

**Stereotyped Scots:  
representations and realities of Scottish  
missionary and military experience in  
colonial and post-Independence Pakistan**

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## Abstract

This thesis examines the experiences of missionary and military Scots in colonial and post-Independence Pakistan, as revealed in oral and documentary sources. This focus arises from portrayals of missionary and military Scots as exemplars in their respective colonial contexts in nineteenth and early twentieth century accounts of their work or exploits. These accounts are used as a starting point of the thesis, to identify how these representations of missionary and military Scots were created, and how those Scots were presented as bastions of imperialism and its values. The academic contexts in which this thesis sits are also discussed, in terms of studies of and theory around colonialism, imperialism and the 'postcolonial'; Scots in empire; and oral histories of the Raj. It is suggested that this thesis is most closely aligned with scholarship in these fields where a sense of fluidity and complexity within the colonial encounter is acknowledged, and examples of this perspective are given.

A self-reflexive discussion examines the personal element within this study, and its impact, and the methodological discussion that follows firstly describes how the sources for the thesis were identified. The methodologies used in the thesis are then presented, which combine sources and methods used in the critical analysis of both oral and documentary sources, in a relatively novel way for this field. The reasons for, and value of, this methodological combination are outlined – that oral testimony accesses sources whose experiences are not found in documentary records, whilst the use of documentary sources additionally allows the inclusion of evidence from an earlier period, where no oral testimony is available. In addition, where oral and documentary evidence is available from the same period, the dynamic between both kinds of evidence can aid in source critique and raise further issues for investigation. The results of this combined methodology are that a richness of data is obtained, in terms of the range of individual experiences and the timescale that is studied.

The exploration of Scottish missionary and military experiences that follows reveals an array of experiences, some of which do, but most of which do not match stereotyped accounts of those experiences. This variety is far wider than anything found in stereotyped representations. For missionaries, it includes the unsettling impact of rival mission bodies and indigenous resistance, alongside support for nationalism and the establishment of an indigenous church. For Scottish soldiers, it embodies an interaction with the 'other' in both British and Indian Army settings, alongside the subjugation of some Scottish soldiers within the colonial infrastructure.

Through this variety, alternative images to the created missionary and military Scot are suggested here, within a reading of the colonial and post-Independence encounter that allows for fluidity and complexity, which does not stereotype, and which considers place, period, and social milieu. Those differing images of missionary and military Scots present experiences where individual Scots were affected by their interaction with the peoples of colonial and post-Independence Pakistan to an extent that is never acknowledged in accounts that essentialise them. To deny this reality is, in turn, to continue to stereotype these colonial and post-Independence encounters.

I hereby state that this thesis is entirely composed by myself, based on my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification.

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## Glossary and statement of standard transliteration practice

This glossary has been compiled using R.S. McGregor's *Hindi-English Dictionary* as the main source. It follows his transliteration practice. The *Allied Chambers Transliterated Hindi-Hindi-English Dictionary*, and its transliteration practice, has also been used to supplement McGregor here. For Pashtu words, the transliteration practices used in Charles Lindholm's *Generosity and Jealousy*, Frederik Barth's *The Last Wali of Swat*, and Charles Chenevix Trench's *The Frontier Scouts* are followed.

|                          |                                                                                                          |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>ānā</i>               | one sixteenth of a rupee                                                                                 |
| <i>āyā</i>               | wet nurse                                                                                                |
| <i>bābū logh</i>         | clerks                                                                                                   |
| <i>Bangalore torpedo</i> | hollow bamboo, packed with plastic explosive                                                             |
| <i>betok</i> [Pashtu]    | quarters for receiving male guests                                                                       |
| <i>bhiṣṭī</i>            | water carrier (servant)                                                                                  |
| <i>bakhśīs</i>           | free                                                                                                     |
| <i>burqā</i>             | a garment worn by women to keep purdah                                                                   |
| <i>barā</i>              | big, large, important                                                                                    |
| <i>chai</i>              | tea                                                                                                      |
| <i>chappli</i> [Pashtu]  | sandals                                                                                                  |
| <i>charpoy</i>           | wooden framed, strung bed                                                                                |
| <i>chī-chī</i>           | derogatory term expressing disgust or dislike                                                            |
| <i>dakait</i>            | bandit                                                                                                   |
| <i>dāk bungalow</i>      | a government rest house                                                                                  |
| <i>darzī</i>             | tailor                                                                                                   |
| <i>dhobī</i>             | washerman                                                                                                |
| <i>gasht</i>             | patrol                                                                                                   |
| <i>ghī</i>               | clarified butter used for cooking                                                                        |
| <i>Granthi sāhab</i>     | the guardian of the Sikh holy book, the <i>Guru granth sāhab</i> , in a Sikh temple ( <i>gurudvara</i> ) |
| <i>hākīm</i>             | a judge, governor of official                                                                            |

|                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
|----------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| I.N.A.                     | Indian National Army. Formed, with Japanese help, in Malaya in 1942 from Indian troops captured in the Malayan and Burma campaigns. Led by Mohan Singh, and later by Subhas Chandra Bose, the I.N.A. fought alongside Japanese troops in 1944 and 1945. On Japan's surrender, most I.N.A troops were released, although prominent leaders were tried at the Red Fort in Delhi in 1945. The Indian nationalist movement championed the defendants, who were found guilty, but released to curb civil disorder. |
| <i>izzat</i>               | honour, good name, esteem                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>jāgīr</i>               | landholding, often given as a reward for military service                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>javān</i>               | more familiar, colloquial name given to a <i>sipāhī</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>jirga</i>               | council of elders on the North-West Frontier and the Northern Areas of Pakistan                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| KD                         | khaki drill                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>khānā</i>               | food, meal                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>khās khās tattī</i>     | screen of grass matting hung round doors and dowsed with water in hot weather                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>khassadars</i> [Pashtu] | Pashtun levies employed on the North-West Frontier by the British                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>kukrī</i>               | Gurkha knife                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>lāthī</i>               | staff or club used as a weapon e.g. by policemen                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>lumbadar</i>            | individual in a village responsible for revenue payment to the government                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>lassī</i>               | a yoghurt based drink                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>mā-bāp</i>              | honorific expression, literally 'father and mother'                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>maidān</i>              | open space often used as a race ground or playing ground                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>mālī</i>                | gardener                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>mālik</i>               | village notable                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <i>Mehta</i>               | ruler of Chitral                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>mohajir</i>             | Muslim, Urdu speaking refugees who fled from India to Pakistan around Partition                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <i>mufassal</i>            | a rural or country district                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>mum̄sī</i>              | teacher or tutor, especially of Urdu or Persian                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |

|                        |                                                                                                                                   |
|------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Nishan-i-Haider</i> | Pakistan Army equivalent of the Victoria Cross                                                                                    |
| OCTU                   | Officer Cadet Training Unit                                                                                                       |
| <i>paisā</i>           | one sixty-fourth of a rupee                                                                                                       |
| <i>pagrī</i>           | turban                                                                                                                            |
| <i>paltan</i>          | a battalion or regiment                                                                                                           |
| PM                     | Punjabi Mussulman (Muslim).                                                                                                       |
| <i>pankhā</i>          | fan                                                                                                                               |
| <i>pardā</i>           | the seclusion of women in Muslim and Hindu households                                                                             |
| <i>Quaid-i-Azam</i>    | honorific title of Mohammed Ali Jinnah, leader of the Muslim League, a founding father of Pakistan and its first Governor-General |
| RTU'd                  | returned to unit                                                                                                                  |
| <i>śābās'</i>          | Well done!                                                                                                                        |
| <i>sāhab</i>           | honorific form of address used to people of rank                                                                                  |
| <i>śahīd</i>           | martyr                                                                                                                            |
| <i>śalwar kamiz</i>    | national dress of Pakistan                                                                                                        |
| <i>sipāhī</i>          | Indian soldier                                                                                                                    |
| <i>tahsīldār</i>       | officer of a revenue district                                                                                                     |
| <i>tānigā</i>          | a two-wheeled, horse-drawn vehicle for passengers                                                                                 |
| <i>topī</i>            | hat                                                                                                                               |
| <i>-vālā</i>           | a suffix denoting an agent, owner, possessor, keeper or inhabitant                                                                |
| <i>Wali</i>            | ruler of Swat state, North-West Pakistan, until the state seceded to Pakistan in 1971                                             |
| Wana hut               | hut with mud walls and a tent roof                                                                                                |
| WOSB                   | War Office Selection Board                                                                                                        |
| <i>zamīndār</i>        | landowner paying revenue direct to the government, not to an intermediate superior                                                |
| <i>zanānā</i>          | female apartment inside Hindu and Muslim homes                                                                                    |

**Introduction: the creation of the missionary  
and military Scot – theoretical contexts**

This study of Scottish experiences within Pakistan focuses upon Scots' experiences in two settings where Scots were publicly represented at the vanguard of the imperial project during the colonial period – in missionary and military contexts. It aims to be novel for a variety of reasons. Firstly, these broad characterisations of Scots in missionary and military contexts, across colonial settings, are questioned through the use of relevant oral and documentary sources from Scots in Pakistan. This joining of sources and methodologies is novel in this area of study. The characterisations are questioned because a process of change is evident in these Scots' encounters with the 'other' in the Pakistani context. Such change is not allowed for in those public representations that represent the Scot simply as an accessory to imperial conquest, and as a cornerstone of its values.

Secondly, this study has attempted to adopt a fresh approach within the wider context of post-colonial scholarship. It avoids a binary overview of the colonial encounter, where a sense of coloniser and colonised implies two amorphous, homogenous blocks. As an alternative, a more fluid interaction is suggested within the colonial encounter. Thirdly, for Scots in an imperial context, this study by-passes simple vanguard or victim paradigms, where Scots are either only the vanguard of British imperialism, or in a metropolitan sense, the victims of internal colonialism. The truth in aspects of both representations is accepted, but this study attempts to refocus on the encounter with the 'other', and the effects of this, in which Scots were never entirely the vanguard or the victim.

### **1.1 Pakistan: definition and focus**

'Pakistan' is used here to denote the present-day country, but is also used to denote the same geographical area between 1947 and 1971. 'Colonial Pakistan' is used to describe the same area during the colonial period. These terms, although anachronistic for the period up to 1971, are used for clarity. Where 'India' and 'Indians' appear in the text, this reflects the outlook of sources when they refer to

undivided India, especially when such individuals lived and worked in parts of contemporary Pakistan and India. This flexibility of definition is further incorporated in the occasional inclusion of material from other peoples of the British Isles, as well as sources that describe only an Indian experience. This is for two reasons. Firstly, this material provides a comparative frame of reference. It can show how some aspects of experiences were specific to colonial Pakistan or Pakistan, whilst others were common in several areas of the subcontinent. Equally, it can show how some elements of experiences in colonial Pakistan or Pakistan were exclusively Scottish, whilst others were found among all peoples of the British Isles. This, in turn, can question the characterisations of missionary and military Scots that follow. If other peoples of the British Isles relate or related similar experiences, then this casts doubt on the portrayal of the Scot as unique. Secondly, difficulties concerning the delineation of whom or what is Scottish or Pakistani, preclude rigid definitions, and question who has the power to delineate this. Some sources used here were born in India, into Scottish families domiciled in India for decades. Rigid interpretations of nationality cannot fit such individuals. This reality means that there are no exclusive definitions of either Scotland or Pakistan here, as there is no intent here to avoid the inconvenient or discrepant. They represent a strength as much as any weakness, in allowing the inclusion of a wider range of sources, which further validates conclusions drawn.

Images of both the missionary and the military Scot were built in imperial ambitions and colonial settings around the globe. Through this process, the names of Scottish missionaries such as David Livingstone, Mary Slessor and Eric Liddell came to be commonly known. Equally, Scottish soldiers, from generals such as Sir Hector MacDonald – ‘Fighting Mac’, to soldiers like Piper Findlater at Dargai were well-known figures. These missionaries and military men were proclaimed through media as diverse as missionary books for children to Findlater’s appearances in

music halls.<sup>1</sup> In this thesis, I have termed this process of constructing images in Pakistani contexts ‘the creation of the missionary Scot’ and ‘the creation of the military Scot’, respectively.

This study has focussed on Pakistan to analyse how the pictures built of these missionary and military Scots differed from their experience, recounted orally or in documents. This focus is for a variety of reasons. Firstly, there is a personal interest in the area, beginning from voluntary work in the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan between 1990 and 1991, as described in the following chapter. Secondly, Pakistan is also used as a focus to provide a manageable and meaningful area of study, as compared to a study of Scots in the whole subcontinent. The variance within the vast scale of cultural interaction that the subcontinent represents, where Scots interacted with so many different cultures, could not be adequately represented in a study of this length. To adopt such an extensive focus would risk those very generalisations and simple reproductions of characterisations and stereotypes that are subsequently questioned here.

My awareness of links between Scotland and Pakistan has been built over time. It began during my time in Pakistan (from 1990-1991), when I became aware of the strong military associations of the country for those Scottish regiments whose regimental crests are in the Khyber Pass, for example. Then, as an undergraduate student in Scotland, I began to learn more of Pakistani settings for the building of these images. When in almost any heritage site with military links, many Scottish regimental connections with the area now known as Pakistan were readily apparent, through accounts of nineteenth century campaigns in this part of the subcontinent, or rows of campaign medals. The image of the military Scot was very much built here, alongside other settings, be that through Sir Charles Napier’s role in establishing

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<sup>1</sup> Piper George Findlater was wounded at Dargai, and once back in Scotland found it difficult to live off his military pension. His later appearances in music halls, in order to make a living, were instrumental in the setting up of a pension for holders of the Victoria Cross. The sale of his medal in 1995 by his family was still a matter of controversy almost one hundred years after events at Dargai. Stephen Fraser, ‘Hero piper’s medal sale sounds lament’, *Scotland on Sunday*, October 29<sup>th</sup> 1995, p. 13.

British influence in Sind, or Scottish regiments and their role in the 'Mutiny' of 1857, or the specific example of Piper George Findlater, whose actions at Dargai form part of the lore of the Gordon Highlanders.

Missionaries I had met in Pakistan had also pointed out nineteenth-century Scottish Presbyterian buildings in places like Gujrat in the Punjab, and when visiting religious buildings (such as St. Andrew's Cathedral in Karachi), Scottish links and the memorials praising religious service in Pakistan were readily apparent. In addition, other students and staff who were aware of my interest in Pakistan mentioned Scottish missionaries they knew who had worked in Pakistan. Whilst there were no names with specific, long-term Pakistani links amongst well-known Scottish missionaries in India, such as Alexander Duff and John Wilson, names like the Scotts and the Hollands were often mentioned. These were families where generations had gone as missionaries to what is now Pakistan, and where memorials in Pakistan, such as the Scott memorial chapel in Sialkot's Murray College, a well-known educational institution in the Punjab, further added to the image of the missionary Scot. In addition, Sir Henry Holland, 'Holland of the Frontier', whilst perhaps less well known in Scotland, was known across India for his medical work in Sind and Baluchistan, especially in the Quetta earthquake of 1935.

There was also a strong sense of this part of the subcontinent as a frontier. The provinces of present-day Pakistan were settings where Scots, cast as intrepid, established British influence. This occurred much later than in other areas of the subcontinent, at a time when their deeds could be proclaimed to domestic and colonial audiences, to bolster self-belief in British imperialism. Sind and Punjab were annexed during the 1840s, with the Frontier forming a part of the latter until it became a separate province in 1901. British influence was only established in Baluchistan by the 1870s. Two Scots, the colonial administrator Sir Robert Sandeman and the general Sir Charles Napier, are linked to nineteenth century Baluchistan and Sind respectively. They are eulogised in biographies that proclaim their omnipotence. Sandeman's biographer, T.H. Thornton, described Sandeman as

having an innate ability for his work, 'He [Sandeman] soon gave evidence of special aptitude for Frontier work; he was not learned in the law, but had plenty of good sense, patience, *bonhomie* and dash.' Such talents brought acquiescence from all, including the 'Luni Patans', 'a formidable looking band, armed with long tapering spears. On seeing Sandeman, however, they one and all hastily dismounted and made obeisance, and presented offerings.'<sup>2</sup>

In the twentieth century, other Scots played their role, and were portrayed in the same terms. Sir George Cunningham worked in the North-West Frontier Province from 1914 to 1948, serving as Governor of the province from 1937-1946 and from August 1947-March 1948. To one biographer, 'there was at no time anyone who knew him or knew anything of him who would hesitate to call him great ... His courage was part of his presence. Always physically fit, his vitality infused every action. His physical and mental preparedness for every emergency could be seen as a form of ascetism.'<sup>3</sup> His example was part of the reason that one interviewee, Major J.P. Rutherford, wanted to go to India.<sup>4</sup>

## **1.2 The creation of the missionary Scot**

The biographies of Sandeman and Cunningham quoted above described those Scots as having an almost innate ability to lead and govern. A similar tone pervades nineteenth and early twentieth century accounts of Scottish missionary work. This includes both works describing experiences of mission work in India, and works written for a juvenile audience, describing 'missionary heroines' or outlining the 'great' missionaries (see Figures 1 and 2). In the former, Scottish mission work is openly proclaimed as divinely led. Claiming divine guidance for missionary work is not surprising, but these works are notable in their self-belief. Divine providence

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<sup>2</sup> Thomas Henry Thornton, *Colonel Sir Robert Sandeman: His Life and Work on Our Indian Frontier; A Memoir With Selection From His Correspondance and Official Writing*, (London, 1895), p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Norval Mitchell, *Sir George Cunningham*, (Edinburgh and London, 1968), pp. 9 and 11.

<sup>4</sup> Major J.P. Rutherford, SA1997.83, 2nd/2nd Punjab Regiment, 1941-1946, pp. 1-2.

Figure 1

Creating the missionary Scot



Cover of Mrs. E.R. Pitman's *Missionary Heroines in Eastern Lands* with presentation plate to Isa Beaton, Pilrig Young Members' Guild, 1<sup>st</sup> January 1910

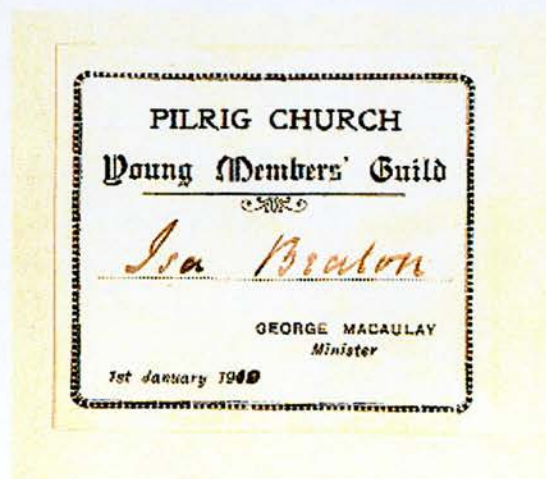


Figure 2

Creating the missionary Scot



Mrs. Alexina Mackay Ruthquist,  
'A Singer of Good News among Hindoo Peoples'  
'In the zenana' [ed. *zanānā*]  
From Pitman's *Missionary Heroines in Eastern Lands*, p. 17.

may guide other missions, but Scottish missions are presented as a leading light for those missions. In the latter works, divine guidance is the consistent thread through the lives of missionaries, from beginning to end, which are presented as exempla for the young reader.

The Reverend William Miller's lectures on Scottish missions in India were published in 1868, following his work in India over a five-year period. He prefaces the lectures apologetically, saying how, 'I feel that I have failed to do justice ... to the truth concerning the high and holy nature of the work that Scottish Mission Institutions are fitted to accomplish in India.' He continues in the lectures stating how the work of other missionary bodies in India has not reaped any rewards, and that any progress at all was and is engendered by Scottish missions:

... the result of all that time, and all that toil had been nothing. Hinduism, and all embraced within it, remained, as they had been for ages before, unaffected and unmoved ... But the important fact is this, that before Scottish missions were begun, the older ones had almost wholly turned aside from any assault on Hinduism at all.'<sup>5</sup>

Miller worked in Madras, and talked here of the work that Scottish missions were doing to convert Hindus, adding how relatively less work had been done to convert Muslims. However, his self-assurance concerning Scottish missions was such that he stated that many of his comments were '... I am persuaded, equally applicable to them [Scottish missions] elsewhere' in India, from his contact with Scottish missionaries working elsewhere in the subcontinent. Even where he warned that 'I cannot speak with equal certainty of all branches of these Missions', he added that these comments would be '... in their main outlines applicable in some degree to all; but, probably, not without certain limitations or additions.' To a significant degree, then, Scottish missions would lead the way in missionary work in what is now Pakistan as they did all over the entire Indian subcontinent, as the guiding light for missionary work there. The work of other mission bodies was only directed

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<sup>5</sup> Reverend William Miller, *Scottish Missions in India: Two Lectures*, (Edinburgh, 1868), pp. iii, 18-19,

towards the ‘assault’ on Hinduism when ‘the influence and example of Scottish missions have led it back to its original field.’<sup>6</sup>

The sense of an ‘assault’ on Hinduism typifies the martial language used by other Scottish missionary writers. As the Commissioner of the Church of Scotland to India and the Convenor of the Foreign Mission Committee and the Indian Churches Chaplaincy Committee, the Very Reverend J.N. Ogilvie visited Church of Scotland missions in India during the early 1920s. Following his tour, he wrote of how the Church of Scotland’s mission stations have been ‘garrisoned’, and are ‘... fortresses held in the name of the Lord.’ Where Scottish missionaries were absent, these ‘fortresses’ were vulnerable - ‘... one of these is at present without a European in the garrison, and in the others the garrison is weaker than it ought to be. But the posts are held, and the holy war is being waged from each centre numerous outposts have been established in the country round about.’<sup>7</sup>

In Miller’s eyes, Scottish missionaries were at the forefront in these battles. Moreover, Scottish missions led the way in another fight – that against the dangers inherent in ‘the achievements of modern science and modern skill’ within which ‘atheism and materialism’ could easily take root. Miller continued:

Among definite external organisations, it is our Scottish institutions alone, and the others established on their model, that have set themselves against this tide of rationalistic atheism ... in whatever degree a feeling after God is mingling with the spirit of the age in India, is arising amongst those who must be her guides and leaders, that is to be unhesitatingly set down to the influence, direct or indirect, of Scottish missions.<sup>8</sup>

For Miller, Scottish missions’ greatest achievement, and his emphasis for the focus of the future, was education. To him, this was work conducted ‘Under guidance, as I cannot doubt, from on high’. It was an area where work was crucially

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<sup>6</sup> Miller, *op cit*, p. 33

<sup>7</sup> J.N. Ogilvie, D.D., *An Indian Pilgrimage : Travel Notes of a visit to the Indian Fields of the Church of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1922), p. 17.

<sup>8</sup> Miller, *op cit*, pp. 40-41.

directed at the young – ‘... the idea of these Scottish missions in their origin was that of guiding the thoughts and moulding the characters of the rising generation.’ He added how:

... to the best of my belief, every British missionary body at work in India, and even some of the continental ones, have followed Scotland in the educational path by it traced out,-this fact alone surely speaks volumes for the opinion entertained of the Scottish system by those who have the best opportunities of judging.

Miller had that to concede in a footnote that American missions had been the first to have English mission schools ‘... before Scottish missions were commenced at all.’ However, despite this fact, he argued that:

The idea of our Mission Institutions was not borrowed from any foreign source, but eminently Scottish in its origin ... Scottish missions were the first to make education the leading and central feature of their work ... in point of fact it was Scottish missions that practically gave the impulse to all English education in India, and that it was their example that practically made the educational element bulk so largely as it does now in the work of all the missionary bodies.<sup>9</sup>

The great value of this educational work, and where Miller saw the need for future attention, was in how these educational institutions could influence (and had influenced) their charges:

... men educated in the English language and English thought – chiefly, but not wholly young men – who are in a state comparatively well fitted to understand and to be influenced by the direct, systematic, simple proclamation of the truth as it is in Jesus ... [and to] have had their minds, in some small degree, turned towards divine things.

As before, ‘It is through Scottish missions that they have been brought so far’, although these men were ‘... groping in their darkness towards the light, longing for some power to free them from their present hesitation’. It was ‘On us, on

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<sup>9</sup> Miller, *op cit*, pp. 20-23.

Scotland ... [that] ... their interesting, hopeful, yet sad condition [made] aloud appealing call', and this was:

... a field ... well fitted to arouse all the evangelic fervour, all the true zeal for the direct, immediate salvation of sinful souls that is to be found in all our churches. It is a field surely well worthy of the most devoted zeal and highest evangelical talent that Scotland can send out.<sup>10</sup>

The tone of Miller's lectures, and its call to the metropolitan audience for the 'highest evangelical talent' of the homeland, was by no means unique. In 1901, James Wells' account of his journey across India, visiting Church of Scotland missions, was aimed at a domestic audience as it was 'Printed for Pollokshields West Church'. Here, the self-confidence in Scottish missionary work is located in the praise of individuals. Wells visited Wilson College in Bombay, named after the Free Church missionary Dr. John Wilson, '... one of the great Indian missionaries who have done so much to make the Free Church known and honoured throughout India and Christendom.' Such praise of Scottish missionaries, such as Alexander Duff, justifiably came, in Well's eyes, from Indians too:

A highly educated Indian, a Professor in an Indian college, said to me that future historians would give Dr. Duff the foremost place among India's benefactors, as he had created the method of education which alone could elevate India to its proper place among the nations ... There are some Indians and Anglo-Indians who sufficiently appreciate the missionaries.<sup>11</sup>

Wells also built the image of Scottish mission work through the criticism of other denominations and their work. He was sure of the benefits for missionary work of the union of Scottish churches in 1900, and of the need for '... all Christians, except Romanists and Anglicans, to minimise their differences and maximise their agreements.' Those excluded denominations wrought their own fate in Wells' opinion. He described 'a large monthly missionary meeting', and how:

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<sup>10</sup> Miller, *op cit*, pp. 47-50.

