the letter and the recipient. As a retired general, Boyd was a personage of some consequence in Boston, especially to veterans of the 4th Infantry and local Jeffersonian Republicans. Therefore it is not surprising that he was able to call upon Jedidiah Morse, one of the most prominent citizens of Boston, in his renewed attempt to recover the compensation for his actions in Hyderabad 19 years before.

A Congregational clergyman, Morse was once widely known as the 'Father of American Geography' but is perhaps best remembered today, if at all, as the father of Samuel F. B. Morse – inventor of the telegraph. Morse provided Boyd with an introduction to William Wilberforce, a member of the British House of Commons, with whom Morse shared a profound Christian faith and dedication to the abolition of slavery. Wilberforce, interested in healing the wounds of the War of 1812 and in uniting the anti-slavery movements in Britain and America, agreed to help Boyd. This was to become quite a burden. It spite of Boyd having "…so little clearness of head…" that he could not "…take a fair view of his own case."[32]; Wilberforce was able to straighten out the various claims and counter claims. Boyd was finally awarded £6,000, the equivalent in purchasing power today of £ 277,000.[33] Boyd was also active in other exalted spheres during his stay in London. He renewed his acquaintance with the many British officers whose comfort and well-being he had looked after when they were prisoners of the Americans during the War of 1812. He was so highly thought of that General Drummond, the former Commander of British forces in Canada, personally presented him to the Prince Regent.

Boyd next comes into public view in 1830 with election of Andrew Jackson as President of the United States. Now in his 66th year Boyd was appointed to the second ranking job in the Boston Custom House - that of the strangely named "Naval Officer". Boyd assumed his duties on April 20, 1830. We have a description of him during this period as being "a tall, showy man, handsome with his war paint on, his red wig and face of the same colour, artificially heightened, he strutted the streets with military swagger and slightly military costume and performed his duties of naval officer to the satisfaction of

President Jackson."[34] Boyd was to enjoy the Customs House position for only a little more than five months, dying on October 4, 1830.

According to the probate records in the Massachusetts State Archives, Boyd had not changed his will from that he made in 1816. Despite his award from Parliament, he does not appear to have prospered in the intervening years. The inventory of his assets reveals a total estate of $3,030.41. His liabilities, including the expenses of the administrator, his nephew and namesake - John P. Boyd - came, perhaps not surprisingly, to exactly the same amount: $3,030.41. There was no money to be sent to his Eurasian daughter Frances, who was born 33 years before in Boyd's camp at Poona.