<sup>11</sup> James Wells D.D., *Across India*, (Glasgow, 1901), pp. title page, 25 and 107-108.

All the Protestant Missionary Societies are represented at this conference except those of the High Anglicans. They would fain introduce into Christ's church, even in heathen lands, a caste system as narrow and rigid as that which prevails among the Hindus. They wish to be accepted as the Brahmans of the Kingdom of Christ, and they treat many of the most devoted Christian men and women as if they were ecclesiastical pariahs and outcasts.<sup>12</sup>

Another area where images of Scottish missionaries were built was missionary literature intended for children. These works featured brief biographical accounts of missionaries' lives with emotive titles, such as *Men of Might in India Missions* and *Missionary Heroines in Eastern Lands*. Each account of a missionary's life and work is rendered in a formulaic way, with descriptions of a godly childhood, followed by the call to mission work, an account of their achievements as a missionary and often ending with descriptions of converts' grief and praise upon their death. The intent of these works is often plainly stated. The 'Dedication' in *Men of Might in India Missions* is:

To the young men and maidens whose hearts God has touched, and who in life's fair morning, looking out over the world's great harvest-field, are asking, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" this volume is dedicated with the prayer that some of those who read these pages, hearing the voice of the Lord saying as He did to His prophet Isaiah, "Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?" may answer as did the prophet, "Here am I; send me."<sup>13</sup>

The same tone is found in *Missionary Heroines in Eastern Lands*, which states that, 'The annals of Christian Missions furnish copious records of womanly heroism', where alongside work in countries around the globe, '... under the tropical heats of India delicate women have been found labouring side by side among their untaught, heathen sisters.' Such is their 'heroism' that, 'The records of mission toil prove that they have not laboured in vain, nor spent their strength for nought', in '... sowing the sure seed of the kingdom which infallibly bears abundant harvest.'<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Wells, *op cit.*, pp. 113 and 148-149.

<sup>13</sup> Helen H. Holcomb, *Men of Might in India Missions*, (London and Edinburgh, 1901), p.1.

<sup>14</sup> Mrs. E.R. Pitman, *Missionary Heroines in Eastern Lands: Woman's Work in Mission Fields*, (London, 1899), pp. v-vi.

The panegyric accounts of missionaries in these works then followed the formula described. John Wilson was shown as a diligent student, who encouraged others at university to support mission work by establishing the Edinburgh Association of Theological Students in aid of the Diffusion of Christian Knowledge. A gifted linguist, once in Bombay, his rebuttal of other faiths and their tenets, and conversions, were noted. In addition, his work in other parts of the subcontinent was described, including the conversion of a 'Beluchi' in the province of Sindh, recently 'added to the possessions of the English in India'. Holcomb added Indians' praise to her account. Firstly, how an Indian friend 'who had risen to a position of influence' described how Wilson had done more for Bombay than the eighteen Governors who had served there during his time in the city, and secondly of how the 'native Christians', with their 'bitter weeping' at Wilson's death, stated how he never thought of his home, but rather of the Christians he worked among.<sup>15</sup>

Holcomb's account of Alexander Duff and his work followed in the same vein. Alongside Wilson, they were '... the two great educational missionaries of Eastern and Western India.' Despite the hazards of 'a long and tempestuous voyage' to India, where Duff and his wife were shipwrecked, with only Duff's bible and Scotch psalm-book surviving the wreck, Duff reached India and began his work in Calcutta. As a man 'of commanding presence and the very personification of boundless energy', and an 'unresting toiler', he soon established a school in Calcutta '... with the assistance of only an untrained Eurasian lad.'<sup>16</sup> A further account of another Scottish missionary, John Anderson, further builds the epitome of the Scottish missionary. His 'vigorous intellect and intense application' as 'a man possessed of sterling elements of character' furnished his work in Madras. Thus he insisted that 'three pariah boys' who had falsely gained admission to the school he ran should stay. Over time pupils' 'hearts were stirred', and conversions took place,

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<sup>15</sup> Holcomb, *op cit.*, pp. 190, 192-193, 196, 204, 207 and 211-212.

<sup>16</sup> Holcomb, *op cit.*, pp. 228, 216-218, 224, 221

and at his death, 'Never before in Madras had so vast a concourse of people assembled on a funeral occasion.'<sup>17</sup>

Even the 'delicate women' that Pitman described in her Preface showed these same qualities as missionaries. Mrs. Alexina Mackay Ruthquist, 'A Singer of Good News among Hindoo Peoples' in 'Nagpoor', was clear in her intent to be a missionary. Her response in a letter to the news that she had been accepted as a missionary of the Free Church of Scotland Ladies' Society for Female Education in India and South Africa was clear:

I feel that it would be a great privilege to be permitted to enter the lists with those favoured few who have been called to bear the 'lamp of life' into the dark corners of the earth; and if in the providence of God, I am called to that honour I desire to respond, 'Here I am!' and to venture forward on the unknown, untried path.<sup>18</sup>

Once upon that path, her work is described in the same martial language that permeates several missionary works. Pitman quoted Mackay Ruthquist's first year report sent back to Scotland:

We begin by singing a hymn, and explaining the meaning of it; the effect of this opening exercise is wonderful upon those who are present for the first time. Times are surely changed when we can fearlessly open fire upon a group of heathen men, women, and children, and attempt to storm their prejudices by singing out such words as these,- 'Why do you toil in vain? Bathing, and going on pilgrimage, and all your many pilgrimages, and all your many ceremonies will profit you nothing.'<sup>19</sup>

These works had their impact. Missionaries such as the Orrs recalled reading them, and these books were presented in churches, or printed for their use, as with Wells' work.<sup>20</sup> Another side to their self-confident proclamation of Scottish mission

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<sup>17</sup> Holcomb, *op cit.*, pp. 242, 247, 251-252, 254-255 and 264.

<sup>18</sup> Pitman, *op cit.*, pp. 9, 10-11.

<sup>19</sup> Pitman, *op cit.*, pp. 14, 16.

<sup>20</sup> Interview with Mr. Robbie and Dr. Jean Orr, (Medical missionaries in Multan and Baltistan from 1951-1984 with annual returns after this period), Wednesday, 24th November, 1994, SA1995.08, p. 1.

work was an adherence to many of the values that underlay colonial rule at the time of writing, such as the denigration of Indian culture. Others were even more vocal in their adherence to colonial rule, and unquestioningly believed in the benevolence of British rule. Indian religions are devalued – for Miller, ‘the whole system [of Hinduism] is one of error and evil’. Even though there are still some ‘relics of goodness and truth’ within it, ‘... it still, is as a whole ... an evil which the world should cease to be burdened with.’<sup>21</sup> Wells talked of Hinduism in the same way, ‘What a conception of holiness the Hindu has! His religion teaches him to sin religiously’, as Wells stated how Nana Sahib’s ‘...monstrous crimes ... during the Mutiny did not affect his religious position as a Brahmin’, but that he would have become an outcast had he drunk from a cup touched by a Christian. He later added: ‘The ignorance and superstition of the natives baffle belief.’<sup>22</sup>

In contrast, British rule is unassailable and beneficent. Miller described how:

For three quarters of a century the British dominion in India had consistently been growing, until, at the time of which we are speaking, it had fairly emerged from being one amongst many states or dominions, to a position of unquestioned supremacy over all ... now their own customs, language, and laws were to become paramount to all others.<sup>23</sup>

Wells added how this rule was only for the good:

But the Pax Britannica is bringing a blessed revolution. A Briton may be forgiven his patriotic pride when he considers what his country is doing for this wonderful land and people. The India of to-day presents a spectacle of the just and generous treatment of a subject race, that has never been equalled since the dawn of history.

Moreover, benevolence could reap rewards for missionary work:

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<sup>21</sup> Miller, *op cit.*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>22</sup> Wells, *op cit.*, pp. 55-56 and 60.

<sup>23</sup> Miller, *op cit.*, p. 21.

Some intelligent native Christians with whom I conversed last night all agreed in saying that the natives are now showing greater respect for Christ than they have ever done in the past. They said that this is the most striking feature in the present intellectual life of the educated Indians.<sup>24</sup>

The creation of the missionary Scot is presented here as a public process for audiences in the metropole and in the colonial setting, which built an image of the missionary Scot as superlative, leading the way for mission work through printed matter. Scottish missionaries adhered to the value base of colonial rule in these published works, through denigrating Indian religions. In addition, they presented British colonial rule as omnipotent and benevolent. However, the direct, lived experience provided by oral and documentary accounts, which is private rather than public, requires a questioning of aspects of this image.

### **1.3 The creation of the military Scot**

The Indian subcontinent was the scene for many parts of the creation of the military Scot during the eighteenth and nineteenth century. These ranged from Sir David Baird and Sir Hector Munro, to the 78<sup>th</sup> Highlanders during the ‘Mutiny’, to the actions of Piper George Findlater, V.C., at Dargai. These images were powerful not just in a popular, metropolitan context, such as the accounts of the ‘Mutiny’, Findlater’s tours of music halls around the UK, or memorials in Scotland (see Figures 3 and 4). They also played a central role in forming part of regimental lore, and regimental identity, for which Highland regiments were particularly noted. In analysing the creation of the military Scot here the intent is by no means to decry this impact upon regimental identity, as its power is discussed and emphasised in a following chapter. The aim here is to illuminate how printed material created this image of the military Scot, and how the military Scot was portrayed as the backbone of imperial conquest and colonial control.

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<sup>24</sup> Wells, *op cit.*, p. 28.

**Figure 3**

**Creating the military Scot**



Memorial to Hugh Rose Ross, Church of Scotland, Cromarty, Ross-shire.

The memorial reads:

In memory of Hugh Rose Ross, Lieutenant, Royal Artillery. Second son of G.W.H. Ross of Cromarty. Born 31<sup>st</sup> May 1854. War with Afghanistan having broken out Lt. Ross volunteered to join any field battery going to the front and was at once posted to C Battery 4<sup>th</sup> Brigade which formed a part of General Stewart's Army. Attacked by dysentery at Quettah, he did not report his illness lest he should be left behind but marched with his battery. Doing his duty to the last, till he reached Pishin Valley, where, in camp, on 12<sup>th</sup> January 1879 he died in the 25<sup>th</sup> year of his age. A bright example of soldier like zeal and devotion to duty.

**Figure 4**

**Creating the military Scot**



Memorial to the officers and NCOs of the King's Own Scottish Borderers,  
North Bridge, Edinburgh

Campaigns in Chitral, the Tirah and Afghanistan are mentioned on the memorial

Just as accounts of missionaries proclaimed their intent of inspiring future missionaries in the metropole, some nineteenth century works openly stated their intent in writing of the Scottish military tradition. Archibald Murray's *History of the Scottish Regiments in the British Army* was reprinted several times through the second half of the nineteenth century after its first publication in 1862. The Preface declared:

It is hoped, as the grand result of the Work, that Scotsmen, considering the rich legacy of military glory bequeathed them by their heroic forefathers, specially registered in these Scottish Regiments, will be more impressed with the duty devolving on them to maintain and emulate the same ... it is also hoped that they may awaken a larger sympathy and deeper interest on the part of the people in those, their brave countrymen, who so well represent the nation.<sup>25</sup>

Murray presented the Scot as the hardy product of a hard land. He related how 'lands enriched by nature' create men who '... allow their minds to become so intoxicated with present delights and indolence, as to fail in cultivating the virtues of the man.' The result, as he continued, was to produce '... ignorance, lust, passion, infidelity, and general debility.' In contrast, where 'Nature' bestowed '... the barren, dreary wilderness, the bleak and desolate mountain-land', there '... a comparatively poor people, are nurtured all the sterner, the nobler, the truer, the God-like qualities of the man, the soldier, and the hero.'

Murray placed Scotland in this setting, so that:

Scotland, the unendowed by Nature, has been thus largely blessed by Nature's God, in yielding a long line of valiant and illustrious men. Perhaps no nation engrosses so large and prominent a place in the temple of military fame – none can boast so bright a page in the history of the brave.<sup>26</sup>

This sense of an innate, martial quality within Scots continued into the twentieth century. Lauchlan Maclean Watt wrote several histories of Scottish

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<sup>25</sup> Archibald K. Murray, *History of the Scottish regiments in the British Army*, (Glasgow, 1862), p. 4.

<sup>26</sup> Murray, *op cit.*, pp. 5-6.

regiments during the First World War. The timing and intent of their publication matches that of the Reverend P.D. Thomson's *The Gordon Highlanders*, which was first printed for the Gordon Highlanders serving on the Somme in 1916, and then issued to all ranks throughout the War. These works proclaimed the successes and victories of these regiments, in all probability with the intent of bolstering regimental pride. The sense of the Scots as a warlike race continued, especially in the Highland regiments. Maclean Watt began his work on the Black Watch by writing:

The Highlanders, by the necessity of their history, were ever a warlike race. They had to struggle not only against the invading Saxon, but also with one another ... They have in later days displayed the conspicuous honour and fidelity which was theirs from the beginning, and have proved themselves worthy of an honoured share in the highest life of the nation.

Maclean Watt later added how this 'mountain race' were 'A pastoral and hunting people, with ancient ideas of warlike chivalry and liberty.'<sup>27</sup> Equally, the Reverend P.D. Thomson wrote of Highlanders in the same way, with the Gordon Highlanders being aware of their 'Highland ancestry' although not all its soldiers were Highlanders, and of how, '... the spirit that has animated the Regiment so nobly in the past will not fail the Gordon Highlanders of the future'.<sup>28</sup> In 1938, John Stewart, a captain in the Black Watch, was still writing of '... the inborn love of the Highlanders for a warlike profession.'<sup>29</sup> Even in 1963, an Australian soldier, John Laffin, was still writing of how, for the Scottish soldier, '... his environment, his ancestry and his very nature combine to make him one of the finest fighting soldiers in history.' Laffin added how:

These physically tough and morally righteous men from the hills were virtually invincible and could put the fear of the devil into most of their enemies. Only the most disciplined and experienced troops could stand up to them.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Lauchlan Maclean Watt, *The Black Watch*, (Edinburgh, 1916), pp. 9 and 17.

<sup>28</sup> The Reverend P.D. Thomson, *The Gordon Highlanders: Being a Short Record of the Services of the Regiment*, (Devonport, 1920), pp. 1 and 166.

<sup>29</sup> John Stewart, *A Brief History of the Royal Highland Regiment The Black Watch*, (Edinburgh, 1938), p. 1.

<sup>30</sup> John Laffin, *Scotland the Brave: The Story of the Scottish Soldier*, (London, 1963), pp. vii and 12.

In this image, the martial qualities of Scots described by Murray did not desert them under trial. Murray related how the men of the 78<sup>th</sup> Highlanders carried women and children from the wreck of the *Frances Charlotte* in 1816, just as the men of the 91<sup>st</sup> Foot had maintained their discipline during the wreck of the *Abercrombie Robinson* in 1842, and as the men of the 74<sup>th</sup> Highlanders had stood in ranks as the *Birkenhead* sank in 1852. Murray's assertion was rather that these trials built the martial qualities inherent in the military Scot. The trials of those Scots of the 71<sup>st</sup> Foot in the 'dungeons of Bangalore', after their capture by Hyder Ali in the 1780s, '... served only to bring out, in brighter effulgence, the characteristics of the Highland hero.'<sup>31</sup>

These qualities found in the military Scot were of the Scot alone. Murray stated his fear that unless Scots took a pride in these regiments, and in the 'revival and preservation of 'the old Scottish and Highland regiments', they may not be prevented from 'still farther degenerating.' When lopped 'from the parent stem' of Scotland, this was a real risk. Murray later explained that what some might have perceived as 'an undue partiality' towards the Highland regiments was because:

... the Highlanders ... retain more of the national characteristics [of Scots], whilst the Lowlanders, intermingled with others, have sadly degenerated from the original purity of the Scottish, if they have not already forfeited every claim, beyond the name, to be included in the catalogue of Scottish regiments.<sup>32</sup>

Another side of this Scottish monopoly of martial characteristics was the denigration of others. In the same way that published accounts written by Scottish missionaries (and others) dismissed and condemned the religions and cultures from which they sought converts, another aspect of the building of the military Scot was the disparagement of the 'other'. Murray consistently portrayed the Indian enemies

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<sup>31</sup> Murray, *op cit.*, pp. 361, 215-222, 345-349 and 293.

<sup>32</sup> Murray, *op cit.*, pp. 202 and 241-242.

of Scottish regiments as inept, when compared to Scottish regiments. In these accounts, Scottish soldiers became the vanguard of British imperialism. The 71<sup>st</sup> Foot were outnumbered ‘one to ten’ by Hyder Ali’s troops at Madras in 1780. However, ‘native pride’ was ‘rampant’, and this combined with ‘the incapacity of these sable chiefs to command’, so that the outnumbered Scots were victorious. Murray presented such outcomes as inevitable given the nature of the Scottish soldier. When the 78<sup>th</sup> Highlanders scaled the walls of the ‘strong fortress of Amednuggur’:

... the struggle was very severe, but the moment our Highlanders succeeded in scaling the high and narrow walls encircling it, to the enemy all seemed lost, defence appeared hopeless, and flight the only refuge. Thus this important conquest was achieved with comparatively little loss.<sup>33</sup>

The ‘Mutiny’ in 1857 provided these writers with ample opportunity to vilify the ‘other’, and more especially to portray the Scot as the ‘“Saviour of India” ’ as the 78<sup>th</sup> Highlanders became known. (see Figure 5). The terms in which Murray described events typify much of the tone used in British propaganda surrounding events of the time:

But we hasten to look upon the darker picture – to find our Indian empire on the verge of ruin, convulsed as in the agonies of dissolution; its native military, whom we had trusted and boasted, became traitors, their smothered vengeance, cherished through years of duplicity, bursting forth to deluge our vast dominion.<sup>34</sup>

Murray then outlined how:

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<sup>33</sup> Murray, *op cit.*, pp. 290-291 and 357.

<sup>34</sup> Murray, *op cit.*, pp. 353 and 373.

## Figure 5

But Hark! What means you dismal wail-  
The shriek that's borne upon the gale?  
It comes from India's sultry plain-  
It calls for vengeance from the slain,  
Nor calls in vain to Scotland.

'Tis the destroying hoards of hell,  
Whose hearts with fiendish passions swell,  
Whose swords on ruined Beauty fell-  
The Brave, the Fair, the Weak. Farewell!  
Ye'll be revenged by Scotland.

Then Scotland, by brave Havelock led,  
Rush'd o'er the field of murder'd dead,  
Fighting for "bleeding Beauty's" sake  
The very earth itself might quake  
Beneath the wrath o' Scotland.

Haste ye to Lucknow's fainting brave;  
Too long they've battled with the slave-  
The weak and helpless Fair to save  
From rapine, ruin, and the grave-  
Hope comes wi' bonnie Scotland.

And now brave Havelock's work is done;  
He sets like to the evening sun;  
By him the crown of glory's won-  
His God, beholding, saith "Well done!"  
The Lost-the Loved o' Scotland.

From Murray, *op cit.*, p. 372

Never was the British soldier placed in circumstances so trying, and never did he display such heroism – a heroism which, equal to the emergency, was alone to deliver him from the foul conspiracy of 150,000 armed and trained rebels, who encircled him and thirsted vehemently for his blood.<sup>35</sup>

Murray placed Highland regiments at the forefront here. The 78<sup>th</sup> Highlanders were presented as omnipotent, so that the ‘mutineers’ could only make a ‘momentary stand at Ahirwa’ against ‘a brilliant charge of our Highlanders’, whom, ‘The heart of the Scottish people followed with a yearning interest ... throughout this memorable campaign.’<sup>36</sup> Equally, the 93<sup>rd</sup> Highlanders followed ‘its favourite leader, Sir Colin Campbell, to the plains of India’. Just as with the 78<sup>th</sup> Highlanders, the 93<sup>rd</sup> were presented by Murray as the epitome of British retribution, in ‘... visiting with a terrible vengeance the murdering villains, the traitors, and the rebels’, and ‘In every instance where the foe was to be encountered, the Sutherland Highlanders were most conspicuous for their gallantry.’<sup>37</sup>

This language and tone continued into later accounts of the ‘Mutiny’ during the twentieth century. Lauchlan Maclean Watt’s description of the 93<sup>rd</sup> Highlanders’ role during the ‘Mutiny’ had the same emotive tone, where ‘the bloody murderers of Nana Sahib’ killed ‘the little murdered children’. Maclean Watt described Cawnpore using similar language, and how ‘what they saw there ensured the victory to which they pledged themselves.’ Thus, as he described, at the storming of the Secunderabagh, such was the desire for vengeance of these martial Scots, at the forefront of imperial vengeance, that ‘... the 93<sup>rd</sup> had to be restrained by Sir Colin [Campbell] himself ... Of the two thousand Sepoys in the place not one escaped.’<sup>38</sup>

The creation of the military Scot resulted in a powerful image, and one which military leadership were aware of. Laffin repeated Havelock’s praise for Highland

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<sup>35</sup> Murray, *op cit.*, p. 374.

<sup>36</sup> Murray, *op cit.*, pp. 375-379.

<sup>37</sup> Murray, *op cit.*, p. 416.

<sup>38</sup> Lauchlan Maclean Watt, *Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders*, (Edinburgh, 1916), pp. 33 and 37.

troops – ‘ “I am not a Highlander, but I wish I were one” ’. However, Laffin also replicated the words of Lord Roberts during the Afghan campaign of 1880 , that ‘ “... the very last troops that the Afghans want to meet are the Scottish Highlanders and the Gurkhas.” ’<sup>39</sup> This comparison between the martial Scot and a ‘martial’ race of the ‘other’, had been made earlier, even during the ‘Mutiny’ itself. In 1857, Arthur Moffat Lang was serving in the Bengal Engineers, and described the Highlanders and Indian peoples identified as ‘martial’ in strikingly similar terms in his diary:

The 93rd are the boys; such glorious thoro’ Highlanders and Scots ... I should not mind where I was ordered with these fellows behind me. They are called the Wilayati [British] Gurkhas, with legs like young elephants ... The Punjabis fraternize with them mostly, and delight in the pipes. As I walked home from mess last night after the pipes had finished playing, I found knots of mingled Hielanders and Sikhs and Afghans, each jabbering away in his own language, not in the least understood by one another, but great friends, one going on ‘Well, weel’, and ‘Hoot mon’, and the other ‘Hamne Matadeenko khub mara’ [I killed lots of Mata Deens] and so on: a great shaven-headed Pathan would be trying on a Hieland bonnet!<sup>40</sup>

The fact that Lang drew this comparison at a time when the same 93<sup>rd</sup> Highlanders were being lauded as part of the repression of the ‘Mutiny’ is noteworthy. The tone in which he wrote suggests that he did not see this direct comparison as at all odd. Given that both fought together, it is not. Others, however, did. Murray described the camaraderie between the 42<sup>nd</sup> Royal Highlanders and Indian troops they fought alongside (whose regiment he did not see fit to name) in the 1780s in terms that emphasised the credit this brought to the Scottish regiment, and suggested that Indians could only fight bravely when emulating the Scot:

Even the Sepoys, emulating the Highlanders, so distinguished themselves, that, in compliment to their bravery, our countrymen dubbed one of their regiments their own third battalion. Truly it was a new and strange thing to have within

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<sup>39</sup> Laffin, *op cit.*, p. 16.

<sup>40</sup> David Blomfield (ed.), *Lahore to Lucknow: the Indian Mutiny journal of Arthur Moffat Lang*, (London, 1992), pp. 126-127.

the Royal Highland Regiment a cohort of “brave blacks;” yet it displays a generous sentiment which reflects honour upon the regiment<sup>41</sup>

Murray, then, found such comparisons and conjoining odd, and uncomfortable. However the fact remains that certain Scots and Indians were both created, and seen, as ‘martial’, even if they stood as coloniser and colonised respectively. The fact that both were created as ‘martial’ does not sit so easily with a view of the colonial encounter in which the division of all experiences of the coloniser and colonised is absolutely rigid. Moreover, Scots served in the Indian Army alongside these Indian martial races. Although this took place within a wider colonial setting, with all its material and political inequalities, the direct experience, on a day-to-day basis, of these Scots can begin to question an inflexible division of the colonial encounter. The public representations of the martial Scot quoted here focus upon such a divide. However, the private experiences within this encounter both for Scots in British regiments in India, or as part of the Indian Army, can question aspects of the characterisation of the military Scot as a unique entity, and this sense of a rigid divide between coloniser and colonised.

#### **1.4 Histories of Scots in empire: from fixed to fluid perspectives**

Recent scholarship around Scots and empire, that avoids rigid paradigms, complements the suggestion here, that these private encounters of both missionary and military Scots question their public representation. Formerly, some scholarship has characterised Scots’ experiences in two overly rigid senses - at the vanguard, or as the victims, of imperialism. The questioning of public stereotyping of Scots does not fit into such overly polar analyses. A central tenet of this work is that all sides must be considered in a historical debate to enable the dialectical process to take place. Both of these perspectives on Scots and empire contain valid elements,

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<sup>41</sup> Murray, *op cit.*, p. 195.

although a combination of the two moves closest to the reality of Scottish imperial and colonial involvement in the British empire.

Works proclaiming Scots as the vanguard of imperialism become a roll-call of elite figures and heroes of imperial adventure stories. Richard Finlay has described how an image of the imperial Scot developed across popular culture, in juvenile literature, youth organisations, and academic societies. Through this, the Scot was imbued with what were supposedly national characteristics, such as ‘Martial valour, entrepreneurial dynamism, missionary endeavour and administrative talent’ - qualities which university rectors proclaimed to their students.<sup>42</sup> Andrew Gibb, a former Tory candidate, concluded in his *Scottish Empire* that the work Scots did ‘... has been positive and beneficial’, doubtless due to those same ‘certain qualities’ themselves a result of Scots’ tough living conditions in Scotland. The Scotsman was a ‘hard worker’, tolerant of poor conditions, and ‘more democratic and less insular’ than his English imperial companions.<sup>43</sup> Other Scots agreed, with the *Glasgow Herald* complaining at, ‘... the imperturbable self-conceit of the English, that there are grounds for the boast that they are the colonising race’<sup>44</sup> However, in their attempts to laud the Scot, such writers essentialised that Scot in the same way that colonial officialdom engaged in orientalist essentialising of Indians. Moreover, gender distinctions are absent from Gibb’s concluding praises, although Scotswomen are mentioned in his text. Thus praise of the imperial Scot, infused with rhetoric, merely replicated mechanisms of dominance that were used in the metropole. The image of the highlander was essentialised in military recruitment, and Scotswomen were subjugated in the metropole, because of their gender, as mere companions of the male, imperial, Scot.

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<sup>42</sup> Richard J. Finlay, ‘The Rise and Fall of popular imperialism in Scotland, 1850-1950’ in *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, Vol. 113, No. 1, (March, 1997), pp. 13 and 17-18.

<sup>43</sup> Andrew Dewar Gibb, *Scottish Empire*, (London, 1937), pp. 308-309.

<sup>44</sup> *Glasgow Herald*, 15th May 1880, quoted in David S. Forsyth, ‘Empire and Union: imperial and national identity in nineteenth century Scotland’ in *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, Vol. 113, No. 1, (March, 1997), p. 6.

This sense of the Scot as at the vanguard of imperial ambition is applicable to some. Certain Scots were enthusiastic advocates of empire, such as the Scottish Home Rule Association, in their lambasting of those who denoted the British Empire as an English creation. To the SHRA, 'The rise of the Empire dates from the Union', but there was no distinct sense of a Scottish empire as distinct from the British, since the Scottish contribution to empire added to '... the dignity and lustre of the British name ... Our loyalty is solely to the British crown and the British government.'<sup>45</sup> However, other work on Scots in empire has suggested that their involvement made them English. Alan MacGillivray's 'Exile and Empire' asserted that for many Scots involved in empire, there was no notion of a Scottish contribution. However much '... to twentieth-century Scottish sensibilities' it might seem 'deplorable', his analysis of Scottish literature of empire, led him to suggest that:

... although you may have been born in Scotland and have Scots speech and feelings, when you put on an English uniform or have undertaken English imperial business, you have in fact become an Englishman

Here, though, MacGillivray wistfully pondered:

One is tempted to wonder if perhaps a Scottish cast of thought enabled them to see the imperial institutions rather differently from the majority of Englishmen around them.<sup>46</sup>

However, other Scots held variant opinions on empire. Richard Finlay has described the variety of attitudes held by Scottish nationalists between 1919 and 1939 towards imperialism, from complete separation from England based upon the immorality of imperialism, to calls for Scotland to become a self-governing dominion within the empire, or for Scottish nationalism to complement a wider,

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<sup>45</sup> *A Protest by the Scottish Home Rule Association against the misuse of the terms 'England' and 'English' for Britain, the 'British Empire' its peoples and institutions*, c. 1890, National Library of Scotland, quoted in Anthony Cooke, Ian Donnachie, Ann MacSween and Christopher A. Whatley (eds.), *Modern Scottish History 1707 to the Present*, (East Linton, 1998), Vol. 2, p. 29 and Vol. 5, pp. 185-186.

<sup>46</sup> Alan MacGillivray, 'Exile and Empire' in Douglas Gifford (ed.), *The History of Scottish Literature Volume 3: The Nineteenth Century*, (Aberdeen, 1988), pp. 413, 416 and 420.

British nationalism with a firm commitment to imperialism.<sup>47</sup> Such variety detracts from any single representation of Scottish attitudes towards imperialism.

Despite this reality, Scottish involvement in, and opinions of, empire can still be presented in rigid, limited terms in more recent times. Books which accompanied exhibitions in Scotland during the 1980s provided narrative accounts, often as much of a roll-call as Gibb's work fifty years earlier, essentialising the imperial Scot with the same characteristics. Helen Smailes' companion volume to a 1980 exhibition in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery on Scots and empire, Alex Cain's companion volume to a 1986 exhibition in the National Library of Scotland on the Scots in India, as well as the material on Scots in India in *Leaving Scotland*, from 1994, do not portray the imperial Scot in such an explicitly eulogistic way as Gibb, but they provide an uncritical account of the same elite figures and heroes.<sup>48</sup> These books were very much the products of their source material, which only recorded the elite. Linda Colley has portrayed the imperial Scot in more brutal terms as an opportunist, eager to grab any spoils within reach. Such a monochrome account does little to address the complexities of the colonial situation, however. To her, Scots were even trained for imperial thuggery by inequalities at home, where Scots, with their smaller electorate, militaristic bent, and exercising more power over tenants than in England:

... found the business of presiding over thousands of unrepresented subjects in the colonies neither very uncongenial nor particularly unfamiliar.<sup>49</sup>

The antithesis of this is the notion of Scots as the victims of imperialism, subjected to Anglo-Saxon colonialism for centuries. This approach can be equally one-sided, and is difficult to prove conclusively. The notion of internal colonialism within the British Isles has a popular appeal for many. Nigel Leask talks of '... the

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<sup>47</sup> Richard J. Finlay, '“For or Against?” Scottish Nationalists and the British Empire, 1919-39' in *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. LXXI, No. 2, (October, 1992), p. 185.

<sup>48</sup> Helen Smailes, *Scottish Empire: Scots in Pursuit of Hope and Glory*, (Edinburgh, 1981); Alex M. Cain, *The Cornchest for Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1986); Mona McLeod, *Leaving Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1996), pp. 44-50.

<sup>49</sup> Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1857*, (New Haven and London, 1992), pp. 30 and 32.

formation of the modern British state ... as a series of micro-colonizations.<sup>50</sup> Martin Green remarks how, 'Most of us don't nowadays think that the United Kingdom was or is an empire; though Welsh and Scottish nationalists do.'<sup>51</sup> Studies of postcolonial theory, such as Loomba's, even include notions of internal colonialism, and she quotes Jamie Kelman on Anglo-Saxon cultural imperialism:

There is simply no question that by the criteria of the ruling elite of Great Britain so-called Scottish culture, for example, is inferior just as *ipso facto* the Scottish people are also inferior.<sup>52</sup>

Angus Calder described a similar process, where every week, letters in the papers denounced '... the ongoing rape of our autochthonous blood and soil by the vile, denatured English imperialists'.<sup>53</sup> The language of both Kelman and Calder reflects the psychological truth of Scotland as an imperial victim, but also how it cannot be conclusively proven.

Michael Hechter's *Internal Colonialism* does much to validate the model of an Anglo-Saxon core internally colonising its Celtic peripheries, in both economic and cultural terms. Hechter asked whether a diffusionist or an internal colonialism model best described the development of the British National State. The diffusionist model asserted that the core and periphery areas have contact from industrial times, which promoted general welfare, so that an equilibrium of wealth and power resulted. Internal colonialism, as a model, suggested that the core dominated and exploited the periphery. The imbalance that developed was institutionalised by the core, social stratification evolved, and the periphery, in reaction, asserted its culture

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<sup>50</sup> Nigel Leask, *British Romantic Writers and the East*, (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 86-8.

<sup>51</sup> Martin Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire*, (London, 1980), p. 6.

<sup>52</sup> Jamie Kelman, *Some Recent Attacks: Essays Cultural and Political*, (Stirling, 1992), pp. 71-72, quoted in Ania Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, (London and New York, 1998), p. 87.

<sup>53</sup> Angus Calder, *Revolving Culture: notes from the Scottish Republic*, (London, 1994), pp. 32-33.

as its last vestige of power, and sought independence.<sup>54</sup> In talking of the 1707 Union, Hechter suggested that:

‘The objective gains of losses from union with England have little bearing on the widespread sense in the Celtic lands that these unions were fortunate or unfortunate events. It is that subjective sense which must be put to analysis, for these sentiments provide the social basis for political action and behaviour.’

Hechter later illustrated how, in more recent times, decisions made in business concerning investment in regional development were often made on the basis that such areas were seen as a periphery, with an intractable labour force. Certainly, examples of such prejudice are easily isolated from nineteenth-century accounts of the Celtic ‘other’. Charles Kingsley, when travelling through Ireland, talked of ‘human chimpanzees’ that he saw.<sup>55</sup> It was a general policy to promote the periphery as barbarous, as anti-Jacobite propanganda from the ‘45 showed.<sup>56</sup> The report of an 1846 Educational Commission on Wales concluded that:

‘The Welsh language is a vast drawback to Wales and a manifold barrier to the moral progress and commercial prosperity of the people ... It bars access of improving knowledge to their minds ... Because of their language, the mass of the Welsh people are inferior to the English in every branch of practical knowledge and skill ... The Welsh language distorts the truth, favors fraud and abets perjury.’<sup>57</sup>

The sense of internal colonialism is valid in many ways, but as with the sense of Scots as the vanguard of empire, does not adequately represent wider Scottish perspectives on empire alone. Critics of the model of internal colonialism have rightly shown how the term has popular appeal when the prevailing mood of a time suits. Thus economic hardship, or debates over profits from North Sea Oil have made, and make an assertion of internal colonialism appealing. Alongside terms like

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<sup>54</sup> Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966*, (London, 1975), pp. 5-10.

<sup>55</sup> Hechter, *Internal Colonialism*, pp. 68, 158-60, 347-9 & (xvi).

<sup>56</sup> Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History*, (London, 1991; revised edition, 1992), illustrations between pp. 234-5.

<sup>57</sup> Hechter, *Internal Colonialism*, p. 75.

dependency and under-development, in relation to Scotland, 'They chimed with the prevailing mood of the times.'<sup>58</sup>

Other historians have begun to take a more rounded view of Scotland and the empire, alongside which, it is hoped, this thesis fits. Edward Cowan has been objective in his dismissal of the notion of Scots as benevolent imperialists, bereft of racism.<sup>59</sup> In his inaugural lecture as Professor of Imperial History at Lancaster University in 1992, John MacKenzie noted how Scottish work in empire is often held as positive, whilst the effects of an internal colonisation on Scotland are generally seen as negative. He sensibly rejected the simplistic, mutually exclusive notion that Scots either collaborated with, or were victims of, imperialism, and thus embodied a more realistic notion of Scots' roles in empire.<sup>60</sup> Michael Fry further commented that:

The peculiar quality of Scottish imperial experience is that Scots stood on both sides, were victimisers and victimised, both subjects and objects of imperialism.<sup>61</sup>

The aim here is to expand these considerations of the Scottish role in empire, to focus less upon what empire meant to Scots in an intra-British sense, and more on how these Scots' experiences in Pakistan question representations of them mostly constructed during the colonial period.

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<sup>58</sup> David McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: The Sociology of a Stateless Nation*, (London, 1992), p. 49.

<sup>59</sup> Professor Ted Cowan, 'Who's like us? Not them' in *The Story of a Nation: 300 Years of Scottish History*, Part 4, *Empire and Democracy 1850-1914*, (Edinburgh, 1999), pp. 10-11.

<sup>60</sup> Professor John MacKenzie, *Scotland and the Empire: An Inaugural Lecture delivered at The University of Lancaster on 13 May 1992*, pp. 10 and 12-24. . I am very grateful to Professor MacKenzie for supplying a copy of his lecture.

<sup>61</sup> Michael Fry, 'Myth of the victim state: False memory' in *The Herald*, Wednesday September 9th 1998. I am very grateful to Dr. Andrew Mackillop for pointing out this article.

## 1.5 Oral histories of the Raj: from fixed to fluid perspectives

Oral histories conducted on the Indian colonial experience have also tended to rigidly characterise overtly coloniser or colonised perspectives in the past. These works have been generally adapted from radio series, and conform to the strictures of marketability. Their populist approach can ignore the realities of the neo-colonial world. In recalling his work on the radio series *Plain Tales from the Raj* and *More Plain Tales from the Raj*, which subsequently appeared in book form, Charles Allen remarked on how this work in the 1970s was when ‘... the British Raj ceased to become politics and became part of our history.’<sup>62</sup> However, to others, this was when the Raj became politics. Nostalgia for the Raj boomed in Thatcherite Britain, as *Gandhi* and *A Passage to India* came to cinemas, and *The Jewel in the Crown* and *Far Pavillions* were seen on television - all representations that repeated orientalist representations of Indians, who got ‘... walk-ons, but remain, for the most part, bit-players in their own history.’<sup>63</sup>

Allen’s desire to separate the past and the politics of the present detracts from his awareness elsewhere of the complexity of the colonial relationship. He states that colonial contact had both positive and negative effects, and that these oral accounts ‘humanised’ the Raj. This is not to exculpate those involved in colonial life, but to show how:

... it was also about people and the gambles they took with their lives, their interaction with other cultures and the subsequent cross-fertilisation which still affects us today<sup>64</sup>

This enshrines a truth, certainly for many of the subaltern colonisers, for whom a life in the colonial context was not always conscious choice, and for whom

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<sup>62</sup> Charles Allen, ‘Resuscitating the Raj’ in *Chowkidar 1977-1997*, (London, 1997), p. 7. Also in Allen, *Plain Tales from the Raj*, (London, new ed., 1994), p. 11.

<sup>63</sup> Salman Rushdie, ‘Outside the Whale’ in *Imaginary Homelands*, (London, 1991), p. 90.

<sup>64</sup> Allen, *Plain Tales from the Raj*, pp. 11-12.

the subsequent experience was not always a happy, or comfortable one. The use of 'subaltern' here might seem unusual in terms of the coloniser, but its use is to illustrate how for so of the colonisers here, dominance and prejudice based upon class were very much a reality.<sup>65</sup>

Another radio series engendered Zareer Masani's *Indian Tales of the Raj*. His account can scarcely be accused of Raj nostalgia, and is cutting in its appraisal of the Indian elite's hold on power, and continuation of some British cultural forms, after independence.<sup>66</sup> As with Allen's work, the oral accounts represent valuable source material, but again, a polar perspective is maintained, and the complexity and 'cross-fertilisation' of the colonial relation only alluded to. Trevor Royle's *Last Days of the Raj* began a process where, through a combination of British and Indian sources, fixed, polarised accounts move towards fluidity. A sense of nostalgia pervades at times, with an occasional tone of exoneration, but Royle's awareness of the failings and inequalities, as well as the convergences, of colonial experiences, makes his account all the more representative. The market and purpose of these works is worth reiterating, as are the difficulties of locating potential sources and ensuring their participation, as all these factors determine what these accounts were able to produce. This thesis is, of course, also subject to the range of sources it has used, which, though not exhaustive, are as wide-ranging as has been possible. The faults in these earlier works, in one sense, only become faults when they are plucked from their intended purpose, and the value of those accounts they were able to record makes them very useful resources for this study.

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<sup>65</sup> The Subaltern School of historians have written extensively, since 1982, on the history of the subcontinent since 1982. They consciously adopt an approach which illuminates Indian historical sources that elitist historiography, from colonial and nationalist perspectives, excludes.

<sup>66</sup> Zareer Masani, *Indian Tales of the Raj*, (London, 1987).

## 1.6 Imperialism and colonialism: fixed or fluid perspectives?

The characterisation of missionary and military Scots that is questioned here through oral and documentary sources took place within a wider imperial and colonial context. Here, Ania Loomba's spatial distinction is used to define each term. Imperialism refers to the process, originating from the metropole, through which control is established, either over colonies, or as with current neo-colonialism, without. Colonialism refers to the subsequent operation and manifestation of this imperial control within the colony.<sup>67</sup>

The focus in this section, when considering the creation of the missionary and military Scot, and how individual experience questioned the image that was created, is whether imperialism and colonialism were manifested in unified, homogeneous ways. Whilst some scholarship suggests that they were, some writers have suggested that imperialism was far more disjointed than unified. Others have portrayed the colonial encounter as far more fluid than a clean-cut division between coloniser and colonised would suggest.<sup>68</sup>

Analyses of colonialism in various contexts, from Robinson and Gallagher's work on Africa to Bayly's work on India, have shown how empires were piecemeal creations, and not acquired via fixed plans.<sup>69</sup> That is not to deny the power and influence of Western capital and imperialism, but rather to state its amorphous nature. This further questions representations of imperialism where the coloniser and the colonised are monolithic blocks. The existence of such blocks tends to

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<sup>67</sup> Loomba, *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>68</sup> David Washbrook has used the term 'dialogics' to describe such complexity in the colonial encounter, in David Washbrook, 'Orientals and Occidentals: Colonial Discourse Theory and the Historiography of the British Empire' in Robin Winks (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire – Volume 5: Historiography*, (Oxford, 1999), pp.

<sup>69</sup> Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher, *Africa and the Victorians: the official mind of imperialism*, (London, 1961) and Chris A. Bayly, *Rulers, townsmen and bazaars: North Indian society in the Age of British Expansion 1770-1870*, (Cambridge, 1983).

further assume imperial master plans, which never existed in reality.<sup>70</sup> Such fixed perspectives do not represent the many conflicts, as well as the convergences and conciliations, within the imperial aim, or the colonial manifestation, some of which are portrayed in this thesis. Whilst Edward Said's *Orientalism* achieved so much in its illustration of how the West imposed, and imposes, power through its knowledge, and representation, of the East, the work is flawed by the universal unity with which orientalism is portrayed. Said's failure to mention resistance from the colonised, in any form, is another omission, in suggesting the colonised were a single, passive bloc.<sup>71</sup>

The binary, polar characterisation of the colonial relationship does contain an element of truth, however. There was always a level of asymmetry between coloniser and colonised, in economic, political and cultural terms, especially given the power of Western capital in its imperial manifestation. An approach which dismisses the need for the foundational histories which Rosalind O'Hanlon and David Washbrook have advocated, and which becomes too post-structuralist, can deny these realities entirely, although, by the same token, it is important not to overlook the complexity and plurality within the colonial experience.<sup>72</sup>

### **1.7 Fluidity in the colonial relationship**

In all, a balanced perspective is assumed here, which tends towards emphasising the fluidity within the colonial experience in Pakistan, and that in

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<sup>70</sup> Loomba, *ibid.*, pp. 111-112.

<sup>71</sup> Loomba, *ibid.*, pp. 48-49; Moore-Gilbert, *Postcolonial Theory: Contexts, Practices, Politics*, (London and New York, 1997), p. 45; and John MacKenzie, *Orientalism: history, theory and the arts*, (Manchester, 1995), pp. 10-11.

<sup>72</sup> Rosalind O'Hanlon and David Washbrook, 'After Orientalism: Culture, Criticism and Politics in the Third World' in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* (hereafter *CSSH*), Vol. 34, (1992), pp. 144-145. O'Hanlon and Washbrook were responding to Gyan Prakash's call for post-foundational histories of India in 'Writing Post-Orientalist Histories of the Third World: Perspectives from Indian Historiography', in *CSSH*, Vol. 32, (1990), p. 398.

Pakistan after 1947. Scholarship that has identified such fluidity and flux, whilst not denying the foundational realities of colonial interaction, has therefore given much to the theoretical basis for the thesis. Mary Louise Pratt's model of the 'contact zone', defined as '... social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other', has proved especially useful. For the colonised, her use of the ethnographic term 'transculturation' describes a process where the indigenous culture engaged the metropolitan culture in the contact zone.<sup>73</sup> A very similar idea comes across in Homi Bhabha's use of the term 'hybridity'.<sup>74</sup>

A notion of fluidity is also found in the work of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Benita Parry, Sara Suleri and Nicholas Thomas. Spivak's approach denies the possibility of building an argument '... coherently to a closure which has by then established the whole and definitive 'truth' ', and she has emphasised the variant effect of colonialism, both negative and positive.<sup>75</sup> Parry has emphasised how the British experience in India varied in character, and has argued that '... the British-Indian encounter became a battle expressed as a psychological crisis'.<sup>76</sup> That characterisation is more extreme than the experiences of most individuals here, but is useful in its illustration of processes within the contact zone. Sara Suleri has provided a succinct summary of the outlook of this thesis, in her description of how:

... colonial facts are vertiginous: they lack a recognisable cultural plot; they frequently fail to cohere around the master-myth that proclaims static lines of demarcation between imperial power and disempowered culture, between colonizer and colonized.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, (London, 1992), pp. 4 and 6.

<sup>74</sup> Homi Bhabha, 'Signs taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority under a Tree Outside Delhi, May 1817' pp. 154-156 in Francis Barker *et. al.*, *Europe and Its Others*, Vol. I, (Colchester, 1985), quoted in Robert Young, *White Mythologies: Writing History and the West*, (London and New York, 1990), p. 148. Bhabha describes flux within the colonial relationship across his scholarship, Moore-Gilbert, *ibid.*, pp. 116-117.

<sup>75</sup> Moore-Gilbert, *ibid.*, pp. 74-75. Also Young, *ibid.*, p. 157.

<sup>76</sup> Benita Parry, *Delusions and Discoveries: Studies on India in the British Imagination 1880-1930*, (Harmondsworth, 1972), p. 2.

<sup>77</sup> Sara Suleri, *The Rhetoric of English India*, (Chicago and London, 1992), pp. 2-3.

An avoidance of monolithic representation is furthered here in two practical respects. Firstly, issues of class and gender are emphasised, especially where they led individuals to become subaltern amongst the colonisers. This serves to detract from the idea of the colonisers as a coherent whole, unmoved by the effects of power and dominance. It also avoids a criticism levelled at some postcolonial theory - that it avoids an in-depth analysis, or at times any analysis, of the influence of class and gender.<sup>78</sup>

The scope of the thesis also prevents a characterisation of a universal imperial project, through its focus on one colonised area. Moreover, this focus follows Nicholas Thomas' assertion that only '... localised theories and historically specific accounts' can effectively illuminate '... the varied articulations of colonizing and counter-colonial representations and practices.'<sup>79</sup> This thesis embodies that approach, but aims to avoid an adherence to locality and period that becomes restrictive, and prevents themes from being outlined. Thomas' work aimed to steer between '... the Scylla of mindlessly particular conventional colonial history', which never moved beyond the perceptions of those colonial officials being documented, and '... the Charybdis of colonial discourse theory', when this merely stated 'a hegemonic global ideology'. In using sources from the coloniser and colonised, admitting the likelihood of transculturation and hybridity, and denying hegemonic imperial and colonial intentions and outcomes, this thesis follows Thomas' path.

Given that most of the oral sources used represent the voices of colonisers, there is a need to strongly emphasise my intent here to ensure that this thesis is *in no way* an attempt to exonerate imperialism or colonialism in colonial Pakistan or elsewhere in any way. Equally I hope that I have succeeded in avoiding simple exonerations or eulogising of the individuals whose experiences are described here. Plurality, diversity and cultural interaction are stated to question stereotyping

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<sup>78</sup> Moore-Gilbert, *ibid.*, pp. 168-169 and Young, *ibid.*, p. 161.

<sup>79</sup> Nicholas Thomas, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government*, (Cambridge, 1994), p. ix.

characterisations of Scots, and not to show that the individuals involved were 'good colonisers' - a notion that some works on Scots in empire allude to. Such a goal prevents objectivity, and the purpose here is to analyse and not to judge. It is also a somewhat meaningless gesture when exoneration for past actions, or for colonial involvement, can do nothing to change the neo-colonialism of today which so many see, or experience directly.

It is further hoped that the timescale studied here further detracts from this thesis being a colonial exculpation. There is no attempt to assert an absolute division between the colonial and the period after it, but rather an awareness of a continuation in some areas. Whilst some of those who lived and worked in colonial Pakistan have presented mostly, if not entirely, positive memories of their experience and work, this must not be dismissed outright as self-justification or mythbiography. The desire for a positive self-image is an understandable human trait, but many of these same individuals were deprecatory about both the colonial system, and themselves. This is not consistent with mythologised oral accounts. Those who were entirely positive may have indulged themselves in a degree of self-justification - the phenomenon was not universal here, but it still occurs. In some cases this was explicit and emphasised, and subjective. For some here, it is clear that individuals felt empowered to contrast what they sincerely saw as distorted accounts of their past. They believed that they faced an uphill struggle. Any suggestion that without this, they would not have been so 'subjective', is in the realms of supposition. However, their preconceptions of wider public opinion, even if incorrect, have their effect. The emphasis on locating what are deemed subaltern accounts, in class and gender terms, from colonial experience diverts from an apologist's approach, in showing how dominance was exercised across the divides of the colonial encounter. The inclusion of oral accounts from the subcontinent attempts to present a more objective and multi-faceted view of colonial and post-Independence Pakistan.