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[1]. The House of Commons. *Report From the Committee on the Petition of General Boyd.* London, 1818
[2] Government of Bombay, *Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. 6,* Bombay, 1939.
[3] Ibid
[4] The Pagoda was the common gold coin of south India worth approximately two US dollars. In India the Pagoda was worth 3 ½ rupees. At that time 8 rupees were equal to one pound sterling, which was then equal to 4.65 US dollars.
[5] Henry Knox Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. Henry Knox was Washington's Chief of Artillery during the Revolution. He succeeded Washington as commander of the Army and was subsequently the first Secretary of War under the U.S. Constitution. Knox had been retired for 4 years when Boyd wrote his letter. The letter is merely a statement of Boyd's military service in America and India, including his remuneration under the Mahrattas. Nothing is said regarding employment in the U.S. Army.
[6] Kincaid, Dennis. *British Social Life in India, 1608-1937.* Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1973
[7] There were four Mysore Wars (1767-9, 1780-84, 1790-2 and 1799).
[8] Quoted in *Sprague's Journal of Maine History,* Vol. I, No. 2, July 1913.
[9] Knox Letter.
[10] Major General Sir David Ochterlony, Bt. GCB. (1758- 1825), was born in Boston, but left America for England with his widowed mother at the age of 12. He was appointed an East India Company cadet in 1777, and sailed for India never to return. During the next 48 years he became the most distinguished officer in the Company's army and political service. A persistent, but most likely exaggerated legend has Ochterlony, while British Resident in Delhi riding out of an evening followed by his 13 " wives" each on her own elephant.
[11] Col. William Gardner (1771 - 1833) founder of Gardner's Irregular Regiment of Horse, which eventually became the 2nd Bengal Lancers (Gardner's Horse) and as such remains an active unit in the Indian Army to this day. Gardner was born in New York to a daughter of Hudson Valley aristocrat and noted American Patriot Robert Livingston of Livingston Manor, and a British officer. During the Revolution William and his parents escaped to England with the aid of his mother's rebel relations. William eventually enters the British Army, but once in India becomes a *free-lance*, like Boyd, in the armies of Indian princes. He eventually enters the service of the H.E.I.C. under whose aegis he raises his eponymous regiment. Upon his death he leaves a large Eurasian family with aristocratic connections in both England and America.
[12] The ways of spelling the name of this Hindu ethnic and linguistic group are infinite. The current official Indian usage is "Maratha". I have followed the form, i.e. Mahratta, generally used by British writers during the period of Boyd's service in India - even though he himself used the different spelling quoted above.
[13] *Cambridge History of India,* Vol. V, 1929
[14] Sen, Surendra Nath, *The Military System of the Marathas*, London, 1958
[15] Government of Bombay, *Poona Residency Correspondence, Vol. 4,* Bombay, 1937.
[16] Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Connecticut
[17] Lt. W. F. Greene of the Bengal Army, in an unpublished autograph letter dated March 17, 1795 and written from the Kharda battlefield. In the collection of the National Army Museum Library, London.
[18] Sen, Op. cit.
[19] Tone, William Henry, *Illustrations of Some Institutions of the Mahratta People,* Calcutta, 1818.
[20] Sen, Op.cit.
[21] Sen, Op. cit..
[22] Barve, S. P., *Pune A to Z.* Pune, 1990. "Pune" is the current official Indian spelling for " Poona". Boyd spelled it "Ponah" in his 1816 will.
[23] Massachusetts State Archives. Probate No. 2966.
[24] The House of Commons, Op. cit.
[25] The House of Commons, Op. cit.
[26] Crackel, Theodore J. *Mr. Jefferson's Army.* New York University Press, New York. 1987.
[27] *Manuscripts from the Burton Historical Collection.* Vol. 1, N0. 5

[28] Walker, Adam. *Journal of Two Campaigns of the Fourth Regiment of U.S. Infantry in the Michigan and Indiana Territories, under the command of Col. John P. Boyd and Lt. Col. James Miller during the years 1811 & 1812.* Sentinel Press, Keene, New Hampshire. 1816.
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[33] McCusker, John J. *Comparing the Purchasing Power of Money in Great Britain from 1264 to Any Other Year Including the Present".* Economic History Services, 2001, URL: http://www.eh.net/hmit/ppowerbp/
[34] *Burton Historical Collection*, op cit.

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http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/titles/03068374.asp

LETTERS AND QUERIES

- Shamus Wade asks if anyone knows anything about the Gumbaz Levies, whose post is mentioned in Peter Chapman's article *Captain Henry Harvey Lyons* (Durbar, Vol. 21, No. 1 (Spring 2004), page 14). The Editor would appreciate a copy of any reply for publication in a future edition of Durbar.

- Peter Chapman writes:

In the Summer 2002 (Vol. 19, No 2) edition of Durbar I mentioned an IDSM which I had seen (but could not remember where) in a saleroom catalogue awarded to a soldier in the 'Oggi Levy'. By happy chance I came across it recently.

Lot 443 in Spink's sale of March 28, 1995, was a G VI R IDSM to Jemdr Arman Shah, Oghi Frontier Constabulary, with an explanatory note "Gazette of India 24.12.38 – for services on the NWF in August 1938".

And it IS in Rana Chhina's *The Indian Distinguished Service Medal*, on page 342 and under Frontier Constabulary, but without mention of the word Oghi.

- Mr. B Davis of Harlow, Essex, (he is not a member of the Society) has written with the following query:

I am a badge collector and have come across what appears to be the centerpiece of the India Title Badge – crowned profile of King George V with the title RAO BAHADUR, in gilt metal. The star and crown are missing and the piece has been fitted, apparently to a high standard of workmanship, with two copper loops and a split pin. Can anyone say if there was an official reason for altering the original in this way? To whom might such a badge have been awarded and for what purpose? Answers, please, to the Editor.