## **1.8 The postcolonial stumbling block**

A study such as this cannot be conducted in isolation from wider scholarship on the colonial and postcolonial world, and the implications of this scholarship. However, the term 'postcolonial' is more problematic than it might appear. Scholars have discussed what the term represents, and how study deemed postcolonial should be conducted, and by whom, without any single consensus evolving in any one area. There is no intention here of analysing all the facets of this debate, or of beginning an analysis that would become encumbered by theory. However, several of the questions raised in this debate mirror issues which affect the methodology used here, especially concerning the power to represent, and the implications that flow from this. A comparison of these common issues begins to show how an oral history approach in a study focusing on the colonial period, and after, begins to resolve some of these issues, through methodological practice. Oral history methodologies have their own shortcomings, however, although measures can be taken to limit their effect, as discussed in the following chapter. This thesis has attempted to locate, and avoid, them. Although no single definition of 'postcolonial' exists, it is hoped that this analysis incorporates one nuance of the term - that it moves beyond the prejudicial strictures of some parts of the colonial, and becomes truly *postcolonial*.

## **1.9 Power and representation: who can represent whom?**

From some quarters of postcolonial theory, the hope of being postcolonial, in any meaningful sense, has yet to be realised. Using the term to denote a period after the colonial, in a temporal sense, has the fewest complications, as colonised countries have gained their independence, in as much as the colonisers are no longer there. However, the spread of decolonisation over time complicates any single starting point for such a temporal sense of the postcolonial. A further meaning of the term makes definition, and the hope of this thesis being postcolonial, far more difficult. Postcolonial also implies a period after the ideologies and structures of

colonialism. The continuation of economic, and some cultural, dependence, in formerly colonised countries, questions the degree to which these ideologies and structures have been dismantled.<sup>80</sup> Thus, an analysis such as Edward Said's *Orientalism* continued beyond the period of decolonisation to the contemporary world at the time of its writing.

Many scholars who aim for a postcolonial approach would not deny this reality, although others may question their credentials for producing any truly postcolonial scholarship. One area of criticism levelled at postcolonial theorists regards the environment for, methods in, and audience of, their scholarship. Aijaz Ahmad has levelled these charges at Said, in particular. The location of scholarship within Western universities implicates them as a part of those institutions which produced orientalist prejudice, however much they criticise this prejudice.<sup>81</sup> The theories used for such analysis, such as Marxism, are themselves deemed Eurocentric because of their roots. Ahmad has further characterised such scholarship as mimicking processes of global capitalism, in that the cultural products of the Third World are refined in the metropolis for a cultural elite. Subsequently, some of this theory is then exported back to the non-Western world for the bourgeois elite there. These theorists are further accused of locating their scholarship in the past, and therefore ignoring the neo-colonial realities of the present, and of writing in an obscure style, which excludes those most affected by such neo-colonial realities.<sup>82</sup> Given the complexities that the term postcolonial involves, the term post-Independence is used here, in a temporal sense, to denote the period after the colonial.

Oral history in the non-Western world might be viewed as a similarly exploitative relationship. Just as aspirations of postcolonial scholarship are conditioned by the environment scholars find themselves in, oral history is similarly

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<sup>80</sup> Loomba, *ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>81</sup> Loomba, *ibid.*, p. 256

<sup>82</sup> Bart Moore-Gilbert, *ibid.*, pp. 18-20 and 166.

conditioned in various ways. Ultimately fieldwork is taken from the field and then analysed to construct dissertations and theses - a process which mirrors the appropriation of cultural products that Ahmad described. Such analysis takes place within the university, which itself is an institution, and on occasion the oral historian is easily perceived by an interviewee as an authority figure because of such links. Consequently, the research process can become uneven in terms of power, where the interviewee is deemed a subject suitable for research before their consent is obtained, even if they can refuse, later, to participate in the research process.<sup>83</sup> Within the interview itself, the interviewee is vulnerable if the interviewer perceives them simply as a source of information, aside from the human and the face-to-face interaction that the interview involves. Once the interview is complete, the use of the subsequent tape, or transcript, can also be exploitative, if the interviewee is given no power as to how the material is to be used, who has access to it, and who owns the copyright to the material. Such inequalities, if unresolved, question the notion, for example, that oral history democratises, through giving the silenced a voice, and turning the 'object' of study into the 'subject'.<sup>84</sup>

The charges that Ahmad and others have levelled at postcolonial theory are not unanswerable, and other scholars have deconstructed the work of critics like Ahmad, showing that they are guilty of some of their charges.<sup>85</sup> However, the debate can become overly theoretical, esoteric and obtusely expressed at times, which adds further weight to Ahmad's charge of obscure scholarship alienating those most affected by the processes being discussed.

This study focuses upon the creation of Scots in two settings where the power to represent was not always theirs. In using oral sources, and reproducing them here, it is hoped that sources are empowered as much as possible in representing themselves. Historical sources cannot be empowered in retrospect, of course, but the

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<sup>83</sup> Robert A Georges and Michael O. Jones, *People Studying People: The Human Element in Fieldwork*, (Berkeley, 1980), p. 23.

<sup>84</sup> Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*, (Oxford, 2nd, ed., 1988), p. 99.

<sup>85</sup> Moore-Gilbert, *ibid*, pp. 155-156.

representation of Scots here, many of whom are still alive, intends to avoid exploitation wherever possible.

### **1.10 Intent versus influences and effect: fixed or fluid perspectives?**

The analysis of individuals' motivations in this thesis requires care. A simple contrast of individuals' motivations, which may be the stereotyped creation of missionary and military Scots that placed them at the forefront of imperial intent and colonial control, proves little, for several reasons. If Scots' motivations are simply presented in the sense that Scots never wanted to be at the forefront, this ignores the wider realities that stemmed from the inequalities within colonial contact. For all that coloniser and colonised may not have been so rigidly apart, these inequalities mean that they were never, in any way, on absolutely equal terms. Moreover, within these wider realities, intent was qualified by, and often different to effect because of those realities. If, then, Scots' roles in the colonial context are seen merely as part of wider colonial rule, based upon inequality and exploitation, then individual motivations become irrelevant, almost as footnotes to a far more central text. The actual effects of their roles in the colonial situation overrode any of their intent.

A simple contrast of stereotype and intent is also inadequate because an emphasis on intent could assume that these Scots became involved in the colonial encounter from an entirely free choice, and ignore other factors that affected that choice. For several sources here, their choice to go to Pakistan was made in preference to another option that they were desperate to avoid, such as being a Bevan boy.<sup>86</sup> Also, if motivations are emphasised as if they were a rebuttal, denouncing a characterisation of the evil coloniser, then analysis can swing towards the meaningless. Such a fixed analysis artificially divides the colonial and the neo-

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<sup>86</sup> See interviews with Mr. Robinson, SA1997.35, Indian Signals 1942-1946, p. 2, Mr. Duncan Henderson, SA1997.36, 9th/9th Jat Regiment, 1943-1947, p. 1, and Captain Archie Black, SA1997.95, Indian Signals 1944-1947, p. 1.

colonial, on the assumption that redemption for the colonial past is possible in a postcolonial present - an all too tenuous concept. To analyse intent and motivation thus in a study such as this would be to disempower the oral source, in assuming that they require, or desire, redemption for their colonial past. The oral and other sources here are far more complex than that, and complexity is not avoided here.

An analysis of intent is in itself manifold. The question of the individual's agency becomes paramount. Many sources used here point to the influence of certain types of popular culture in their decision to go to colonial or independent Pakistan. Popular culture in the metropole of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was infused by imperial appeals, found in all its aspects, including, amongst others, music hall, cinema, marketing and fiction.<sup>87</sup> Several of these individuals state the influence of juvenile literature upon them, in its missionary and adventure forms. If this is coupled with the omnipresent imperial appeals present in adult forms of popular culture, then the individual's potential for escaping these attitudes might be diminished.

To ultimately state that intent overrode these wider influences and effects, or *vice versa*, is impossible. Moreover, it is meaningless, in presuming an artificial distinction of colonial and postcolonial. However, a study of motivations and intent is not meaningless here. It serves a different purpose in portraying the fluidity of colonial encounters. It once again questions the stereotypes created of the missionary and military Scot respectively through recalling individual situations that represent individuals as *individual*. This does not deny the influence of wider cultural judgements, embodying mechanisms of dominance, upon the Scots and others studied here, by any means. It rather reiterates that the public, essentialising portrayals of Scots in missionary and military settings in Pakistan did not always match private reality. Moreover, when individual outlooks, motivations and intent

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<sup>87</sup> John MacKenzie (ed.), *Imperialism and Popular Culture*, (Manchester, 1995), pp. 5-6 and 9, and subsequent chapters. Anne McClintock's *Imperial Leather* (New York and London, 1995), pp. 207-231 illuminates the prejudice inherent in advertising.

are seen to vary, then it may be suggested that these same individuals were open to the processes of change encountered within the contact zone, rather than blindly towing any colonial line.

Images of Scots, then, in missionary and military contexts were created in the colonial period. These presented a public image of them, using martial language, as groups who were at the vanguard of British imperial policy and colonial administration. Such images have even continued, at times, into post-Independence times. This thesis takes private accounts of such Scots, in colonial and post-Independence settings, where a part of that public image was created. It questions the public image using the private account, contrasting public image and private reality. This is only possible within a view of the colonial encounter where the interaction of coloniser and colonised is not portrayed in an overtly binary way. The colonial encounter was never an equal one, and that truth overlays this entire questioning, but this thesis is located within scholarship that identifies the fluid aspects within Scottish interactions with empire, the interaction of colonial and postcolonial, and encounters in the 'contact zone'.

**Studying Scottish missionary and military  
experiences: reflexivity and methodology**

Personal experience is a cornerstone of this thesis. It underlies the oral sources that are analysed and critiqued here, and it also forms the basis of my own interest in Scottish cultural interaction with Pakistan. Such personal backgrounds and perspectives, from which we all approach any study, now receive more attention from post-colonial theorists. Teresa Hubel reiterates Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak and Aijaz Ahmads' assertions for writers to be aware of their own 'assigned subject position', so that as scholars we:

... lay our cards on the table, to describe and theorize our specific allegiances and placements, both of which circumscribe our work and, in part, prescribe what we will say and see.<sup>1</sup>

## **2.1 Laying my cards of the table – a self-reflexive starting point**

Familial connections with the subcontinent took many Scots to Pakistan, but there are no such ties in my family.<sup>2</sup> My initial contact with Pakistan came through a year's voluntary work after leaving school with a charitable trust in the Swat Valley, North West Frontier Province (NWFP), from 1990-1991. At the time I did not know that I might subsequently be studying links between Scotland and Pakistan. However, I encountered several examples of Scottish contact with Pakistan during that year – the Seaforth Highlanders' crest in the Khyber Pass, meeting alumni of Aitchison College and Kinnaird College in Lahore (founded by Scots), reading of Sir Robert Sandeman when in Baluchistan, and learning of Willie Brown's actions in Gilgit in 1947. The year spent in Pakistan had a powerful effect on me, beginning both an interest in and affection for Pakistan and its cultures.

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<sup>1</sup> Teresa Hubel, *Whose India? The Independence Struggle in British and Indian Fiction and History*, (London, 1996), pp. 10-11.

<sup>2</sup> There are several examples of this process in the transcripts here, such as Mrs. A. Holland, SA1997.97, pp. 1-2; Mrs. M.M. and Mr. P. Scott, SA1997.85 and SA1997.86, p. 1; Captain A. Black, SA1997.95, p. 2; Sir G. Elliot, SA1998.42, p. 1; Mrs. Howman, SA1998.37, p. 1; Major P. Rattray, p. 1; and Major R. Rutherford, SA1997.87, pp. 1 – 2.

Literally a few weeks after returning from Pakistan I began my studies at the University of Edinburgh. Given my considerable interest in Pakistan, and my recent contact, I was very pleased to notice a well-established Pakistani community in Edinburgh that I was unaware of. As soon as the opportunity arose in my undergraduate degree, I began to study aspects of this interaction between Scotland and Pakistan, as lived through the lives of individuals.

I initially focussed on the experiences of Pathans in Scotland, as my year in Pakistan had been spent amongst Pathans. A postgraduate student friend from Afghanistan, who was also a Pathan, had extensive, personal contact with those Pathans in Edinburgh. As a result, I interviewed several Pathan postgraduate medical students, and one agriculture postgraduate, about their experiences of study at Edinburgh, and the processes around living in this different culture. I was especially interested in how the rigid strictures of the Pathan cultural code, *Pukhtunwali*, adapted to contact with a very different Western culture. This formed the basis of a project entitled *From Malakand Agency to Moncrieff House: Pathan Student Experiences of Edinburgh*.<sup>3</sup>

I had also begun to hear informally of Scots who had lived and worked in NWFP and the Northern Areas of Pakistan. One fellow student knew missionaries who had worked there, and across Pakistan, and another knew the widow of the late Willie Brown, whom I had learnt of during my time in Pakistan. The other side of this cultural contact between Scotland and Pakistan - the experiences of Scots and how they adapted to the cultures of Pakistan, was another area I was interested in. I was fortunate to be able to interview those three individuals, and I based an Honours dissertation, *On the Grim? Scottish Experiences of the North-West Frontier*, on this

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<sup>3</sup> This project, MD1993.23, is held in the School of Scottish Studies' archive. *Pukhtunwali* supercedes Pakistani law in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas of NWFP, and is a major determinant of behaviour amongst Pathans in general. Akbar S Ahmed, *Millenium and Charisma among Pathans. A Critical Essay in Social Anthropology*, (London, 1976) and Akbar S. Ahmed, *Pukhtun economy and society*, (London, 1980).

material.<sup>4</sup> However, I was also aware that this work had only scratched the surface of what might be a very rich vein of oral sources in this area. I was also conscious of the fact that the number of people able to recall experiences from colonial Pakistan, and even from the first years of an independent Pakistan, was getting smaller. As I was told during an early interview, 'it's a pity you're so young that's the trouble because so many people have died.'<sup>5</sup>

This interest had, and has, both a personal and an academic side. On a personal level, I was interested to learn about others' experiences of living in the same Pathan cultural milieu in which I had lived, and to extend this to include the other provinces of modern day Pakistan. I was especially keen to learn of others' experiences of interacting with Pakistani culture, and of the effects this had on them and their identity. In an academic sense, my undergraduate degree included studies of cultural milieus created through Scottish emigration to the New World. I was further interested in Scottish cultural milieus created in what is now Pakistan. I was struck at how little scholarship directly addressed the experiences of Scots, and other peoples of the British Isles, in Pakistan. Those works that did exist were largely amalgamations of oral recollections, with little analysis. Whilst collections like this have proved a valuable resource for this study, there seemed to be a further opportunity of engaging with these sources and subjecting them to critical analysis. I was keen to grasp this opportunity.

My interest in the impact of cultural interaction upon identities also included the construction of identities. Undergraduate study had raised my awareness of the construction of identity and the invention of tradition, both in Scottish and colonial contexts.<sup>6</sup> The opportunity to continue this study arrived with a one year MSc. by Research, where I was able to consider both the scholarship surrounding this area in

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<sup>4</sup> This dissertation, MH1995.15, is also held in the School of Scottish Studies archive.

<sup>5</sup> Interview with Mrs. Margaret Brown, SA1995.47, p. 17.

<sup>6</sup> The construction of 'traditional culture' and identity had formed a significant part of various courses in my Scottish Ethnology degree, such as in the contexts of song, narrative, material culture and emigration. Also, an earlier course, *The Rise and Demise of Imperialism 2*, had included the construction of ethnicity, 'race' and nationalism.

several long essays, and to continue my study in a dissertation. This research incorporated a further source that I had interviewed, as well as more Scottish oral sources found in the School of Scottish Studies archive. Those sources were interviews with various people who had experience of living in military, civil and commercial contexts around the Indian subcontinent during the first half of the twentieth century. They were conducted by Kim Prior, a History undergraduate at the University of Edinburgh in the late 1980s. Having completed the MSc. by Research, I was then able to continue on to this Ph.D. research, with the time to locate and access more sources, both oral and documentary.

## **2.2 Throwing the net further: locating and accessing further sources**

The oral sources used here were located in a variety of ways. Combining other people's interviews collected for other research with interviews conducted by myself was a necessity, given that there were few, if any people alive able to recall life in colonial Pakistan in the 1930s or earlier, and the number of people able to recall experiences after that was declining over time. Tape archives, such as the interviews used for the radio series that subsequently became Charles Allen's *Plain Tales from the Raj*, provided some of the earliest recordings used here. This archive is held at the Indian Office Library and Records in London, and was consulted there. The interview schedules that others had used in these interviews appeared to be semi-structured, and to follow a broadly chronological sequence for all the interviewees.

Potential interviewees for my own interviews were located in a variety of ways. To ensure that fieldwork was manageable given the prescribed period of study, and financial considerations, interviewees were sought within Scotland in the first instance. An advert in the free Edinburgh newspaper, the *Herald and Post*, yielded a wide range of interviewees, beyond initial expectations, in terms of age, the period of their contact with Pakistan, and the context in which it took place. Individuals also suggested further potential interviewees, in Scotland, Britain and

Pakistan. This process itself illustrated the long-term effect of their experiences of cultural interaction in Pakistan, since networks established decades before were still intact, and individuals would mention both Scottish and Pakistani potential interviewees.

Other oral sources came from within organisations such as regimental associations, which were also invaluable in providing documentary resources from the nineteenth century. Regimental associations quickly located Scots who had served in Scottish regiments in Pakistan, and regimental archives held at the King's Own Scottish Borderers' Museum in Berwick-upon-Tweed, and at the Gordon Highlanders' museum in Aberdeen, proved especially useful in this respect. Regimental associations of Indian Army Regiments, under the auspices of the Indian Army Association, proved equally productive in locating numerous former Indian Army officers, who, in turn, indicated further individuals as potential sources, both in Britain and in Pakistan. For two individuals distance and time precluded interviews. Here, letters were exchanged to inform certain facets of the research.

Early archival material was located in various archive collections around Britain. The Scottish Foreign Mission Archives in the National Library of Scotland provided missionary and official correspondence from the establishment of the Church of Scotland mission in the Punjab, in 1857, up to the 1960s. The Indian papers held at the National Library proved less useful for this research, and the index revealed no papers that were of use to elucidate Scots' individual experiences, although some publications of the Government of India held there were consulted. The Cambridge South Asian Archive, at the University of Cambridge, also held several papers, diaries and memoirs, from the nineteenth and twentieth century, which were consulted.

This initial fieldwork in Britain did much to enable a three-month research visit to Pakistan from January to March 1998, as potential interviewees in Pakistan were identified to illuminate a Pakistani perspective on this cultural interaction. The

aims of this fieldwork visit were realistic rather than overly ambitious. Given my lack of fluent Urdu (and lack of fluency in any other language spoken in Pakistan other than English), and a visit of three months, I did not anticipate the collection of *all* Pakistani perspectives on this interaction of Scots with Pakistan. I was particularly interested in those experiences found amongst those with a direct, personal contact with Scots in Pakistan – those who had served alongside Scots, or who were catechists instructed by them for example. Interviewees in Scotland had already helped me to contact some further interviewees in Pakistan. Several others quickly became apparent as a similar process of networking occurred during this fieldwork in Pakistan. My host in Pakistan, Dr. Omar Tarin, was especially kind in this regard, having links in both military circles and with the Christian community in the Punjab, and I owe him a debt of gratitude for his help with this research.

Unfortunately archival resources within institutions with strong Scottish connections proved limited in Pakistan. However, oral sources were able to provide information here which would otherwise have been untouched, and I owe Miss Phailbus at Kinnaird College another debt of gratitude for allowing me to see the draft of a history of Kinnaird College. This was especially useful, as it was also based on a combination of oral and written sources. In addition, some of the contacts made in Pakistan with Pakistani regiments also revealed several Scots who had served in Pakistan with Indian Army regiments. These individuals were contacted once I returned to Scotland. They were then interviewed in a final stage of fieldwork in late 1998.

### **2.3 A methodological marriage: combining methodological tools**

My earlier research combined oral sources, using interview-based methodology, with some document based historical research. This combination is both the cornerstone of the thesis, and a relatively novel approach. It does not

consider the combining of these approaches as a methodological impossibility, but rather as a mutually enriching combination.

In contrast some scholarship has merely asserted the validity of one of these approaches over the other. This is especially true for several critiques of oral history methods, which are largely based on an assertion of the primacy and sole validity of document based historical research.<sup>7</sup> Some advocates of oral history methods have equally limited the scope of historical research through championing their methods as democratising historical research, with the implication that document based historical research is that of an elite, written by an elite. Whilst oral history methods can illuminate and empower silenced sources, such an idealised perspective can ignore problematic aspects within these methods – an outlook that tends to detract from, rather than champion, this approach. The mutual antagonism that some oral historians and documentary historians feel for each other, as illustrated by their criticisms for one another, might imply that the joining of the two methods can only be an unhappy marriage.

However, on a practical level, the marriage is far from unhappy. Were oral sources the only sources here, it is unlikely that any material from before the 1930s would come to light, given the scarcity of those left alive who remember experiences of cultural contact and interaction before the 1930s. Tape archives hold some early recordings of older individuals, but these are few and far between. As a result, documentary sources, such as diaries and personal papers, are crucial to illustrate the subject matter from the early twentieth and nineteenth century.

The perspective here is not one born entirely from the analysis of documents, where there can be no engagement with the source. Nor is it one where most if not all sources can be engaged or observed by the researcher as in oral history methods. It is not an approach that is biographical either, as sources used here are combined,

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<sup>7</sup> Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*, (Oxford, 2nd, ed., 1988), pp. 21, 51-52, 68-69, 71 and 109.

compared and contrasted. As a result, this approach is not without its difficulties or shortcomings. For example, the engagement with the source that takes place within an interview setting is not a possibility with a document. However, the human interaction of the interview can itself be a problematic, when empathy may cloud the more objective analysis that a document can allow.

At the same time, though, there are strengths within this conjoining. The different nature of sources does not mean that they cannot address the same issues, and the following chapters draw out the themes from documents and written sources from the mid nineteenth century, and follow the same themes isolated from transcribed oral sources. Furthermore, where both oral and documentary evidence from the same period is available, such as with some missionary letters and oral sources, and oral and photographic evidence in military settings, the dynamic between the two types of evidence offers further corroboration, or raises further questions. The joining of methods had another crucial benefit. It was only through the use of both oral and documentary sources that a range of sources, in terms of class and gender, were included here. Many of the oral sources are absent from the documentary resources consulted in this study, often because those documents focussed on an elite. More significantly, when such individuals appeared in documentary material, they did so as objects, not subjects. Quantitative, statistical records are found aplenty in the Scottish Foreign Mission Archives, for example, but those missionaries interviewed here appear in those records as little more than names. The qualitative data used here could only be revealed through transcripts obtained from fieldwork using oral history methods.

Documents can omit in other ways too. The world-view, outlook and prejudices of a document's author (or a plurality of these with more than one author) are filters through which the document passes. These in turn affect what the person recorded, how they recorded it, or what they chose not to record. Those decisions could potentially omit whole groups from documentary material, isolating them from the historical record. An awareness and analysis of those decisions is, of course, an

important part of historical analysis in itself. Equally, the oral document comes through its author's world-view, outlook and prejudices. However, the interviewer can engage with that author, and question the exclusions that he or she might perceive. Also, oral history methodology, subject to the demographics of ageing, does not mirror the gender imbalance that an author's prejudice may bring to documents. In addition, at the end of the process, oral sources are themselves an archaeological benefit of this method. They become oral, rather than material artefacts, which are open to the future researcher in the form of transcripts, just as documents are left for analysis.

These transcripts are included in an appendix here, where the interviewee's own words are replicated, so that my use of them is laid open. The transcripts are grouped to reflect the order of the chapters here, and appear in alphabetical order. They replicate the interview – questions and answers - in its entirety, and reflect the pattern of speech of both parties as accurately as possible, so that emphases and nuances are not distorted. Punctuation is as spoken, with occasional additions to aid clarity. Any editorial additions for clarity are marked 'ed.' and placed in square brackets, any unclear words are placed in square brackets, and indecipherable words are designated by a question mark in square brackets. This methodological practice further empowers the interviewee, and makes Thompson's hope of turning the 'objects' of a historical investigation into its 'subjects' all the more real.<sup>8</sup> Through this, the issues of power manifested in the production of the interview transcripts used here are addressed. Including transcripts helps to make the interviewee the 'co-author' of those transcripts, as Clifford advocates, and begins the process of a jointly constructed meaning that Elliot Mishler and Ronald Grele support.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History*, p. 99.

<sup>9</sup> James Clifford, 'Introduction: Partial Truths' in James Clifford and George E. Marcus (eds.), *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, (Berkeley, 1986), pp. 16-17; Elliot G. Mishler, *Research Interviewing: Context and Narrative*, (Cambridge MS, 1986), pp. 118-119; Ronald J. Grele, *Envelopes of Sound: The Art of Oral History*, (New York, 2nd. ed., 1991), p. xvi.

Consent is another aspect of the fieldwork process that can empower the interviewee. At all times during the fieldwork here, a policy of obtaining consent was paramount. After the interview, interviewees were consistently made aware of what I would use the tape for, who might have access to it, and where it would be kept. More importantly, they made the decisions in all of these respects, and these decisions were, and are, rigidly adhered to.

## **2.4 Problems and resolutions** **within the joining of methodologies**

The benefits of this methodological marriage depend on a number of factors, however. No historical investigation can reasonably claim to be entirely watertight in the sense of being rigorously objective and almost scientific in its analytical methods. The certainty that all sources have been found, that all of the historical record has come to light, is rarely if ever a reality. Given this, fears of representivity cloud both document or orally based historical research. Here, the force of circumstances is the rule of the day – we have what sources that are left. Combining two methodologies to allow access to two different kinds of sources further justifies this combination of approaches, in that this widens the available sources for and scope of study.

However, other problems impinge upon oral history as a methodology. Engagement with the source is built upon asking the ‘right’ questions. What constitutes the ‘right’ questions is a subjective matter. These are also decisions that take place in the human interaction of the interview process. The pointed, analytical question might well be asked of a document, but is a far more perilous task when facing an interviewee in person. Other factors also impinge on this need to ask the ‘right’ questions. These include the circumstances through which the interview has been arranged, and the very real possibility that an interviewee could provide the researcher with a realm of information beyond the interview.

During my fieldwork, I was constantly aware of the benefits of accessing individuals' networks, which would increase the scope of this study. It was because of this that I attempted to strike a balance in my interviews. That balance was between making the interviews investigative and analytical enough to obtain the information necessary for the research, whilst not making them so inquisitorial that interviewees would find the experience upsetting or demeaning. As these oral sources had mostly not been approached before, I also felt a responsibility to future researchers to ensure that these individuals found the interview process an experience that they may repeat should someone else ask to interview them in the future. This was especially relevant as the transcripts of my interviews were going to be made available to other researchers through being placed in an archive and as appendices to the eventual thesis. Moreover, this was just as relevant for my research, should I wish to interview or contact them again.

The areas of missionary and military experience of these interviewees are also relevant regarding the possible effects of the interview process. Religious motivation is a very personal thing, bound up in faith, and 'characterized by dogmatic belief, faith, and passion.'<sup>10</sup> Whilst interviewing, care was necessary to ensure that I did not belittle these motivations, or offend any interviewees with regard to their very personal and strong religious faith. In addition, care was necessary when interviewing those with experiences in military settings. Recalling military experience, which for several individuals here involved the trauma of active service in campaigns in Burma and North Africa, meant that interviews needed to be conducted with sensitivity. Diana Henderson, an experienced military oral historian, has commented on the need for sensitivity in this area, having conducted interviews with First World War veterans. Her comments, though, are as applicable to the experiences of some of the interviewees here, several of whom were visibly moved when recalling some of the events they related:

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<sup>10</sup> Andrew Porter, 'Religion and Empire: British Expansion in the Long Nineteenth Century, 1780-1914', in *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol. 20, No. 3, 1992, p. 375.

Recalling such events is often very painful and emotional and military oral historians have to appreciate that. The vast majority of these men lived with nightmares and ‘flashbacks’ for the rest of their lives. They came from an age where there was little understanding of the unresolved psychological damage which was the result of these experiences.<sup>11</sup>

Interviewees’ perceptions of the public’s attitudes were also a concern. Some had preconceived notions that their former work in colonial Pakistan might be widely perceived in a negative light, which prevented them from relating their accounts. Their outlook here denotes them, and their memories, as subaltern, borrowing the term from the Subaltern Studies School, even if the application of the term to colonisers, and not the colonised, seems unusual. In contrast, the methodology used here has, in one sense, deliberately empowered and recast them as subjects here, as many have not had the opportunity to publish or relate their accounts before. This was all the more likely given a conscious effort to locate potential interviewees who were not elite figures, well known for their role in the colonial system.

To have interviewed these people in a style that merely reinforced any fears of how ‘bad’ their ‘imperial’ lives in Pakistan were would probably have led to stilted, unnatural interviews, or possibly silence. I felt that it was important to conduct an interview in a manner that would actually reveal what these oral sources could tell me, and to inform them of what would happen to their interviews. One interviewee had bad experiences in the past after being interviewed, and felt that his words had been very much taken out of context to serve a particular, highly politicised slant in a radio programme. He was particularly reassured by this information.

Much of the material used here has been excavated from documents, written and oral. Material is not readily highlighted for the historian in the written

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<sup>11</sup> Diana M. Henderson, ‘“Nonne Boschen Wood, Aye, I mind it well” Some thoughts on oral history in the military context’, *By Word of Mouth*, 2000, p. 21.

document. Equally, there are no 'instant fix' questions that, if asked, immediately produce answers that slot neatly into cultural discourse analysis. Such material is only revealed in a reading of the transcript, and to direct the interview in too much of an authoritative manner might well distort this. It would also abuse the interviewee's hospitality in agreeing to be interviewed, and it implies that the interviewer's knowledge, experience and areas of inquiry are far more important than the interviewee's own memories and perspectives on his or her experiences.

This process is not to pander entirely to the interviewee, but is more to do with practicality and the need for a balance between inquiry and the maintenance of a working relationship with the interviewee. To some such a relationship, and the need to maintain it, might negate the value of oral history, since it would be seen as compromising the necessary inquiring nature of research. However, this approach does not pretend to be a rigidly scientific one, and more documentary based inquiry is similarly conditioned by the nature of the evidence available, when conclusions are to be drawn, unless they are somewhat speculative or conjectural. I therefore asked questions which might seem directed more towards a reminiscence of life during colonial times, and on occasion have asked more direct questions of a 'qualitative' nature. Since oral history, and history itself, do not take place in a clinical, sterile environment, where absolute scientific objectivity can be attained, concessions such as these have to be made.

The issue of how each interview might engage the qualitative required for this study was a difficult one. I also faced the difficulty of using other people's interviews from relevant collections, so that I had no control over the engagement with the interviewee. Works such as Allen's *Plain Tales from the Raj*, asked interviewees about the physical details and experiences of life, rather than the thoughts, ideologies and discourses behind it. I had also listened to Kim Prior's interviews before starting my own interviews. He had used a similar focus, and this appeared to help the smooth progression of the interview. I began interviews on this basis, in order to settle interviewees and to begin the flow of the interview.

I entered each interview with a broad range of topics to question interviewees about. There was no rigidly fixed lists of questions phrased in a particular way that I read. I had tried this approach, reading questions verbatim from a list, in earlier interviews conducted when I was an undergraduate. I was not comfortable with this approach, finding it too rigid and difficult to adapt when interviews took an unexpected direction. Also, too fixed a list of questions gave me the impression of placing the investigative process in a strait jacket – it was almost to determine exactly what an interviewee would be telling me before they had begun, and before I had an real idea of the experiences they had lived and could relate to me.

My initial area of questioning centred around the interviewee's life before going to Pakistan. Interviewees were asked when and where they were born, and about their parents. This was to place them in a particular social context, from which they subsequently went to Pakistan. The next area of questioning focussed on their lives before going to Pakistan – schooling and any subsequent employment. This gave more information on the background to their contact with Pakistan, and sometimes motivations to go there were revealed here. Interviewees were also asked about what they knew about Pakistan before going there. The influence of juvenile fiction (especially those focussing on missionaries and soldiers imperial 'exploits') could be revealed through this questioning, as well as familial connections, or the influence of popular culture. I enquired about any training received before going to Pakistan, be that linguistic, or information about cultures, to see what the interviewees were told before they arrived in Pakistan.

First impressions were then the next point of investigation. To see the subsequent effect of living in Pakistan, over time, initial reactions were a starting point. The fact that interviewees were mostly able to recall these with some clarity and power itself shows that despite some fears around the reliability of memory, information can be readily recalled by many interviewees (although that is not to deny the vagaries of memory in others, as discussed below). Subsequent questions

were directed at individuals' lives in Pakistan. This often followed a chronological sequence, and interviewees tended to speak for longer at this stage as they related the details of the various settings in which they had worked in Pakistan. Questioning here was about their interaction with Pakistanis – the extent to which this happened, with whom, and how they found this interaction.

Following this chronological account, interviewees were asked about why they returned to Scotland or the UK (or where they went after India, as some did not return directly to the British Isles). Questions here concentrated on how they felt on coming home, and again on the process of events. Often as a part of this description, the impact of their experiences in Pakistan was readily apparent, although there was variation here around whether people wished to return or not. Interviewees often began to describe any subsequent contact with Pakistan at this stage, and if not, I enquired about this. Again this information revealed much of the effects of their experiences in Pakistan.

Focussing the topics of questions in this way acted as an effective ice breaker, and gave me material that I saw that I could use. It also meant that both my own and other people's interviews used here followed a similar direction of questioning. The style of questioning attempted to strike a balance between settling the interviewee, but at the same time directing them, and questioning them, to allow the acquisition of material that would be of comparative and analytical use. Having completed the fieldwork, this approach seemed to have worked. I was fortunate in that the interviewees never regarded me as an authority figure, given our difference in age, so there was little sense of an inequality of power within the interview.

## **2.5 Problems of memory: a hard chestnut to crack?**

The vagaries of memory, and questions around its reliability would seem to be a perennial problem. This can never be resolved entirely in specific research on

memory, let alone in historiographical debate. Alan Baddeley suggests two contrasting trends in memory research. That of Ebbinghaus aims to limit and control memory, in a research context, to make it tractable for study; that of Bartlett accepts memory's complexity, and advocates its study in a naturalistic setting. Baddeley further stresses the need for 'ecological validity', where tests in the laboratory must be confirmed by outside observation. However, it seems, in fact, that most scientific study in the field has to qualify conclusions. For example Talland, in his work on 'Age and the Span of Immediate Recall' draws his conclusions, only to suggest that they, '... can be offset by compensatory attitudes.' Baddeley states that the field is in such a state of flux that conclusions are usually idiosyncratic by their time of publication.<sup>12</sup> Ulric Neisser asserts that:

In short, the results of a hundred years of the psychological study of memory are somewhat discouraging. We have established firm empirical generalisations, but most of them are so obvious that every ten-year-old child knows them anyway.<sup>13</sup>

Further issues surround the construction of memory, and the influence of the public on the personal. Much of the discussion of this has taken place amongst those who use interview-based methodologies in the humanities and social sciences. However, the discussion is as relevant to those using written biographical sources, or those who use written primary sources based upon oral sources.

The memory of an event might be reconstructed by popular perceptions, and oral historians such as Dorothy Sheridan favour an approach that emphasises the role of popular memory. She elaborates that:

The appeal of the popular memory perspective for me is that it accepts the integrity of the interviewee but looks to the cultural contexts which mould and

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<sup>12</sup> Alan Baddeley, *The Psychology of Memory*, (New York, 1976), pp. 370 & 374 and George A. Talland, 'Age and the Span of Immediate Recall' in George A. Talland (ed.), *Human Aging and Behavior*, (New York, 1968), pp. 125-7.

<sup>13</sup> Ulric Neisser, 'Memory: What are the Important Questions' and 'Snapshots and Benchmarks' in Ulric Neisser (ed.), *Memory Observed: Remembering in Natural Contexts*, (San Francisco, 1982), p. 11.

influence their testimonies so that a fuller, wider interpretation may be made not only about the past but also about its meaning in the present.<sup>14</sup>

Samuel and Thompson have described how a majority memory (such as disapproval of colonialism) tends to exclude minority memory (such as that of the coloniser). For them the case in the colonial context is of imperial histories ousting those of the subaltern colonised. However, the colonisers' memory might be seen almost as a subaltern one, when set against current negative perceptions of imperialism.<sup>15</sup>

Popular memory further interrelates with many memories, both personal and public. Bertaux has suggested that biography is a bourgeois construct that emphasises 'self' too strongly. If, then, a wider, more public sense of 'biography' is sought, then popular memory has its strength. However, Lummis makes a valid assertion that to imply that popular memory paints over all notions of individual memory is ridiculous. It is especially relevant when considered with reference to working people. That also is perhaps of some relevance to discussions of the influence of the popular culture of imperialism upon working people.<sup>16</sup> Lummis asserts that, '... to assume that working people [or perhaps anyone] are so plastic as to have years of experience transmuted by a few hours of secondhand and false imagery is to exhibit a rather odd view of the mental integrity of ordinary people.' Equally, for Lummis this is very similar to the ideas some have that such people have a 'false consciousness' when they do not rebel or retaliate against seemingly unbearable lives. He relates how the early, enthused perception of oral history, as radical, democratic, and socialist, does not sit comfortably with such seemingly 'conservative' attitudes.<sup>17</sup> That fails to accept these realities for such people, who found rewards and happiness in life, despite difficulties, on their own terms. To deny this is almost to accord them a subaltern status, not in any positive sense of the word.

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<sup>14</sup> Dorothy Sheridan, 'Ambivalent memories: Women and the 1939-45 War in Britain' in *Oral History*, 18, 1, (Spring, 1990), p. 36.

<sup>15</sup> Raphael Samuel and Paul Thompson, *The Myths We Live By*, (London, 1990), p. 19.

<sup>16</sup> John MacKenzie, *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester, 1986)

<sup>17</sup> Daniel Bertaux, 'L'Approche Biographique' in *Cahiers Internationaux de Sociologie*, LXIX, (1980), quoted in Lummis, *Listening to History*, pp. 167-8, and Lummis, pp. 124, 129 & 20.

Although the subalterns' status and roles might now be recognised, to judge them so has all the negative connotations of inferiority that it might imply. It is almost to assume that they cannot perceive their own lives. The idea of popular memory is a useful tool and model to view various influences upon personal memory. It doubtless has a very real influence. It is seldom paramount, however.

Many of the problems within this methodological marriage come from both parties. Narrativity and the idea of 'mythbiography' are further aspects concerning the reliability of memory. Remembering can incorporate a narrative process that gives the recollection of events a self-fulfilling tone. The past is recalled in an order determined by a narrative sequence, as opposed to actual events. To some, the construction of the past is almost entirely mythologised. From William MacNeill's perspective, all history becomes 'mythistory', since history is written for groups, who like to develop internal cohesion and a common identity. The temptation for historians, therefore, is to pander to this need, and to create the past that people want.<sup>18</sup> The process itself becomes wider, and can then be applied to issues of invention in tradition and national identity.<sup>19</sup> Thus, invention is a process that all who investigate the past must be, and generally are, aware of. Samuel and Thompson have suggested that any individual's account, is 'written or oral, more or less dramatically, ... in one sense a personal mythology, or self-justification.'<sup>20</sup> With contemporary attitudes towards colonial rule that is all the more cogent here. In the reconstruction of the past, memories of past attitudes, as Diana Gittins suggests, cannot be tested. They are '...valid for that individual at that time', as in Thompson's categorisation of oral histories as 'psychologically true.' However this process is partly a natural, human one, where:

the individual may fabricate and insert events wherever they are needed to harmonize the remembered with the re-interpreted past ... subjectively, he is

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<sup>18</sup> William MacNeill, *Mythistory and Other Essays*, (Chicago, 1986), pp. 10-17.

<sup>19</sup> Such issues have been dealt with at length in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge, 1983) and Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections of the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London, 1983).

<sup>20</sup> Samuel and Thompson, *The Myths We Live By*, p. 10.

not telling lies about the past but bringing it into line with the truth that, necessarily, embraces both present and past.<sup>21</sup>

To accept these realities that surround historical sources is not to cast an air of despondency over this research. It is only problematic if any source, written or oral, is considered uncritically. An avoidance of literalist readings is necessary here, alongside a constant awareness of how, when, where and why the sources here were constructed. This has been attempted here, so that the sources are used both for the information that they provide on the surface, and for the further information held in the undercurrent that runs beneath and within them.

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<sup>21</sup> Diana Gittins, 'Oral History, Reliability and Recollection' in Louis Moss and Harvey Goldstein (eds.), *The Recall Method in Social Surveys*, (London, 1979), p. 93.

**Scottish missionary experiences in Pakistan**

When viewed through missionary literature from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Scottish missionaries have a self-assured air. In publications they wrote, their work was a beacon for other mission work to follow. Proselytising through education was their initiative. They led the assault upon, and denigrated India's religions, within what they saw as Britain's beneficent rule of India. Material written about Scottish missionaries proclaimed the work of heroes and heroines, narrated their deeds, and described the paternal and maternal overseeing of their Indian converts.

Scottish mission work in Pakistan began in 1857, with the arrival Thomas Hunter, a Church of Scotland missionary who had previously worked in Bombay. Parts of the documentary and oral accounts of his, and subsequent Scottish mission work confirm the portrayals of Scottish missionaries in missionary literature. However, much of what they contain also paints different images, where Scottish missionaries' encounters with the 'other' were more unsettled, with less self-belief at times, and less omnipotence. Here the public face of Scottish missionary enterprise in Pakistan does not reflect the private experiences it represented. Moreover, this portrayal is often an exclusive one. It characterises missionaries from Scottish Presbyterian churches, but does not adequately reflect the experiences of Scottish missionaries outside the Presbyterian churches.

### **3.1 Sources**

The nature of the material that forms these documentary and oral accounts must be considered here. An awareness of who produced these accounts, why, when, and for whom, is constantly necessary, to avoid generalising or literalist interpretations. The context in which Hunter wrote in 1857 was very different from that in which Scottish missionaries wrote in the 1960s, or recounted to me in the 1990s.

Documentary accounts used here are mostly letter books, covering the period between 1827-1929, which form the bulk of the Scottish Foreign Mission Records (SFMR). For Pakistan, the SFMR refer mostly to the Church of Scotland Punjab mission. Much of the archive material, published accounts and oral accounts used here come from this mission body, so it forms the main focus of this chapter. The records continue up to the 1960s, with papers, mostly relating to Murray Christian College – a college attached to the Church of Scotland Punjab mission. Much of the letter books and papers are generally concerned with administrative details concerning the running of the missions, often in regard to administrative complications and problems. Qualitative material is rarer within the letter books, and sometimes present in later papers, but where missionaries broke from their more usual administrative discussions to record their reactions to events around them, this material is all the more powerful because it is so rare. Moreover, this material was for the internal consumption of the Foreign Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland, and so opinions voiced in it often seem more forthright. Correspondents might well have been more guarded when writing for a more public audience.

Published accounts of Scottish mission work were meant for this more public audience, including works by Scottish missionaries outside the Presbyterian fold, such as Henry Holland. Works used here were written between the 1890s and the 1990s. Their tone varied across these decades. Those written in colonial times presented the self-confident and self-congratulatory picture of Scottish mission work in Pakistan. Difficulties were surmounted, and any failings, when admitted, were explained away. Post-independence accounts differed in their tenor. William G. Young's *Days of Small Things* was published by the Rawalpindi Christian Study Centre in 1991. The self-congratulatory side of colonial accounts was largely absent, but the account of Scottish missionaries' work in Pakistan between 1873 and 1885, with a particular focus on one Church of Scotland missionary, William Harper, was always written with the sense that the missionaries had formed the church of which many of the work's readers were part. The account was not panegyric, but neither

was it critical. The original sources used, however, are of much use here. Autobiographies, such as William Young's *Presbyterian Bishop*, and Henry Holland's *Frontier Doctor* are used here with an awareness that they provide personal accounts of an individual's work, and that this may verge towards self-justification at times. In addition their audiences were often those people who worked in the same field – Young's biography was loaned to me by his contemporary in mission work in Pakistan, Mr. Robbie Orr. These works may be written with discretion, as a result, and their words are used critically.

The same danger of self-justification can pervade oral accounts, both an individual's recounting of their experiences and that of others' lives. Here, these include the widest range of missionaries, from the Church of Scotland, the Church Missionary Society (CMS) and Bretheren missionaries, and cover a period from the 1930s to the 1990s. Again, a critical reading of these sources is necessary, although not to the point where everything is discounted as simple 'mythbiography'. The oral sources used here provide valuable qualitative material that is absent from some of the relevant documentary material, as well as the opportunity to directly engage with a source. They are analysed as critically as any other sources here.

### **3.2 Scottish missionaries: conforming to type?**

Three facets of the public portrayal of Scottish missionaries are readily found in documents from the Church of Scotland Punjab Mission - the denigration of the 'other', an adherence to the values and tenets of imperial rule, and a belief in its beneficence. This fits with a considerable body of historical analysis locating all

missionary enterprise firmly within the imperial mindset.<sup>1</sup> Such scholarship was not a part of the creation of the missionary Scot during the colonial period, but Scottish missionaries are implicated in its placing of missionary enterprise within the imperial fold.

The analysis here does not attempt to exonerate missionaries, and whilst material later in this chapter argues that there was never any simple acquiescence towards imperial rule, missionaries were within its sphere. Certain Scottish missionaries, at specific points, embodied some of the values and prejudices of imperial rulers. During the 1890s some saw nationalism as a negative force, glorifying Hinduism, sapping the mental energy of Indians and creating 'sullen or insolent' students in mission schools.<sup>2</sup> By the 1920s the Very Reverend J.N. Ogilvie described Scottish missionary enterprise in paternalistic terms that contributed to the public depiction of those missionaries. He outlined how 'Britain, in the Providence of God, has been and is the guardian of India; but the tie that links the Churches of these two countries together is of a much more tender and intimate kind', where mission work is perhaps providential imperialism with a more human face, during his tour of 'The Indian Fields of the Church of Scotland'.<sup>3</sup> Ogilvie was disconcerted by the emergent nationalism in India, and talked of '... the startling changes that are taking place in India to-day'. Whilst travelling to Lahore with his wife, they were disturbed when Indians dining in the dining car maintained a conversation from one

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<sup>1</sup> Such an approach is found in John Webster's work on Church Missionary Society missionaries in the Punjab between 1880 and 1920, in Andrew Walls' general account of British missionaries, and in Brahm Bharti and T.R. Vedantham's accounts of the political aims of missionary work in India. See John C.B. Webster, 'British Missions in India', in Torben Christensen and William R. Hutchison (eds.), *Missionary Ideologies in the Imperialist Era: 1880-1920*, (Århus, 1982), p. 38; Andrew F. Walls, 'British Missions', in Christensen and Hutchison (eds.), *Missionary Ideologies in the Imperialist Era: 1880-1920*, p. 164; Brahm D. Bharti, 'Political Roots of Christianity in India', *Manthan*, Vol. 4, No. 3, (May 1982), p. 86 and T.R. Vedantham, 'Church as a Tool of Imperialism in the Modern World', *Manthan*, Vol. 4, No. 3, (May 1982), p. 89, quoted in J.H. Proctor, 'Scottish Missionaries in India: An Inquiry into Motivation', in *South Asia: Journal of South Asian Studies*, Vol. XIII, No. 1, (1990), p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Proctor, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-8.

<sup>3</sup> J.N. Ogilvie, D.D., *An Indian Pilgrimage: Travel Notes of a visit to the Indian Fields of the Church of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1922), p. 238.

end of the carriage to the other. Thus the Europeans present were unable to speak, so that:

The car was theirs and theirs only - right of speech belonged to none but them! ... Truly this was a "New India" with a vengeance ! One is glad to record that the episode remained unique of its kind throughout our Indian tour, but it made its contribution to the 'atmosphere'.<sup>4</sup>

For Ogilvie, nationalism of this kind was a worrying phenomenon. There was a distinction to be made in his mind between 'racialism' and 'nationalism', where the Nationalist Movement embodied the former, influencing:

... the people of the villages and the lower classes in the towns, ... those most easily influenced by the political agitator or the racial fanatic ... This is not *Nationalism*. It is *Racialism*. Nationalism at its best is a mighty force for good; Racialism is never anything but a power for evil.<sup>5</sup>

The best nationalists were those who would wait until India was ready to rule herself. However Ogilvie was further troubled by calls from 'extremists' for an Indian church, separate from the metropole. These extremists '... would hasten the dissolution of the time-honoured bond' between the Church of Scotland and its mission churches in India.<sup>6</sup>

To Gillmore T. Carter, a Church of Scotland missionary in Chamba writing in 1928, the Indians were equally incapable of ruling themselves. With regard to the complexities of the purchase of the Jammu Mission School, he related how:

That is real 'Swaraj' [self rule] and an example of how everything is done when it is left to them.

And they think that they can run the country !! They can't even run a town !<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 8 and 12-13.

<sup>5</sup> *ibid.*, p. 232.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 232-237 and 31-32.

<sup>7</sup> Gillmore T. Carter, Letter of February 7th 1928 from Chamba, Scottish Foreign Mission Records, National Library of Scotland, (hereafter S.F.M.R) MS7609 (Letter book of letters from missionaries of the Church of Scotland in the Punjab, 1918, 1923 & 1924), p. 181.

Nationalism had only one benefit in that it occasionally acted for the greater good of the mission enterprise. Robert McChayne Paterson, a Church of Scotland missionary in Gujrat, wrote of how :

You will be glad to hear that all is quiet in India. Gandhi is now delicate & not fit for political activity which is a blessing to us all ! ... P.S. What a number of Hindus & Sikhs are reading the Word of God ! It is grand. They have been urged to do so by Mr. Gandhi. That is one good thing he has done for India at any rate & we are grateful for this !<sup>8</sup>

In this light, such Scottish missionaries never seemed to doubt their racial superiority – a part of the denigration of the ‘other’ within public representations of Scottish missionaries. In 1896, the Reverend John F.W. Youngson looked back on his church’s mission work in the Punjab. For him there was quite clearly a delineation between the convert before and after conversion, but such conversion only elevated the convert so far. Describing Mohamet Ismael, a convert who worked with Thomas Hunter, the Church of Scotland’s first missionary in the Punjab, he wrote:

Mohamet Ismael was a Saiyid, a descendant of Mohammed himself, with a fiery, impulsive Arab nature. Under the power of the Word of God, however, he became a man of wise zeal, manifesting in his after career remarkable self-sacrifice and devoted piety.<sup>9</sup>

Despite Mohamet Ismael’s central importance to mission work in the Punjab following Hunter’s murder in 1857, Youngson’s racial outlook taints this description of him - it is ‘remarkable’, almost, that such a man can be capable of showing such ‘self-sacrifice and devoted piety.’ In contrast, he quoted a lady missionary in the Punjab who described the Sikhs as ‘... the true gentle-folk and nobility of the land ... both physically and mentally. They are loyal to the English, most brave, most

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<sup>8</sup> Robert McChayne Paterson, Letter of 20th February 1924 from Gujrat, S.F.M.R., MS7609, p. 114.