THE DIARY OF AN INDIAN CAVALRY OFFICER 1843-63 – JOHN HATFIELD BROOKS edited by Richard Morgan. 2003: Pagoda Tree Press, 4 Malvern Buildings, Fairfield Park, Bath BA1 6JX, e-mail hughrayner@pagodatreepress.com. 289 pages, casebound, 2 colour and 17 monochrome illustrations, index and numerous endnotes. £40 plus postage (£4.45 UK; £6.10 surface mail overseas). ISBN 1-904289-16-9

Printed in a limited edition of 250 copies, this is a very well researched and beautifully produced book based on the diaries of John Hatfield Brooks, born in 1824, who entered the Indian Army in the 1st Bengal Light Cavalry in 1843. He served in the Gwalior Campaign at Maharajpore (1843), the First Sikh War at Aliwal (1846), the Punjab Campaign (Second Sikh War), including Chillianwalla and Goojerat 1848-49, and then the Mutiny. He retired from India in 1863 and returned to his estate in Flitwick, Bedfordshire, where he died in 1907. 'Johnnie', as he was known, kept a diary from the time he left England, according to references in his father's diaries and to a letter he wrote to his younger brother, though the early volumes have not survived. There is, therefore, nothing of his service in either the Gwalior or Sikh campaigns, apart from excerpts from his letters contained in his father's diaries. This book draws on diaries kept for the periods October 1849-January 1851, October 1852-December 1855, January 1856-December 1863, and January-December 1871. The diaries cover predominantly India, though periods in Cape Colony, from where his wife hailed, as well as England are included. The editor has, however, focused primarily on the Indian aspects of the work. These cover his early years in India – though not, as mentioned above, his early campaign service, pre-Mutiny experiences in Oude, the annexation of Oude, the outbreak of the Mutiny at which time he was in Mhow, and then service with the Sarun Field Force.

Here he served under Colonel (later Brigadier) Francis Rowcroft who commanded the Gurkha force provided by Jung Bahadur of Nepal. There is a slight divergence between his war record as reproduced in *War Services of Officers of the Bengal Army* by Captain T C Anderson, first printed in 1863, and the references in his diary. Anderson refers to Brooks (page 80) as "in Military charge of Gorucknath Regiment of Goorkhas, at the battle of Phoolpore…[and] of the Ramdul Regiment of Gurkhas, at the battle of Amorah." While Brooks clearly found Rowcroft indecisive – there are several references to "Col. Rowcroft in a great state!", or "Old R. too lazy to cross the river", nevertheless he only ever refers to himself as commanding a detachment, though in one entry for Saturday 20th January 1858 he does say "I was very nearly having command during the fight." Where his version does tally with Anderson is in the entry for Sunday 28th February 1858 – "The Buruk Goorka Regt (8 Coys) arrived here from Goruckpoor, and I have the honour of receiving charge of this Ragamuffin set!" Another interesting entry, given Tim Ash's article on the Bengal Yeomanry Cavalry at page 85 above, is for Thursday 8th April 1858 – "Richardson offers me the reversion of his command, the B.Y.C. I do not much like this idea, as they are such a wild & lawless lot, but I will think it over." (Major J.F. Richardson, late 49th Native Infantry, who raised the Bengal Yeomanry Cavalry in 1857 and commanded it throughout the Mutiny – see page 89 above).

In the immediate aftermath of the Mutiny Brooks was involved, under the overall command of Major (later Brevet Lt Col) D M Stewart, in raising the 1st European Light Cavalry – CO Major C.V. Jenkins. In April 1859 he returned to England on furlough, was back in India two years later during which time he was promoted to Major, but a further two years on, in 1863, he left India for the last time and returned to Flitwick, later becoming High Sheriff of Bedfordshire.

In addition to the interest in Brooks' own diary entries, the book contains a wealth of useful and interesting endnotes compiled by Richard Morgan, the editor. The two colour plates, one of which is also on the dust jacket, are by T W Harland. Both are dated 1853 and were painted shortly after Brooks' marriage to Sophia Cloete and during their furlough in England. Brooks is shown in the uniform of the 1st Bengal Light Cavalry. For those with an interest in the Mutiny this splendid book is well worth the outlay. ANM

LOYALTY & HONOUR – THE INDIAN ARMY SEPTEMBER 1939-AUGUST 1947 by Chris Kempton. In three volumes, a total of 415 pages, including maps. 2003, The Military Press. £19.99 soft back, £32.99 cased **per volume.** Email militarypress@btopenworld.com.

At last, an Indian Army ORBAT for World War 2 in a clear and readable form by our member Chris Kempton. Based on extensive research, including access to the War Diaries at the National Archive, Kew, this three volume work presents much that is new.