<sup>9</sup> John F.W. Youngson D.D., *Forty Years of the Panjab Mission of the Church of Scotland, 1855-1895*, (Edinburgh, 1896), p. 79. The spelling of Mohamet Ismael’s name varies, and the variations in each source are replicated here.

courteous, without cringing, so often the accompaniment of less well-strung nations in India”’. However the ultimate reason that they were praised, in these racial terms, was that their ‘ “... interesting and touching ... [religion] ... has so many strange lights and foreshadowings of the Great Revelation ... Surely they are a chosen people.” ’<sup>10</sup> For Dr. Hutchison, the people of Chamba in the 1880s were ‘ “a simple race, remarkably tractable and docile” ’.<sup>11</sup> Such peoples were racially inferior, only to be lifted through their submission to imperial rule, and Christianity. Nor was such a racial tone by any means exclusive to the nineteenth century. In considering the future of Murray College in Sialkot, an unnamed source wrote in 1917 of how only the high castes should be targeted for evangelistic purposes. Through education, ‘... there is an influence which is gradually undermining the non-Christian religions and bringing the high caste peoples nearer Christianity’, and whilst there was a need to target the low castes since ‘... the great majority of village Christians are Christian only in name’, this was qualified by the fact that ‘On the whole the mental calibre of low caste children does not enable them to profit by higher education, while their heredity and environment makes them better suited to industrial work’ such as the recently organised government weaving schools.<sup>12</sup> Such attitudes were still pervasive in later decades. In 1942, a letter asked of an Indian staff member of Murray College:

I have an enquiry of a confidential kind in regard to Dr. Reggie Thomas of Murray College. Can you tell me something about him ? I know that he is not a European. Is he pure Indian ? I presume he is a Christian, possibly a Syrian Christian. Is he single or married ? What does he teach and how long has he been on the staff ? ... I may say that the enquiry is from an outside source altogether and has nothing to do with the Committee’s business.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>11</sup> H.F. Lechmere Taylor, *In the Land of the Five Rivers: A Sketch of the Work of the Church of Scotland in the Panjab*, (Edinburgh & London, 1906), p. 77.

<sup>12</sup> Author unknown, Paper G on the future of Murray College, no date circa 1917 (in a folder of Murray College papers from 1917-1928, surrounded by letters from 1917 and 1918), S.F.M.R., ACC7548/D17. Accessions in the S.F.M.R. (marked ‘ACC’) are not paginated, hence there are no page references here.

<sup>13</sup> Letter to Dr. Angus Nicholson, 18th June 1942, S.F.M.R., ACC7548/157B.

In 1928 William Lillie wrote to Mr. McLachlan requesting a European headmaster for Murray College to fulfil its potential since ‘... although I do not reckon it an important factor, a European would be much more a *persona grata* to the non-Christian public of Sialkot than the average Indian Christian.’<sup>14</sup> In such instances as these it might seem safe to conclude that Scottish missionaries in the Punjab, as with some of their British colleagues elsewhere in India, barely questioned the basis of the imperial rule they operated under, both in terms of its rationale and its racial ideologies.

However, these attitudes did not represent all Scottish missionaries at all times. Orientalist attitudes were very real and prevalent, but missionaries’ interactions with the ‘other’ did question their self-belief. In one instance here, orientalist prejudice seems just as much rooted in angry reactions resulting from administrative difficulties, which, in turn, may not represent overall outlooks. Gillmore T. Carter’s cutting appraisal of the Indians’ capability of self-government quoted above represents an instance of orientalist prejudice without doubt. However, a literalist reading would discount a sense that its tone comes as much from such administrative difficulties, as it does any deep-seated prejudice. The remark was prompted by Carter’s anger when the owner of the school buildings, which the mission was trying to purchase, had just agreed to sell to someone else, although ‘... he could have come to some arrangement’ if they ‘... could put down some money’.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> William Lillie to Mr. MacLachlan, 7th February 1928, S.F.M.R., MS7609, p. 160.

<sup>15</sup> Gillmore T. Carter, Letter of February 7th 1928 from Chamba, S.F.M.R., MS7609 (Letter book of letters from missionaries of the Church of Scotland in the Punjab, 1918, 1923 & 1924), p. 181.

**3.3 Reinforcing religious identities:  
linking metropole and mission station**  
**(see Figure 6)**

For Church of Scotland missionaries, the self-belief that is apparent in the public portrayal of Scottish missionaries was reinforced by strong links with Scotland, and the role they played as ministers to expatriate Scots in Pakistan. Missionaries wrote accounts of their work, which were widely read and had their effect. These books inspired many of the missionaries interviewed here, and would rally recruits. Youngson asked in 1895:

One word may be said of a different import, which is that Scotland, and especially the Church of Scotland, is lamentably slow to send her daughters to India. Do the daughters of Scotland love Christ less or their country more?<sup>16</sup>

His clarion call must have had some effect, since by 1906, nineteen of the thirty missionaries of the Church of Scotland in the Punjab were women missionaries.<sup>17</sup> For these missionaries, furlough spent in Scotland was never a time for simple relaxation. The duty of missionaries would be to tour churches outlining their mission work, in order to raise awareness and funds. Correspondence between Mr. MacLachlan and William Scott in 1924 outlined his visits all around Scotland for these purposes. There was deputation work at Calderhead and Hamilton Presbytery, a meeting to be addressed at Galashiels, and appointments with the Arbroath Missionary Campaign, the Annual Meeting of Linlithgow Presbyterial Auxiliary, the Kelso Presbytery Meeting and the Children's Missionary Meeting at the General Assembly Hall, amongst others.<sup>18</sup> Kirks in Scotland also played a

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<sup>16</sup> Youngson, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

<sup>17</sup> Lechmere Taylor, *In the Land of the Five Rivers: A Sketch of the Work of the Church of Scotland in the Panjab*, pp. 165-166.

<sup>18</sup> Letters from Mr. MacLachlan to William Scott of 8th January, 15th January, 23rd January, 4th March, 18th March, 25th March, 24th April, 26th April, 29th April and 1st May 1924 in S.F.M.R., MS7589 (Letter book of 1924), pp. 61, 112, 194, 544, 830, 845, 883.

**Figure 6**

**Replicating the kirk overseas**



**Exterior and interior of Hunter Memorial Church  
Barah Patthar, Sialkot, Punjab, Pakistan**

central role in supporting catechists in Pakistan. Scott was further called upon to visit one such kirk - St. Clement's in Dundee:

Perhaps you know that St. Clement's has for a good many years supported a Catechist in Sialkot District. He used to be Fateh Din, but I understand it is a new man now. I rather think that you wrote to St. Clement's some time ago about the new man, but I can't remember the name. They are very mindful of their Catechist, as not only do they send the money for his support regularly, but they usually send him a personal gift about Christmas or New Year time.

In the congregation there is a very interested elder, a Mr James Peter, who "runs" the Parish Missionary Association, and every quarter sends me a contribution from it. He is, I think, just a working man, and if you get the opportunity of being introduced to him, you might give him a word of encouragement and thanks.<sup>19</sup>

In more recent times furlough work was much the same - Dr. Marie Ogilvie remembered how her parents would go on deputation work when they returned to Scotland from Jalalpur, throughout the late 1940s until 1965:

... all missionaries they had patrons in this country, they still do, and they would write letters home describing their work and of course my father would have to make reports all the time to 121 George Street, the Headquarters of the Church of Scotland, the Foreign Mission Committee that sent them out to work, but they would certainly keep in contact with the local groups that were supporting them by letter, and then when they came home on furlough they, I mean most of the year that they had on furlough was not holiday, it was deputation work. My father, I can remember later on when I was at school in Edinburgh, my father when he came home on furlough would have a short break with us but then he had to travel round speaking at meetings and, and raising support for, you know, they raised money for the new nurses' home and whatever he would talk at all this all the missionaries did that, and still do.<sup>20</sup>

Moreover, the needs of expatriate Presbyterians was another side to reinforcing these ties, right from the establishment of the Church of Scotland mission in Sialkot in 1857, when Hunter wrote:

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<sup>19</sup> Letter from Mr. MacLachlan to William Scott of 25th February 1924 in S.F.M.R., MS7589 (Letter book of 1924), p. 420.

<sup>20</sup> Interview with Dr. Marie Ogilvie, 1st August 1996, SA1996.62, p. 2.

The last part of my work which I mention is ministrations to Presbyterians. As yet, I have had no favourable opportunity afforded for conducting this important matter in a way worthy of a minister of the Church of Scotland; consequently there is no Presbyterian service in the station. I am grieved to see the utter neglect of Scotch soldiers, and feel that you also must sympathise with them.<sup>21</sup>

In the early 1920s, J.N. Ogilvie had a similar attitude, outlining his visit to India in purely Scottish terms. His book was an account of the Church of Scotland's work in India. He relates his '“Marching Orders”' to visit India, of how he is to see '... so far as may be possible, every Mission station of our Church, every Scottish congregation, every Scottish regiment', since for these Scots:

“... whether in the great cities or the isolated districts, whether engaged in commerce or in the service of the State, whether men of peace or men of war-to all alike give a message of warm regard from the old Church at home, in whose heart these sons and daughters of Scotland have a place from which they will never be dislodged.”<sup>22</sup>

For Ogilvie, chaplaincy work was an important matter. Whilst in Karachi no 'direct missionary work' was carried out, although '...there has been a kirk and a chaplain ministering to the Scottish residents, and to any others who might feel an affinity for the Scottish service.' It was not a question of the importance of this work in relation to mission work - they were one in the same since:

Indirectly but very truly they are essentially “missionary” in their influence for their aim is to maintain in the Scot abroad the high principle and the religious outlook on men and things that are traditional in Scotland, and are a positive power for Christ in every land where they are found.

Ogilvie even had a formula for the success of chaplaincy work - 'For a Scottish chaplaincy in India to be entirely successful three things are more or less essential.' For him these were firstly an attractive church where 'the average man'

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<sup>21</sup> Letter of Thomas Hunter to Dr. Craik of 28th February 1857, quoted in Youngson, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

<sup>22</sup> J.N. Ogilvie, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

would want to worship, and secondly ‘... a chaplain who is a man’s man, who can be in the world without being swallowed by it’, and who has ‘a message to preach’ and an ability to do it ‘at least moderately well’. Finally there must be ‘... a Scottish community sufficiently numerous to contain a nucleus of Scottish men and women, who are willing to feel and act towards the Kirk just as they did before they sailed away to India.’<sup>23</sup>

Many Scots in secular life in Pakistan kept such ties. Military chaplaincy work was prominent in Sialkot during the nineteenth century. When a Corresponding Board was set up there in 1861, it consisted not only of the missionaries in the field, but also included local officials of prominence and Scottish army chaplains and officers of Scottish regiments stationed in Sialkot.<sup>24</sup> When such a symbolic event occurred as the laying of the foundation stone of the Hunter Memorial Church, dedicated to the Church of Scotland’s ‘martyr’ from 1857, the chaplain of the 71st Highland Light Infantry was there.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, one prominent missionary, William Ferguson, had himself been a chaplain to troops in the Crimea, and (doubtless appropriately to many, given Hunter’s ‘martyrdom’) the chaplain of the 79th Highlanders during the Relief of Lucknow.<sup>26</sup> William Harper had taken parade services in 1874 when the 5th Lancers were in Sialkot, and found the loss of a government grant of Rs100 when they left ‘“.. a serious pecuniary loss to the Mission.”’. He had also undertaken chaplaincy duties for the Reverend James Lillie, an army chaplain, when he was on furlough in the summer of 1877. The Reverend Mr. Lillie himself was on the Corresponding Board from 1876-1878. Harper further carried out chaplaincy work in 1881 in Sialkot, and here the opportunity of evangelism can be seen. There was a parade on Sundays, and a weekly prayer meeting on Wednesday evenings. By 1882 Harper was pleased to

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<sup>23</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

<sup>24</sup> William G. Young, *Days of Small Things*, (Rawalpindi, 1991), p. 4.

<sup>25</sup> Youngson, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

<sup>26</sup> Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-51.

report that fifteen men had ‘... stood up and for the first time acknowledged Christ, and their determination to lead a new life.’<sup>27</sup>

Military chaplaincy also continued into the twentieth century. In the 1920s, Ogilvie still found such loyalty, when in Lahore ‘... on a Sunday morning some forty Scots, mostly in the Air Force, paraded for service in the hall of the Y.M.C.A. buildings’. To Ogilvie, the size of the kirk there would be insufficient should a Scottish regiment be stationed in Lahore.<sup>28</sup>

Scots outwith the military could also show such loyalty. Harper recorded how ‘Europeans’ in Sialkot had given the Mission fifty-nine pounds, and civilians in Murree requested chaplaincy in 1878 and 1882, but were turned down for want of a spare missionary to do this work. Only in 1899 was Robert McCheyne Paterson spared to take some services in Murree.<sup>29</sup>

Once in the new environment, for some missionaries there was some nostalgia for home, but their Scottish identity was often manifested more in a religious, as opposed to a secular, context. These Scottish missionaries did not form an expatriate community that clung to Scottish cultural expressions as, for example, jute wallahs from Dundee might in Calcutta. When William Scott related how he was a guest at a St. Andrew’s Dinner in Sialkot along with a WS from Edinburgh attached to the Yorkshire Regiment, he wrote that:

This is the first St. Andrew Dinner I have ever been at in India, and it is the first I have known to be held in Sialkot. The General is a Presbyterian & a

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<sup>27</sup> *Minute Book of the Transactions of the Corresponding Board of the Church of Scotland Mission at Sialkot*, November 15th 1877 (no page); *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland*, 1875, p. 257; *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland*, 1882, pp. 94-95; *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland*, 1883, p. 74 & *Minute Book of the Transactions of the Corresponding Board of the Church of Scotland Mission at Sialkot*, February 20th 1878, August 18th 1882 and December 29th 1898, all quoted in Young, *Days of Small Things*, pp. 52-54.

<sup>28</sup> J.N. Ogilvie, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69.

<sup>29</sup> Minute books and reports as quoted in note 45, quoted in Young, *Days of Small Things*, pp. 52-54.

firm Churchman & earnest man & he presided at the Dinner 25 in all being present from different Regiments. It was as Chaplain I was invited.<sup>30</sup>

It is worth noting here that this dinner was a military affair, and not in anyway mission-orchestrated, and further that Scott notes his work in Sialkot as a chaplain, in all probability to Scottish regiments there.

### **3.4 Missionary children and Presbyterian identity**

The strong Scottish Presbyterian missionary identity also extended to the education of missionary children. The children of missionaries such as Dr. Ogilvie and Peter Scott would often be housed and educated in a mission environment. This was the case both in the mission station, and if educated away from their parents in Scotland, where Cunningham House, a home for missionaries' children run by the Church of Scotland, was used. Dr. Ogilvie was left in Scotland when her parents returned after her father's furlough was completed in December 1952. She lived at Cunningham House and attended Easdale, a school for ministers' daughters in Edinburgh. Both Dr. Ogilvie and a fellow pupil, who was also a missionary's daughter, were funded by a scholarship left in memory of a former student by her husband. Although Peter Scott attended a Roman Catholic primary school in Sialkot, once in Scotland, in the 1950s, he lived in Cunningham House whilst attending George Watson's School in Edinburgh. The education of children could represent a crisis of conscience for missionaries outwith this Presbyterian identity, however, since their children had never pledged themselves to a life of mission work. Henry Holland, with the C.M.S., wrote of how:

The problem of providing adequate education for their children is a very real one for missionaries working on small salaries and with no private means. The question of sacrifice goes deep at this point. One may sacrifice oneself in being true to a missionary vocation and be willing that one's children should

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<sup>30</sup> William Scott to Mr. MacLachlan, December 13th 1917, S.F.M.R., ACC7548/D17.

choose to go abroad, when qualified; but whose is the sacrifice if missionaries' children do not receive the education to which as citizens they are entitled? Is it the missionaries' or the children's?<sup>31</sup>

### **3.5 Less self-confidence: self-identities and inter denominational rivalry**

For all that some aspects of these Scottish missionaries conform to parts of their public portrayal, and for all religious identity was reinforced through ties between metropole and mission station, extant letters from missionaries in the field, and accounts written in retrospect, reveal a more complex picture. Here, an unsettling process of cultural interaction takes place. This questions a portrayal of Scottish missionary work that is too bound up in an asymmetry of power, where Scottish missionaries are omnipotent. This is as true for their interaction with other missionary bodies –for which they provided a beacon, according to their public portrayal - as it is for their interaction with the 'other'. Although Scottish missionaries had a strong loyalty to their kirk or denomination, and their faith, the unsettling effects of competition from others, and of challenges from Pakistani cultures, should not be dismissed, especially across the colonial rule of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Moreover, these Scottish missionaries must not be considered as an amorphous block across a period of over a hundred years. The changed realities between colonial and post-independence Pakistan meant that missionaries' outlooks and expectations of this interaction with Pakistani culture varied. Amidst colonial rule, Pakistani culture could unsettle a self-belief in missionaries' values, whereas later missionaries who came to Pakistan as independence approached often engaged with Pakistanis and their culture on different terms as the dynamics of power were shifting. This change, from some accounts, was not always forced, but was described as a conscious aim. In all, the presence of this change through contact

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<sup>31</sup> Henry Holland, *Frontier Doctor: An Autobiography*, (London, 1958), pp. 152-153.

with the 'other' is crucial, however it took place. It questions binary and essentialist representations of Scottish mission work.

Competition from other missionary bodies unsettled the Church of Scotland mission in the Punjab almost from its very beginning, especially since Thomas Hunter had not come to uncharted waters in 1857. Missionary contact with the Punjab had begun in 1834, when an American Presbyterian missionary, Reverend John Lowrie, began to work in Ludhiana. The Sikh ruler of the Punjab, Ranjit Singh, invited him to teach English to his children and those of his nobles, but Lowrie refused when he was forbidden to teach from the Bible. However, the American Presbyterians were able to establish themselves in Lahore in 1849. In 1849 further missionary work was encouraged, under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.), when Sir Henry Lawrence, the Resident and Agent in the Punjab, sent a letter of welcome to missionaries and established a subscription of five hundred pounds a year for missionary work. The British army also had its own Anglican army chaplains in the Punjab. In 1852 further mission activity came with the C.M.S. in Amritsar (and in Karachi in Sind), and American United Presbyterian missionaries came to Sialkot in 1855.

It was only at this point that Thomas Hunter arrived in Sialkot in January 1857, having been in Bombay from late 1855.<sup>32</sup> Even at this stage the question of comity - of individual missions' spheres of work - was a central issue and one that remains up to the present day. When writing to the Convenor in January 1857, and talking of his work, Thomas Hunter made his prejudice against other non Protestant denominations clear. However, Hunter initially hoped that he could co-operate with fellow Presbyterians, although the primacy of the interests of his own work is clear:

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<sup>32</sup> Harbans Singh, 'Foreigners at the Court of Ranjit Singh' in *The Panjab Past and Present*, Vol XIV Part II, (October 1980), p. 109 quoted in (Author unknown), *History of Kinnaird College* (draft), kindly loaned by the Principal of Kinnaird College, Miss Phailbus, pp. 3-4. Also William G. Young, *Presbyterian Bishop*, (London, 1995), p.19.

It is true that since the proposal to occupy this place was brought before you a Jesuit priest and three nuns have settled in the vicinity: with this, however, we have nothing to do; these persons profess to have come for the benefit (!) of Europeans.

There was one circumstance which caused me for a considerable time to hesitate; I have now proved my fears groundless. After the desirableness of possessing Sialkot was discussed, I was informed that three American Presbyterian missionaries were located near the city. This, however, instead of proving an objection, is likely to be a great advantage. We can heartily cooperate, and enjoy the results of their Christian as well as missionary experience. They are also about three miles away on the farther side of town ; so that they cannot interfere with our operations. They are likely to be of service.<sup>33</sup>

A month later Hunter was already worried about the health of the Church's mission enterprise, and angry at the support of Catholicism, when his church had not received the same support:

It is useless to disguise the fact that, in the Panjab, Presbyterianism is officially extinct. We cannot but lament, that when the Honourable East India Company recognised Roman Catholicism by supporting the priests, the Established Church of Scotland was quietly set aside. I feel unable, at this time, to give the prominence demanded by this great subject, but can only advert to what I must consider a grievance of no ordinary character.<sup>34</sup>

Three months after this Hunter was already suspicious of the American United Presbyterians' incursions:

Our friends of the American mission are making great efforts to possess the very spot I seek, viz, a school in the centre of the Bazaar. They have done much already in reclaiming, but I naturally wish also to have a share.<sup>35</sup>

Hunter and his family were murdered on July 9th, 1857 by escaped prisoners from Sialkot gaol. His desire that the Mission should claim its share and defend its interest was reasonable enough given subsequent incursions regarding comity that the

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<sup>33</sup> Thomas Hunter in a letter to the Convenor, January 24th 1857 in Youngson, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-93.

<sup>34</sup> Thomas Hunter in a letter to Dr. Craik of 25th February 1857, quoted in Youngson, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

<sup>35</sup> Thomas Hunter in a letter to Mr. Cook of 25th March 1857, S.F.M.R., MS7618, p. 228.

mission records allude to. By July 1857 Robert A. Hill, a missionary of the Association Presbyterian Church in America, requested that Mahomed Ismail, who had come from Bombay with Thomas Hunter as an assistant, should be employed in their mission. He promised that ‘... I will endeavour to carry on, to the best of my ability, the same system of instruction with a view to the Ministry which had been commenced by Mr. Hunter.’<sup>36</sup> However, by 1860 American missionaries became more belligerent, and requested that the Church of Scotland mission in the Punjab should not be resumed.<sup>37</sup> At this time, John Taylor and Robert Paterson had been ordained as new missionaries for Sialkot, and the mission restarted.

The issue of other missions’ actions or successes was a frequent worry for the Church of Scotland missions. Despite the self-confident public image, there were doubts. In 1875, William Harper lamented others’ success:

When we look around us upon other missions, with their aggressive policy, energy, and compass of work, we feel ashamed. Our field is large and important, but it is gradually being circumscribed by other missions, and many important positions are slipping from our grasp simply because we have not men to hold them.

He elaborated on how these failings have meant that the ‘... American missionaries, alive to the importance of the position, have marched straight through our field of operations and occupied this city’, referring to Jhelum, which to his mind had been recognised as a part of the field of his fellow Church of Scotland missionaries in Gujrat. By March 1875, though, Harper exuded more confidence since he hoped to see a man baptised in the following week who ‘... was formerly a student of the American Mission School, but as he attributed his Christian awakening to our agents, he has ever wished to cast in his lot with us.’<sup>38</sup> Only in 1885 was an agreement fixed between the American United Presbyterians and the

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<sup>36</sup> Robert A. Hill to The Reverend G. Cook of the Mission Board in Bombay, 27th July 1857, S.F.M.R., MS7618, p. 258.

<sup>37</sup> Youngson, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-113.

<sup>38</sup> William Harper in the *Reports of the Schemes of the Church of Scotland*, 1875, quoted in William G. Young, *Days of Small Things*, (Rawalpindi, 1991), pp. 4 & 24 .

Church of Scotland missionaries as to their respective areas.<sup>39</sup> However this failed to calm the worries of the Church of Scotland missionaries, with the Reverend John Youngson needing the reassurances from Scotland that he would not have to secede any of 'his' twenty-one villages to the Americans.<sup>40</sup> In 1887 the problem still persisted. Mr. J. MacLagan wrote to Youngson about the situation in Daska, where despite an agreement of 1862 the American United Presbyterians still had some grievances. MacLagan wrote that '... it is of importance that we should know whether the American mission has ever attempted to work in the district.'<sup>41</sup>

By this time, the Church of Scotland mission work shifted its emphasis from the mission compound, where converts would live along with missionaries, to an emphasis on Christian schools and itineration in order to win village converts. Indian converts like the Reverend Nathu Mall had begun to work outwith the high castes in the villages, and following the conversion of Ditt in 1873 from the 'depressed class people' and his subsequent evangelising in his home village, converts came from such 'depressed classes'. Not all the missionaries agreed with such a focus, but the numbers of converts definitely increased, from a total community of 102 in the Church of Scotland mission in 1882, to 5,000 by 1885. Numbers further increased to 15,000 by 1915 and to 20,000 by 1947.

With this expansion, the question of comity was once more relevant. Whilst most Protestant missions adhered to their limits, including new missions like the American Methodist Episcopal mission, the American Associate Reformed Presbyterian and the Salvation Army, other groups such as the Brethren, Seventh Day Adventists and those that stressed believer's baptism did not. In 1947, more denominational and non-denominational missions began to arrive in Pakistan. Many of the latter, such as the Pentecostals, did not accept comity.<sup>42</sup> In such an

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<sup>39</sup> *Minute Book of the Transactions of the Corresponding Board of the Church of Scotland Mission at Sealkote*, August 10th 1887, quoted in William G. Young, *Days of Small Things*, p. 84.

<sup>40</sup> Mr. McMurtie to The Reverend John F.W. Youngson, 21st June 1888, S.F.M.R., MS7534, p. 384.

<sup>41</sup> Mr. J. MacLagan to The Reverend John F.W. Youngson, 23rd November 1887, S.F.M.R., MS7549 (Letter book of 1887-8), p. 235.

<sup>42</sup> Young, *Presbyterian Bishop*, pp. 19 & 21.

environment, encroachment was common and competition keen. In 1933 William Scott wrote of how 'The R.C.'s have no end of money and they are using it freely in the Colony and doing their best to injure the work ... [they] had found an opening in several villages and were strengthening their hold.' However the situation was at least sweetened by the restoration of several American United Presbyterian villages to the Church of Scotland mission, which had been lost around eight or ten years before.<sup>43</sup>

Aside from the bartering of such whole villages as if they were simple property, and the cultural outlook this indicates, inter mission rivalry had always been a serious issue, just as often expressed in terms of 'one upmanship'. For Harper, in 1875, it was at least heartening that his mission's schools '... hold the foremost position in the eyes of the natives' since the 'wealthy and leading men of the city' send their children there. However it was '... chiefly the poorer classes of boys' who attend the American mission schools.<sup>44</sup> Decades later the quality of converts was a cause for a sense of superiority. Robert McCheyne Paterson proudly proclaimed how:

Our Self support padre Mahtel Din is preparing his 4th Village for baptism - numbering 33 souls !! That's how they enter the Kingdom. Most of them wd. in other Missions be admitted for Communion at once : but we find this is a fatal mistake for uneducated farm servants. Far better have a small Communion Roll & have the men really living an exalted spiritual life than making the holy table "a common or unclean thing" No No ! each Continent must have its own separate principles & be guided by them. We have many stages before Communion is reached as we have many before baptism is reached.<sup>45</sup>

A sense of superiority was clear, but in later times keeping up with the competition's pace could prove costly. In 1961, Leslie Scott described how:

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<sup>43</sup> William Scott, 7th December 1933, S.F.M.R., MS7609, pp. 164-165.

<sup>44</sup> William Harper in the *Minute Book of the Transactions of the Corresponding Board of the Church of Scotland Mission at Sealkote*, January 16th 1875, quoted in William G. Young, *Days of Small Things*, p. 14.

<sup>45</sup> Robert McCheyne Paterson in a letter of 11th July 1924, in S.F.M.R., MS7609, p. 146.

Reggie's ideas are a little grand - put up buildings, make a show, spend money. And he has two wealthy American colleges getting and spending lots of money not only on building but also sending their staff to America and other places. It is difficult to sit still and look at that going on.<sup>46</sup>

### **3.6 More cracks in the plaster: lukewarm loyalties, compromises and collaboration**

It was not only the fear of other missions' encroachment that threatened missionaries of the Church of Scotland, questioning their self-confident public face. Not all secular Scots felt this strong tie to their mother church. In 1857, Hunter was forced to concede that:

The Presbyterian question appears to be settled, and the humiliating answer must be given, Scotch chaplains are not wanted. Our countrymen prefer the English church, and with a very few exceptions object to any appearance of dissent !! in the Protestant church !!! The Episcopal Church here is a beautiful structure. It is much indebted for its beauty to the generosity of Scotchmen while the builder and the largest subscriber is a member of the Established Ch. of Scotland. Your friend Major Hamilton of Mooltan is Secy to the Building fund of a new English Church at Mooltan. Unless I get work on Sabbath I am compelled to attend the English Church. This, you may know, I am unwilling to do.<sup>47</sup>

For many, their Presbyterian identity only came to the fore at the time of a rite of passage, as with Willie and Margaret Browns' marriage in St. Andrew's Kirk in Karachi in the 1950s.<sup>48</sup>

Furthermore, these same missionaries did have to concede that Presbyterianism was not exclusively Scottish. Ogilvie preached to 'Over a hundred

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<sup>46</sup> Leslie Scott to The Reverend I.M. Paterson (Asia Sub Secretary of the Foreign Mission Committee), 3rd May 1961, in S.F.M.R., ACC7548/159B.

<sup>47</sup> Thomas Hunter to Mr. Cook, 25th March 1857, in S.F.M.R., MS7618, p. 228.

<sup>48</sup> This was described in conversation with Mrs. Brown.

stalwart Ulster Presbyterians .. men from the Inniskillings, and to them I had pleasure in giving a cordial greeting from their Church's Mother Church - the Scottish Kirk.<sup>49</sup> Equally, although Scottish Presbyterian missions publicly proclaimed their innate Scottishness as their strength, several of their missionaries were not Scots. Mary Reid was anxious to give adequate credentials so she could work for the Punjab mission. This in turn reflected the strength of the public image of Scottish Presbyterian mission work – Reid deduced that she would have to prove herself to such leading lights. She wrote of how:

Your committee may not care to have a Church of England member staying at and helping the Mission - But I am an Evangelical and my grandparents were Scotch Church and a Covenanter (Donald Cargill) hanged in the Edinburgh Grassmarket was an ancestor.<sup>50</sup>

However, their action in accepting Reid reflected the compromises behind their public face in the realities of mission work. There were further compromises in the membership of the Corresponding Board at Dalhousie (the Punjab hill station named after the Scottish Governor-General between 1847 and 1856) in 1878. Mr. MacLagan wrote to Hutchison, stating that:

... it would be preferable to have Presbyterians though even in larger stations this is not always possible. When I was in Madras the Chairman of the Free Church Financial Board was an Episcopalian, and I was one of its members.<sup>51</sup>

Equally, one prominent missionary dynasty within the mission was not Scottish. Wellesley Bailey, an Irish Presbyterian, founded a dynasty of missionaries just as the Scotts did. Bailey's son, T. Grahame Bailey, came as a Church of Scotland missionary to the Punjab in 1885 and was noted for his command of Punjabi, and his son, W. Grahame, came as a Church of Scotland missionary in 1940. The Bailey's first daughter was the wife of Dr. Lechmere Taylor, the author

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<sup>49</sup> J.N. Ogilvie, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

<sup>50</sup> Mary Reid to Miss Nelson, May 29th 1929, S.F.M.R., MS7634, pp. 74-76.

<sup>51</sup> Mr. J. MacLagan to Dr. John Hutchison, 29th August 1878, S.F.M.R., MS7542, p. 728.

referred to here, and founder of Jalalpur Hospital, and Wellesley C. Bailey's wife raised the money for the building of the church at Jalalpur.<sup>52</sup>

One missionary interviewed here also described how a Scottish identity was not central to her family's life in Pakistan. For Andrea Holland it was the case that:

... I think we were more British than Scottish ... we didn't have a, I mean I know when my brother went to Africa the Caledonian Society was very important but we didn't have that.

The Hollands generally socialised with a group of doctors who were mostly Pakistani, and who had qualified in Britain.<sup>53</sup> This group included some who had qualified in Edinburgh. Mrs. Scott related how:

... we were definitely Church of Scotland and then beside us there were American missionaries, two different lots of Americans, there were the American U.P. and the American A.P. and I think the American U.P. you would say were more akin to us in their Presbyterian type of services ... we got to know them pretty well and they were always very sociable and they had the Annual General Meetings when they would invite us to come for an evening for dinner and entertainment once a year those of us who were local. ... [we were] quite independent as mission bodies, no connection in the work but all doing the same work ... we didn't what should we say compete with one another we were all doing our own thing.<sup>54</sup>

Whilst Mrs. Scotts' remarks may be seen as brushing over inter denominational rivalries, they better reflect the realities of mission work, and the need for collaboration, in post-independence Pakistan, with its new circumstances of

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<sup>52</sup> The Scotts were a prolific missionary family. William Scott served from 1891 for a further forty-five years. His son was Leslie Scott of Murray College, and his daughter E.M. Scott served from 1933-1967. A third son, the Reverend William Scott served in Kalimpong, whilst their aunt, a contemporary of the elder William Scott, served for 39 years. For background on the Baileys see Young, *Days of Small Things*, p. 117.

<sup>53</sup> Interview with Mrs. Andrea Holland (widow of Dr. Harry Holland) 31st July 1997, SA1997.97, pp. 14-15.

<sup>54</sup> Interview with Mrs. M.M. Scott (Church of Scotland missionary in Barah Patthar, Chamba, and Murray College, Sialkot, between 1937 and the early 1960's. Mrs. Scott is the wife of the late The Reverend Leslie Scott. The Scott family worked as missionaries in India for three generations, and her son Mr. P. Scott (born in Pakistan in 1949), spent some of his childhood there, Friday, 27th March, 1997. SA1997.85 & 86, pp. 9-10.

power. However, co-operation was not new. The Church of Scotland mission also collaborated with other missions across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. When co-operation occurred over this time, the public representation of Scottish missionaries' work as so self-confident, single-handed, and self-reliant is questioned. In 1878 both American and Scottish missionaries were prepared to co-operate over the orphanage at Barah Patthar.<sup>55</sup> The North Indian School of Medicine for Christian Women at Ludhiana was a joint venture between several denominations and Protestant mission societies.<sup>56</sup> Kinnaird College in Lahore would only succeed with '... the co-operation of more missionary societies so that the College may be better fitted to meet the demands that are now being made upon it for the higher education of women in the Punjab', and missionary co-operation across denominations was one factor in the College's success.<sup>57</sup> By 1949 the girls' school in Barah Patthar run by the Church of Scotland was prepared to take in American United Presbyterian girls unable to return to their school at Pathankot (by then across the Indian border).<sup>58</sup> Such co-operation often arose as the result of difficulties, since both the North Indian School of Medicine for Christian Women and Kinnaird College were experiencing difficulties in coping with the demands on the services they offered. In the case of the girls's school in Barah Patthar, the new circumstances of life in a Muslim country had changed the situation, as the authorities were of a different faith. When talking of her work at Barah Patthar, Chamba and in Murray College, Mrs. M.M. Scott related how she was a missionary of the Church of Scotland. However she worked happily alongside American missionaries among others, '... and we got to know them pretty well and they were always very sociable.'

These new circumstances of power in independent Pakistan necessitated this closer co-operation between the missionary societies, as compared to their earlier rivalries during the colonial period. At times, however, there was still the tone of a

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<sup>55</sup> William G. Young, *Days of Small Things*, p. 64.

<sup>56</sup> E.M. Wherry and A.M. Andrews to the Secretary F.C.S.W for Mission, June 15th 1901, S.F.M.R., p. 1

<sup>57</sup> Isabella T. McNair to Miss Greenshields, September 20th 1929, S.F.M.R., MS7636, p. 244.

<sup>58</sup> E.M. Scott to E.M. Burns, 28th February 1949, S.F.M.R., ACC10231/B/193.

unique Scottish Presbyterian identity. Even fellow Presbyterians were different - 'more akin' to the Church of Scotland than more divergent denominations were. Attitudes such as these were the product of their time, and of individuals' experiences. For example, it is quite probable that Harry Holland's affiliation with a British identity in India was conditioned by the need for co-operation across all religions, cultures and nationalities in an event such as the Quetta earthquake, only a few weeks after his initial arrival to work in India in 1935. Similarly, his hospital work at Imphal during the Second World War would have engendered such attitudes, just as for many soldiers on active service in either the British or Indian armies any divisive attitudes were forgotten during active service. The Orrs worked in an international missionary community, but when asked if there was a sense of Scots being able to assimilate more easily, Dr. Jean Orr still described how 'Oh I'm sure there is and particularly comparing with the Americans. They [the Pakistanis] don't like the Americans at all, and they do like the Scottish people.'<sup>59</sup> Whilst this personal opinion mirrored much of the self-belief that was apparent in the public face of Scottish missionary enterprise on the one hand, Dr. Orr's later comments on how Pakistanis engaged with medical mission work did not fit with the self-assured tone of that public portrayal.<sup>60</sup> Equally, for Mrs. Scott, individual mission bodies were '... quite independent ... no connection ... we didn't what shall we say compete with one another we were all doing our own thing similar work.'<sup>61</sup> However, the oral sources here were not necessarily brushing rivalries under the carpet. For Miss Nicol, there was still an element of inter denominational rivalry. This could mean that '... the pastors of the church they've got competition they have to work hard or people will go off, their faith will go off to somebody else.' In the context of Islam as the major religion of the state, division was not productive either. Miss Nicol described how :

But it's sad because you have this huge Muslim community and then the Christians seem, appear to be all divided, and you have the National Council of Churches in which we have the Church of Pakistan, the Presbyterian Church of Pakistan and the Salvation Army, and I think a few other odd bods which gives

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<sup>59</sup> Interview with Mr. Robbie and Dr. Jean Orr, (Medical missionaries in Multan and Baltistan from 1951-1984 with annual returns since), Wednesday, 24th November, 1994, SA1995.08, p. 6.

<sup>60</sup> Orrs, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

<sup>61</sup> Mrs. M. M. Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

one sort of united base, but it is it does cause problems with the Muslims to have so many.<sup>62</sup>

### **3.7 Personal motivation: divergence from the epitome**

The publicly created image of Scottish Presbyterian missionaries did not match the reality of those missionaries in Pakistan, where mission work was continually conditioned by the circumstances it was located in. Moreover, the individual motivations that inspired missionaries to choose mission work had a distinct bearing on how they perceived themselves, which often differed from any single creation of the missionary Scot. So individual and strongly held were such motivations and beliefs that at times certain missionaries would not acquiesce to the authority of a mission body. This again questions the public depiction of the Scottish Presbyterian missionary enterprise. The dissent and division caused by a dispute between Dr. Hutchison and Wellesley C. Bailey in the 1870s and 1880s, for example, found no place in any public image of Scottish Presbyterian mission work in Pakistan.

Religious faith is both a shared social and an intensely personal phenomenon. In the uniquely personal setting of religious faith as a motivation, an individual was often the spur for a life in mission work. There were common elements such as the influence of mission books as a child. Despite their often moralising tone, and orientalist outlook, these books were read, but did not necessarily program views. Individuals talk of reading them but not that they were necessarily formative. They did not automatically create an ardent evangelical, determined to convert with no allowance to culture or custom.<sup>63</sup> Individuals, therefore, were not singularly motivated by a sense of cultural and religious superiority, which again diverges from

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<sup>62</sup>Interview with Miss Catherine Nicol, Friday, 27th February 1998. Miss Nicol is currently a Church of Scotland missionary in Barah Patthar, and has been since 1961, SA1998.39, p. 5.

<sup>63</sup> See interviews below with Scotts, Orrs, *op. cit.*, and William G. Young, *Presbyterian Bishop*, p. 9.

one aspect of the public depiction of Scottish Presbyterian missionary enterprise.

In reading their own accounts, and by talking to individual missionaries, it becomes clear that motivation was a very personal thing, bound up in faith. Of course that is not to say that elements of mission work cannot still reveal orientalist attitudes, or that mission work might symbiotically flow along with imperial policy. This was not an intent, but rather a convergence. The power of individual faith could be a prime motivator. As Andrew Porter suggests:

While always remembering that it is in many respects a social phenomenon of institutions and shared ritual, it must never be forgotten that religion is also characterized by dogmatic belief, faith, and passion. These not only have some independent force of their own, but are powerful spurs to both action and innovation by communities as well as individuals.<sup>64</sup>

This is not to imply that the beneficent motivations and intentions of missionaries equated to the effects of their work. Rather such strong, personal, religious faith led some Scottish missionaries to disregard their church's doctrine, or to flow against the current of imperial rule by supporting nationalism. In missionaries' accounts of their motivation, ideas of duty, the influence of individuals and of God's hand in their lives are common. For Robbie Orr mission work (with his wife Dr. Jean Orr) was inspired through a personal connection, as it continued a parental dream that had remained unfulfilled:

My parents had hoped to engage in missionary work pretty well in that quadrant of India I mean the North-West of India as it was then, but my father was killed at his work when my twin brother and I were very young so they never did make it to India, but in a sense one might say I suppose that our life work was the fulfilment in our generation of their vision.

The Orrs also felt a sense of duty to work in such a field:

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<sup>64</sup> Andrew Porter, 'Religion and Empire: British Expansion in the Long Nineteenth Century, 1780-1914', in *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol. 20, No. 3, 1992, p. 375.

... it was the sense of vocation, that this was the fulfilment of a call from God, there was the perception too that we were able-bodied folks, we'd had a reasonable education and we were free to do this kind of thing and therefore there was a duty upon us to spend our lives in a meaningful way and that was the meaningful way that we saw.<sup>65</sup>

Similarly for Mrs. M.M. Scott a personal connection inspired her to mission work:

I chose India rather than Africa because the minister of my church had been in India, and had roused my interest in and had lent me books about India and had been a chaplain in Calcutta, so there was that personal touch for India which made me chose made me suggest India anyway to the Church of Scotland Mission Board when I was asked.

Once this was decided, it was the case that '... mission for life was the commitment.'<sup>66</sup> For Miss Catherine Nicol there was a similar element of an individual's influence, since a family member had first raised the idea of mission work. For both Mrs. Scott and for her there was a sense of using their vocational skills, both as trained teachers:

Well I was a teacher in Fife and I had always been going to be a missionary, and when I had been at university I had been a friend of the Overseas Church which keeps you in touch with missionaries and things ... and I had more or less been brought up under the influence of an aunt who wanted to be a missionary in the nineteen teens, and with being the oldest girl in a big family had never been free to go, and she came and helped my mother when I was born and helped to bring us up and brought me up more or less that I would be a missionary in her place.

A certain sense of duty moulded her subsequent work. Whilst she went to Pakistan and not to Mount Kenya as the Church of Scotland requested, once there

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<sup>65</sup> Orrs, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2.

<sup>66</sup> Mrs. M.M. Scott, *op. cit.*, pp. 2 and 4.

she had to forego her dream of evangelical work, teaching and becoming a house mother instead.<sup>67</sup>

In the case of William Young, experiencing the realities of the Second World War meant that he ‘... gave up the disciplines of practising Christianity.’ However, his abhorrence of racial attitudes in India when he saw them, and the influence of an army chaplain, Captain Bertie W. Rainsbury, cemented his faith. In fact for him this was often a costly experience, such as when he stood as a witness in a court martial of a British Other Ranker who had struck an Indian ward boy. The subsequent conviction led some to feel that he had let the side down. Young then began to preach to British Other Ranks in India, and having learned Hindustani, he attended Indian Christian services and gave a sermon on one occasion. Although he was posted out of India, these experiences were a key motivation for his subsequent theological training and ordination as a missionary to India, before which he ‘... rejoiced at the prospect - that before I went out to the field India would be given her independence, and would no longer be under British rule.’<sup>68</sup> Young’s outlook reflected the changed realities of mission work in post-independence Pakistan. The new dynamics of power might be seen as forcing his enthusiasm for independence. However, his stance against racial attitudes, even if described by himself after the event, were real enough, and fit well with his later commitment to an independent church for Pakistanis, governed by Pakistanis.

For catechists of the Church of Pakistan, brought up under the influence and instruction of Church of Scotland missionaries, personal inspiration and motivation can be especially strong. It was the Reverend George Fateh Din’s mother who wished him to become a pastor, and a Church of Scotland missionary, the Reverend Charlie Chirside, who provided an especially close mentor-type relationship, during the 1950s:

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<sup>67</sup> Nicol, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2.

<sup>68</sup> William G. Young, *Presbyterian Bishop*, pp. 9-14.

... from my childhood my mother put this thing in my mind that I am the only .. brother ..[with].. nine sisters so my mother put this thing in my mind very strongly that she asked me pray for me to God and God give me to her according to his prayers and she omitted to Lord for my services that I may be a Pastor and serve the Church.

Charlie Chirnside was central in the Reverend George Fateh Din's education, whose family became unable to pay the costs of him staying in the hostel of the Scotch Mission High School in Daska. Charlie Chirnside covered those costs, and tutored George Fateh Din, who decided that a pastor's life was not his, and ran away to Rawalpindi. After working in Wah, he was inspired by the Reverend Abdul Haq to return and to devote his life to being a pastor, and trained as a catechist with another Church of Scotland missionary, the Reverend Ken Anderson, during the late 1950s and early 1960s. Throughout the interview with the Reverend Fateh Din there were constant references to the central influence of these missionaries in his present work, and his desire and sense of duty to continue what he sees as their legacy is clear:

This is God's grace that I can't say I can be like Charlie Chirnside and like Anderson but I learn from them to love our congregation member needy persons, so I try my best to love them to help them, to help their education because through these person [Charlie Chirnside and Ken Anderson] God help me as education so if they will not help me I may not be able to sit here, so for this reason I'm trying I can't say that I am able to minister my people like them but I'm trying ... and for this reason I started two kinds of education centre here ... [he outlines how a school for sweeper children too poor to attend other schools and the Cathedral School were set up, and how the former closed but he plans to reopen it] ... I'm not sure ... I can't claim that I'm doing on these lines what Charlie Chirnside and Anderson was doing but I am trying what I have learned it is keep it is in my mind that I want to do something according to their lines.

For all these missionaries their faith and God's hand in their work is and was a constant motivation. For the Reverend Fateh Din it is a constant reference point - God's hand led Charlie Chirnside to help his education, it forced him to commit himself to be a pastor since it '... touched my heart', and uses him through his work

for the St. Andrew's Brotherhood in Lahore.<sup>69</sup> Equally for William Young, God's hand led him in his work at numerous points through the 1940s and 1950s. Having been moved around several mission stations, from Sialkot to Daska, to Sialkot, on to Gujrat and then to Daska again, his family found that '... we did *not* enjoy the adjustments we had to make when we were transferred from one station to another... [but] ... Unknown to us, God was preparing me for the work of a bishop', in that he got to know the Christian community in all these places.<sup>70</sup>

These same themes are to be found in earlier missionaries' accounts of their motivation. In the 1920s, an idea of duty and the need to persevere comes through in Elizabeth Bain's account of her early work, since 'I am now teaching nearly all day in the school here. I am beginning to enjoy it now but I didn't like it very much at first. It is very interesting work and one gets very interested in the girls.'<sup>71</sup> For Hattie Kidley, her work was wherever God takes her. She noted:

... the probability of my location being Sialkot and shall pack accordingly. I really do not mind where am sent as long as it is in the dear Panjab, and where I can be of most use. I love the Sialkot Boarding School and consider it a great honour to be offered such an important piece of work. It is especially gratifying to me to hear the first suggestion was made by Miss Black herself, who knows me and the school so well, and that the proposal was seconded by Miss MacQueen and carried so unanimously by the Council. My prayer is that my conscious inability for such a task may be a channel for God's enabling power and all sufficiency.<sup>72</sup>

Such was the strength with which some held to their convictions that in missions disputes arose. The realities of human interaction invariably mean that in any organisation disagreements occur, but the extent of some of the disputes here merit their consideration. Correspondence in both 1877 and 1880 between Mr. J. MacLagan and two Church of Scotland missionaries in Chamba, Dr. Hutchison and

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<sup>69</sup> Interview with The Reverend George Fateh Din, Pastor at St. Andrew's Church, Gujrat, Saturday, 28th February, 1998, SA1998.39, p. 1-6.

<sup>70</sup> W.G. Young, *Presbyterian Bishop*, p. 25.

<sup>71</sup> Elizabeth Bain to Miss Greenshields, 25th May 1929, S.F.M.R., MS7634, p. 58.

<sup>72</sup> Hattie Kidley to Miss Greenshields, November 5th, 1929, S.F.M.R., MS7634, p. 122.

Wellesley C. Bailey, reveals a dispute which prevented the two from working in the same mission. The final outcome was that Bailey was transferred to Pangli, since a medical missionary, such as Dr. Hutchison, was needed in Chamba. Ultimately in 1878 the two were forced to work together in Chamba city, since Mrs. Bailey's health prevented her from going to Pangli. Arrangements were subsequently made so that both had strictly delineated roles that would not converge. Dr. Hutchison first accused Bailey of 'unconsciencousness' (*sic*) in letters to MacLagan with regard to '... the discharge of staff'.<sup>73</sup> Nothing further was written on this matter in the correspondence of that year, although the staff at the leper asylum became a subject of debate in 1880. The situation led to MacLagan fearing that '... it may be necessary to rearrange our Mission stations you & he should not be together.' Such disputes were dangerous, since MacLagan could '... only see that there is an absence of cordial feeling which must hamper united work which may cause the natives to reproach the mission.'<sup>74</sup> Three months later MacLagan was pleading that if it were necessary that the two should communicate, and that '... there may be a spirit of Christian charity and Christian courtesy maintained. It is absolutely indispensable between brother missionaries', and MacLagan hopes that cordial relations will be restored in the future by which time '...each will probably see that he has not been faultless.'<sup>75</sup> MacLagan's correspondence with Bailey paints him as the one who has strayed from the norm. MacLagan writes to Bailey of how:

In the course of conversation with Dr. Hutchison & with Dr. Herdman I am considerably surprised to hear that some of your younger children were not baptized. I need scarcely say that the non observance of the ordinance by a Missionary of our Church is likely to lead to [?] neglect on the part of native Christians a course which one could not approve. If it stems in your case from the adoption of views against infant baptism, then some of the Committee should have been made aware of the change ... and the holding of these [opinions] on the part of a missionary is a more serious matter. But I may be quite wrong, and possibly you may have good reasons for what you are doing.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Mr. J. MacLagan to Dr. John Hutchison, 30th August 1877, S.F.M.R., MS7542, p. 93.

<sup>74</sup> Mr. J. MacLagan to Dr. John Hutchison, 3rd September 1877, S.F.M.R., MS7542, p. 98.

<sup>75</sup> Mr. J. MacLagan to Dr. John Hutchison, 20th December 1877, S.F.M.R., MS7542, p. 339.