Volume I. DIVISIONS. This volume contains an introduction and general background followed by coverage of all Armoured, Infantry and Airborne Divisions. Each Division, including 1st Burma Division, has a comprehensive Order of Battle, details of Divisional, Artillery and Engineer Commanders and a divisional history. For the first time this detail is given for the Middle East [PAIFORCE] Divisions, the two Training Divisions and the virtually unknown 21st and 34th Divisions. Post-war deployments in Malaya, Burma, Siam, Indo-China and the Netherlands East Indies are covered, as is the occupation force in Japan. There is also a section showing Divisional Formation Signs, in colour, an alphabetical listing of Divisional Commanders and CRA's, and a comprehensive Bibliography for all parts.

Volume II BRIGADES. Volume II contains Orders of Battle and Commanders, [if known], for all Armoured, Cavalry, Tank, Motor, Infantry, Parachute and Frontier Brigades. Operational histories are given which are brief unless the brigade concerned was Independent, or operating in a detached role for a specific engagement in which case full details are given. Coverage is also given to the Burma and Lushai Brigades, Force 401, and the ad-hoc brigades formed in the NEI. There is an alphabetic listing of all known Brigade Commanders.

Volume III. DEPLOYMENT OF REGIMENTS & BATTALIONS, HIGHER FORMATIONS, FORCES & COLUMNS, THE ARMY IN INDIA, MAPS. The third volume gives the deployment of all RAC and British Infantry Regiments and Battalions whilst under command of Indian Divisions or Brigades followed by the deployment of all Regiments and Battalions [including non-active service Battalions] of Indian Armour and Infantry, the Gurkha Brigade, Indian States Forces [serving outside their State], the Burma Army and the Nepalese Contingent. Higher Formations and their Commanders are listed for all theatres involved and there is a comprehensive listing of the various Forces and Columns (e.g. HOPFORCE, HUBFORCE, V Force, Z Force, Force 136 etc.), also covering all theatres. The four Appendices cover statistics and details of the complex Lines of Communication Organisation in Assam and Burma. Finally there are 39 colour maps that cover all the campaigns as well as a number of specific actions in E. Africa, Italy, Malaya and Burma. This volume contains a wealth of information, much extremely hard to find.

This reviewer has only seen the soft back versions. Given that it is for the author's research and effort that most will want to buy the books, rather than their qualities as first editions, £19.99 for the soft back version is a price well worth paying. It is difficult to believe that this reviewer could be persuaded the cased versions will be worth the additional £13 per volume. ANM

- I mentioned, in Vol. 21, No. 1 (Spring 2004), page 13, a guidebook to Meerut – *Revolution of 1857 and Meerut – Sites and Persons* - edited by Dr K D Sharma and Dr Amit Pathak. Several members enquired about obtaining a copy. Thanks to the efforts of Sushil Talwar I now have some copies available for sale at £5 plus p&p. Please contact the Editor at the address inside the front cover.

- We have previously carried an advertisement for a book – *Military Memoirs of Lt Col James Skinner C.B.* by J Baillie Fraser – the proceeds of which were to be donated to the upkeep of St James' Church, Delhi. Now thanks to Mr. Roddy Sale of Mumbai I have been made aware of a project by the Rohtak Chapter of INTACH (Indian National Trust for Archaeological and Cultural Heritage) to preserve the Skinner Estate at Hansi, 100 km from Delhi on National Highway No. 10 leading to Fazilka. With the death in 1999 of Brigadier Michael Skinner, and other members of the family being scattered in Europe and Australia, there is a concern that the Estate could be disposed of. The INTACH report suggests the creation of a military museum, with special emphasis on Skinner's Horse. If anyone is interested in this project and would like details of the INTACH report, please contact me. Ed.

OBITUARY

We regret to record the passing of Christopher Hawes of Stoke Poges, Buckinghamshire, who died on 1 June 2004. Christopher's interests covered a broad canvas - EIC military bands, social history, soldiers and NCOs in the late 18th/early 19th centuries, irregular cavalry units. His specialist subject was the Anglo-Indian community in India, upon which he was an authority, and he published *"Poor Relations"* in 1996. He was working on a sequel at the time of his death and I hope to be able to publish part of that in a future edition of *Durbar* once Allan Stanistreet has completed the unfinished manuscript.