<sup>76</sup> Mr. J. MacLagan to Wellesley C. Bailey, 21st June 1877, S.F.M.R., MS7542, p. 17

Certainly, the question of when to baptise, and what a convert needed to undergo before baptism was a question of importance to these missionaries, and one over which they felt inherently superior with regard to other missionary societies' policies.<sup>77</sup> Bailey himself was something of an unorthodox missionary. As an Irish Presbyterian layman he had undergone a conversion experience in 1868 at Gravesend, whilst intending to sail for India to join the police force. He learned Hindustani and was initially employed by the American Presbyterian Mission, running their school and a lepers' home at Ambala. The cause of India's lepers then became Bailey's main concern as he became interested in leper homes in Subathu and Almora. He raised funds on furlough in Ireland in 1873, and founded a Mission for Lepers in India. Bailey extended these leper homes and had a third built at Chamba, entering the Church of Scotland's service as an evangelist in Chamba and Pangi.

He later worked in Wazirabad between 1879-1882, when his wife's ill health forced him to return home. The Church of Scotland did not renew his appointment, and from 1888 he ran the reconstituted Mission to Lepers as its Superintendent. His employment and status were somewhat ambiguous, which was probably an element of the dispute here. His salary and status were beneath those of ordained missionaries, but he was also head of the Mission to Lepers, and given a free hand in running it as long as it did not interfere with the Church of Scotland's work. His independence, as Young has noted, was inclined to upset missionaries like Harper and Dr. Hutchison, whereas others like Youngson supported him.<sup>78</sup> The difficulties of his status caused further problems, as MacLagan described:

This unpleasantness between Dr. Hutchison and you has caused us all extreme pain and much perplexity too ... after all he believes and admits that you are a sensible Christian devoted to the Lord. What he complains of is, that you do less work than you ought, you don't itinerate enough you spend time much lesser with the lepers, you stay too much in your own house.

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<sup>77</sup> Robert McCheyne Paterson, 11th July 1924 in S.F.M.R., MS7609, p. 146.

<sup>78</sup> Young, *Days of Small Things*, pp. 116-118.

MacLagan then advised Bailey:

... how many hours a day to spend in schools ? What time to give to Native Christian Catechists ? How much Bazaar preaching ? What amount on itinerant work. I am sure you will be thankful to have your attention drawn to any modification in your plans.<sup>79</sup>

Bailey was a further subject of criticism in 1880, when Dr. Hutchison complained that an 'anti Christian' influence had pervaded the asylum. Mr. MacLagan wrote to Bailey that:

He complains that the Christian Bunyas who contracted for the supply of the Asylum have been dismissed - that the assistant surgeon in charge has made it impossible for Devia to continue his visits and that in consequence of the non Christian if not anti Christian influence pervading the asylum Sohun Lal has been obliged to discontinue his Sunday services. In all this he says obstacles have been thrown of his way of his own work, and much scandal caused in the City ... Of course we have nothing to do with the management of the asylum - but it is very desirable that Christian influence should be brought to bear on the inmates.<sup>80</sup>

Once again the complexities of Bailey's status caused problems, and the desire of the Church of Scotland mission here to influence policy in an institution which by its own admission it has no part in managing is worth noting. Dr. Hutchison himself was perhaps a belligerent individual. During 1884-5 Mr. MacLagan was again trying to smooth out differences from Scotland. He wrote to Dr. Hutchison that since both he and Harper, with whom there was a dispute, were coming home there would be no more attempts to resolve their dispute by letter.<sup>81</sup> Disputes were present at other times too. Almost eighty years later, Reggie Thomas was berated by his colleagues in letters to Scotland for his extravagant spending.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Mr. J. MacLagan to Wellesley C. Bailey, 21st September 1877, S.F.M.R., MS7542, p. 161.

<sup>80</sup> Mr. J. MacLagan to Wellesley C. Bailey, 29th July 1880, S.F.M.R., MS7542, p. 641.

<sup>81</sup> Mr. MacLagan to Dr. John Hutchison, 3rd December 1884, S.F.M.R., MS7547, p. 17.

<sup>82</sup> Leslie Scott to The Reverend I.M. Paterson (Asia Sub Secretary of the Foreign Mission Committee), 3rd May 1961, S.F.M.R., ACC7548/159B.

These disputes show the conviction with which personal attitudes were held, which led individual missionaries to defy their missionary association. Such instances, based upon the strength of personal motivation, show further divergence between the private and public faces of Scottish Presbyterian missionary enterprise in Pakistan.

### **3.8 The challenge of Pakistani culture**

That public face suggested an omnipotence that never existed on the ground. Indigenous cultural and religious resistance to proselytising was celebrated in some published accounts to show how the success of later conversions overcame such barriers. However, that did not reflect the crises of confidence that Scottish missionaries felt on facing such resistance. Within this, there was far more of a parity of power between the missionaries and those they encountered in their work than missionaries' outward self confidence suggests. Faced with the actuality of establishing a mission station in Sialkot, Hunter's tone was initially despondent:

We cannot form a mission here, without, at least, one qualified native agent. The ground cannot be occupied unless we gain very speedy help. Nufseeroola seems extremely well adapted to the peculiar work here ... I am not very sanguine of success there is sad uphill work. Strong faith is surely required.<sup>83</sup>

The resistance which these missionaries encountered bore out Hunter's dejection. When mission work began in Chamba in the 1870s, the question of which language would be used for printing mission material became relevant. The cost of acquiring a printing press, and the possible benefits of introducing the Urdu script into the area all became factors for consideration. Correspondence of the time also reveals something of the attitudes of the mission authorities with regard to the Gaelic language in Scotland:

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<sup>83</sup> Thomas Hunter to Mr. Cook, 17th April 1857, S.F.M.R., MS7618, p. 228.

One of the members refers to the Gaelic and Welsh language ... the analogy to me doesn't seem to me to hold - for Gaelic and Welsh are languages that are spoken and are things kept alive - while Thakuri ['Jhakuri' and 'Takre' were also used] is merely a character by which the languages are represented and it seem to me very doubtful whether it is desirable to preserve this character when the language can be equally well represented by other characters such as Urdu and whether we should not be doing a far greater service by furnishing the people with Urdu books and tracts encouraging in such actions the use of that character and so hastening on the inevitable adoption of it in the state.<sup>84</sup>

Of course to have adopted the Urdu script would have served the purpose of mission work well, since missionaries were trained in it, and this was the preferred option. Harper later wrote to MacLagan on how the Resident in Chamba might provide a report to further inform their decision, although due to his position he may not.<sup>85</sup> By the time Dr. Hutchison and Baileys' dispute was settled, and a settlement reached as to their respective work in Chamba, a decision regarding Jhakuri had been made. One part of Dr. Hutchison's work was to print or translate with the Jhakuri press if it had arrived.<sup>86</sup> The press did eventually arrive, as Youngson later relates how in the 1870's Takre:

... was not at this time printed, but under the fostering care of the missionaries, type was prepared, and small sheets with the Lord's Prayer, the Beatitudes, and some other portions of scripture, were printed. These were succeeded by whole books of the Bible, so that the gospel found its way among the hills and valleys in the vulgar tongue into the homes of the people.<sup>87</sup>

Youngson gave a distorted picture of the likely power relationship here in emphasising the missionaries' role in developing a printed form of Takre. It was a choice largely forced upon these missionaries by circumstances. In this sense it represented a disempowering of the missionaries, as their initial language of choice, which would easily facilitate their work, proved to be unsuited to mission work.

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<sup>84</sup> Mr. J. MacLagan to Dr. Hutchison, 7th September 1877, S.F.M.R., MS 7542, p. 114.

<sup>85</sup> Mr. J. MacLagan to Dr. Hutchison quoting Harper, 7th September 1877, S.F.M.R., MS 7542, p. 141.

<sup>86</sup> Mr. MacLagan to W.C. Bailey, 29th August 1878, S.F.M.R., MS7542, p. 729.

<sup>87</sup> Youngson, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

Since the Takre press involved considerable expense, it seems even more likely that any attempts they made to use Urdu were either practically impossible as the locals could not understand, or may have been resisted as an attempt to impose an alien tongue. It is crucial, of course, to consider such local reactions to mission work since they often forced a reworking of mission policy, and illustrate the real challenge of local cultures to mission work. Much of the Church of Scotland mission's work involved such concessions - in fact it often seemed that rather than the missions being the dominant protagonist the positions were reversed, with the missions fighting against very strongly held religious and cultural loyalties and ties.

Initially the situation for proselytising and evangelising where there were several religions seemed an opportunity. In 1877, Harper wrote of how although such a multi-faith scenario meant that missionaries had the difficulty of familiarising themselves with each faith, it was helpful too. Indeed, 'It is a help in that amid the inevitable clash and bewilderment of opinion the people are perhaps more tolerant of another faith, and the thoughtful mind is more open to doubt, and hence more willing to search after the truth.'<sup>88</sup>

In reality however, the religions of the Punjab were far from passive in their reaction to missionary Christianity, and often took direct action. Several missionaries whom I have spoken to read the accounts of missionary work intended for the domestic market, and these are full of accounts of the convert stolen away by his family. Youngson writes of how the Muslim convert, Mulaimuddin, was offered money, a job, a home, and '... they expressed themselves ready and willing to give him anything he might desire.'<sup>89</sup> Such was the problem that early converts during the 1870s were often taken to another part of India. The 'first real citizen of Sialkot who has been converted to Christianity', Karm Chand, was followed by his Hindu family, who became so troublesome that Nathu Mall took him to Amritsar.<sup>90</sup> The

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<sup>88</sup> Letter from Harper of January 11th, 1877 in *The Church of Scotland Home and Foreign Missionary Record*, March 11th 1877, pp. 301-302, quoted in Young, *Days of Small Things*, p. 11.

<sup>89</sup> Youngson, *op. cit.*, p. 119. See also pp. 118-120 and 199-214.

<sup>90</sup> William Harper in *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland*, 1877, pp. 121-122, quoted in Young, *Days of Small Things*, pp. 25-26.

family and acquaintances of a wealthy Muslim convert, Imam-ud-Din, did not resort to violence, but surrounded him once out of the mission house, with many in tears, imploring him not to convert.<sup>91</sup> A Muslim teacher intent on conversion ate lunch with the missionaries but 'The servants making this known, he was severely beaten, and was otherwise so punished and intimidated that for the present he is holding back.'<sup>92</sup> Gopal Chand, a Brahmin who wished to convert, was taken by his family to Lahore in order to dissuade him. He was later baptised and sent to Gujrat, but was subsequently persuaded to revert to Sikhism, which he did. He finally converted once more to Christianity in 1878.<sup>93</sup> Yisu Rakha was taught in the Sialkot mission school, and this '... aroused in him a hatred of idol-worship'. He renounced his Hindu faith, but 'The Maulvis of Lahore got him under their influence' and he became a Muslim. His relations pressured him into reverting to the Hindu faith. Since '... his mind was not at rest', he then converted to Christianity. Harper was fearful of his welfare, since although he tried to get converts '... not to flee the trials that follow ... Hindus are naturally very timid, and it is difficult to get them to voluntarily face severe trial, though they are generally the most steadfast of Christians under trial.' Whilst travelling to Hoshiarpur to stay in the company of a native pastor, accompanied by Karm Chand:

They were pursued by five men, who overtook them at Wazirabad, just as he was about to start in the train. The native police, instead of rendering protection, dragged him out of the train, and beat Karm Chand, severely hurting one of his eyes ... [Yisu Rakha was carried away, and] ... it is not known where he is; he may have been carried to Jammu or Kashmir or Calcutta or anywhere.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> William Harper in *The Church of Scotland Home and Foreign Missionary Record*, June 1st 1877, p. 388, quoted in Young, *Days of Small Things*, p. 28.

<sup>92</sup> William Harper in *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland*, 1878, pp. 114-116, quoted in Young, *Days of Small Things*, p. 29.

<sup>93</sup> William Harper in *Reports on the Schemes of the Church of Scotland*, 1879, p.143, 1881, pp. 65-6, quoted in Young, *Days of Small Things*, pp. 30-32.

<sup>94</sup> William Harper in *The Church of Scotland Home and Foreign Missionary Record*, April 1st, 1880, pp. 80-81, quoted in Young, *Days of Small Things*, pp. 33-35.

### 3.9 Resistance in education

One striking area of resistance was in education – the very area where William Miller saw Scottish missionaries as leaders, and where he had hoped proselytising would bear fruit in 1868. There was staff and student unrest in the late 1940s, the 1950s and the 1960s at Murray College. Even though the policy of attempting to convert the high castes through the field of education had been dropped in favour of village evangelism, education was still an arena for resistance. There was always competition from other schools. For some missionaries a fear emerged of state collusion in this matter:

You will see that in spite of Gujrat's getting Rs1400 from Jalalpore & Rs400 from sale of trees it ends with a deficit. This is owing to the loss of fees in school as a result of Muslim Schools stealing away our boys & being encouraged to do so by the Educational Authorities. I have not been able to get concerted action among missions in the Panjab as only the C.M.S. are in favour of State Grants & they have closed almost all their Schools owing to financial stress at home ... the Minister of Education is a clever Muhammedan Mian Fazl Hussain who has got himself into the good graces of those high up in authority who are playing the Mohans [i.e. Muhammedans] off against the Hindus and Sikhs - a very dangerous little game. It is popular nowadays to favour Mohammedans. The tide will soon turn when deluded people's eyes are opened.<sup>95</sup>

Cultural and religious resistance was a real difficulty in mission work, and even more so in the new Pakistan after 1947, where the missionary situation was now perhaps even more tenuous. The rulers were now Muslim, even if the Quaid-e-Azam had declared Pakistan a multi-faith state. Missionaries were well aware of the risks in the new situation. The report of the Religious Committee in the Financial Report of Murray College from 1947-8 related how:

In the altered situation, aggressive evangelism in instruction will arouse hostility. But there are ample opportunities for personal contacts and witness. What the circumstances require is a full time Director of Religious Instruction, a spiritual liaison officer. The call is from more than six hundred picked Muslim youth of the land, the leaders of the rising generation. If their minds

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<sup>95</sup> Robert McCheyne Paterson, 5th February 1924, S.F.M.R., MS7609, p. 104.

can be leavened with Christian Ideals and ways of life, what a difference there might be in the outlook of the nation.<sup>96</sup>

The change in situation was clear – minds may be ‘leavened’, but not converted immediately. In 1944 the question of religious education had been a simple one to the Principal of Murray College, John Garrett, who wrote, ‘I feel that attendance at Scripture or Moral Instruction classes should be compulsory especially in colleges where, as in this college, a very large number of the students are under the age of eighteen.’<sup>97</sup> Independence changed matters. Partition had already decimated the ranks of Murray College, with the loss of Hindu staff. Muslims complained that the school fees which Hindus were able to afford in the past were now too high for Muslims. Leslie Scott feared that ‘The opening of another College here would kill us dead in our present situation for it would open in order to charge less fees.’ Nationalism with a religious tone soon came to light with staff arguments and student rowdiness. By 1948 nationalism pervaded education, and E.M. Scott wrote of the visit of government propaganda agents:

We’re having the government propaganda agent to us this week & we’re wondering what he wants us to say. He’ll probably be telling us we must teach the girls shooting & fighting with sticks, as the inspectors told us at a meeting recently! She thought we were not doing the right thing when we told her that we took catapults away from the children, when we found them.<sup>98</sup>

The assertion of a religious and national identity often took more direct forms, however. In 1949 the Sialkot City Muslim League Representation Committee and some Muslim staff at Murray College made a stand for further representation in the College. A Christian member of staff, Mr. Tressler, told one of them ‘... to go to the Imam Sahib [ed. *Sahab*] (a mosque in the City) and start a College there if he liked.’ Leslie Scott described how articles appeared in the local ‘gutter press’ as a

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<sup>96</sup> Point Nine of the Report of the Religious Committee, Financial Report of Murray College, 1947-8, in S.F.M.R., ACC7548/157B (Murray College Papers 29th June 1942-23rd July 1953).

<sup>97</sup> John Garrett to Dr. Kidd, 25th September 1944, S.F.M.R., ACC7548/157B (Murray College Papers 29th June 1942-23rd July 1953).

<sup>98</sup> E.M. Scott to Miss I. Brown, 19th January 1948, ACC10231/B/193.

result, condemning the College, and he subsequently decided to appoint one of the complainants as ‘... a dean of some department to deal with the day-to-day administration of that department’.<sup>99</sup> It is difficult to ascertain to what extent this dispute was influenced by a genuine desire for Muslim representation in a college amongst a majority Muslim population. There seems to have been a personal element as well. Scott later writes of how the ringleader was President of the Sialkot Municipal Committee, ‘... and thinks he doesn’t like inferior positions under a squirt like me ... now that Pakistan has come to stay (probably) he feels it is time to do something.’<sup>100</sup> By 1950, students were causing difficulties for teaching staff. Scott writes of how:

We have very poor material so far as students are concerned and there is a rebellious (*sic*) spirit that makes discipline extremely difficult at times. Students seem to think that they can do what they like and even try to interfere in the administration but that spirit is confined in this college to a minority, and when one takes a disciplinary measure one is encouraged by the spirit which the parents and the city fathers show. Last year a furious campaign in the local press was got up against the College, but we survived it and things seem to be going well enough now. I must say people are very friendly to me personally and there is a great deal to be truly thankful for.<sup>101</sup>

These difficulties with students were not insignificant and led to one member of staff resigning. R.C. Lorimer was not an inexperienced teacher, since letters relating to Murray College relate his teaching experience from 1927.<sup>102</sup> However students’ rowdiness at Murray College unsettled him a great deal. He wrote to Leslie Scott of how:

You are aware of the difficulties I have had in maintaining order in my classes in this College. I have spoken to you a number of times on the subject, and more than once have said that I should be willing at any time to resign. I was

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<sup>99</sup> Copy of Leslie Scott to John Stewart, 3rd March 1949, S.F.M.R., ACC7548/157B.

<sup>100</sup> Covering note of 8th March 1949 relating to Copy of Leslie Scott to John Stewart, 3rd March 1949, S.F.M.R., ACC7548/157B.

<sup>101</sup> Leslie Scott to Dr. Dougall, 13th February (no year, but probably 1950 given R.C. Lorimer’s correspondence and the reference to the press campaign - see note 79), S.F.M.R., ACC7548/157B.

<sup>102</sup> R.C. Lorimer to Leslie Scott, May 13th 1950, S.F.M.R., ACC7548/157B.

conscious of not having been able to pull my weight in this College, and felt that more harm than good was likely to come of my continuing here.<sup>103</sup>

A few days later his resignation was a reality:

So long as I remain here my continued presence here will be a continued reminder to students of this type of their triumph over me, and a continued incitement to acts of petty persecution & petty insult to me.<sup>104</sup>

However, this unsettling resistance had led to Scottish missionaries privately limiting their aims much earlier. Nationalism had led to student unrest in the 1890s, when Scottish missionaries in India had complained of nationalism making students 'sullen or insolent'.<sup>105</sup> Even Ogilvie, in a less militaristic moment, suggested the 'possibility' of evangelism in colleges. Personal influence was the aim:

In Christian Missions the method of small colleges, with a Christian staff, and the consequent possibility of the exercise of personal influence on a limited number of students, is to-day increasingly in favour. It is the aim of those in charge of Murray College to pursue this method to its fullest possibilities<sup>106</sup>

This was certainly the policy at Murray College. Paper H on 'The Future of Murray College' related how:

The Punjab Mission without its College would be Samson shorn of his locks ... [since] ... a very real work of Evangelisation may be going on without the open confession of Christ's Lordship. ... And even if we provide education for Hindus and Mohammadans we are not endeavouring to compete with Government institutions, but we aim at giving them the best we can in order to have an opportunity of giving religious and scriptural instruction also. And because of its religious influence we consider the college one of the most powerful instruments that the Christian Church can make use of for leaving its impression and doing a work among the Non-Christian community.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> R.C. Lorimer to Leslie Scott, May 8th 1950, S.F.M.R., ACC7548/157B.

<sup>104</sup> R.C. Lorimer to Leslie Scott, May 13th 1950, S.F.M.R., ACC7548/157B.

<sup>105</sup> Proctor, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

<sup>106</sup> J.N. Ogilvie, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25.

<sup>107</sup> Paper H (author unknown) on 'The Future of Murray College' c. 1917, S.F.M.R., ACC7548/D17.

In this light, missionaries clung to the prestige a college brought. George MacKeggie wrote of how, 'The possession of a College gives a Mission a considerable standing in the eyes of the community and establishes a means of connection with those who occupy high places in India.'<sup>108</sup> Robert McCheyne Paterson wrote that '... everytime I go out into the villages around here, I have happy experiences of the manner in which my connection with the College opens the way into the hearts of the upper classes. They treat me as a friend if any one related to them is one of our students. This makes the college a big direct asset in Mission work.'<sup>109</sup>

In these trying times Ogilvie wrote about constant trade-off between evangelism in the villages among the 'outcasts' and education, there was a belief that any evangelical opportunity should never be wasted. This was due to a shortage of money and resources from home, although in his account of a Mission Council meeting in Sialkot it was decided that Christian education should not suffer, and that 'more energy' would help evangelism in the villages.<sup>110</sup> Gillmore Carter argued that since the situation in Chamba was 'entirely different' from the villages where Christian children needed education outwith the Native States '... I have not found one who is in favour of closing the schools in either of these places', although this was presumably due to any potential there might be there for evangelisation.<sup>111</sup> Mr. Nicholson wrote that primary education ought to be the next step for mission education, since private primary schools in the villages never pay and so are never established. To him it was the golden opportunity since:

Village India will only be influenced when itself has been educated. (There is abundant evidence that the Christian teaching of primary village school children who innocently report at home what they heard at school has more

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<sup>108</sup> George MacKeggie to the Foreign Mission Council, 23rd January 1918, S.F.M.R., ACC7548/D17.

<sup>109</sup> Robert McCheyne Paterson, 'The proposed New College at Sialkot, Punjab' (no date), S.F.M.R., ACC7548/D17.

<sup>110</sup> J.N. Ogilvie, *op. cit.*, p.63.

<sup>111</sup> Gillmore T. Carter, January 30th 1924, S.F.M.R., MS7609, p. 97.

direct influence in the homes of the people than that of High School boys who conceal the influence of their education).<sup>112</sup>

### **3.10 Resistance in conversion**

Another significant area of resistance surrounded converts' motives for conversion. There had always been the fear that some converted for material rather than spiritual purposes, and so any sense of missionary omnipotence was reversed - the material convert was very much empowered. Missionaries sometimes feared that mission education might be one such area. Their hoped opportunity for evangelising would be cut short if students used the facility simply for their educational and material advancement. This fear was present from the outset of mission work in the Punjab. Thomas Hunter wrote of the newly opened school for boys in Sialkot, and of how:

We can very easily ensure a large attendance, but this does not at all enter into our plan. The young men are, in general, very anxious to learn English, and thus be fitted for holding some office of trust under Government.

Hunter insisted that they learn in the vernacular, asking them why they should learn another language before they have fully mastered their own. His actual reason concerned the ease of evangelisation:

My reason for refusing, at present, to commence an English school is shortly this. Youths knowing only Hindustani are enrolled as pupils. If we give in to their prejudices, months, ay years, elapse before we can speak of Jesus. Scarcely the simple truths can be stated and studied before the lapse of two or three years. Then the boy has a smattering of English and Government is very willing to permit his exchanging the school room for the office. Such is the probable termination of our exertions. We sought to give Christian instruction and feel that our object has been defeated. The sower has lost his time and strength in merely preparing the ground.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Mr. Nicholson, 'The New Scheme for Murray College', S.F.M.R., ACC7548/D17.

<sup>113</sup> Thomas Hunter to Dr. Craik, 28th February 1857, quoted in Youngson, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

Such a fear was felt even deeper due to the value that the Church of Scotland placed upon its missionaries being educated, and on the value of converts' literacy. The missionaries of the Church of Scotland themselves were highly educated, and in places like India much of their work involved higher education before 1880 (although in the Punjab Murray College only had College status from 1889).<sup>114</sup> Certainly individuals like Mrs. Scott, from a family of what she described as 'working class people', were highly educated. She was an M.A. and a qualified teacher before she embarked upon mission work, as was Miss Catherine Nicol.<sup>115</sup> Literacy was a fundamental part of the Protestant forms of Christianity since these emphasised the individual's ability to read the Bible.<sup>116</sup> In 1886, Mr. J. MacLagan wrote to Youngson about his worries concerning such material conversion:

I cannot say what opinion the Committee may express as to the propriety of baptising a man who has two wives. My own opinion is that there is no objection to it - but this is not a question that can be decided by me. I have no doubt you have carefully considered the necessity of caution in the admitting of these people to the membership of the Church, and that being well assured that so far as you can judge they are converts in heart. ... You must at the same time take care that men are not lead to become candidates for baptism in hopes of getting employment in the Mission service.<sup>117</sup>

This material exploitation of mission employment was a real fear at other times also. Almost fifty years later, William Scott had taken some villages back from the American United Presbyterians, and he writes of their self-support pastor system and of how it is:

A system they have in force all over their "Districts", but which I strongly disapprove of. The Pastor's chief aim unless he's a God sent man, is to make

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<sup>114</sup> Walls, 'British Missions', in Torben Christensen and William R. Hutchison (eds.), *Missionary Ideologies in the Imperialist Era: 1880-1920*, p. 160 & Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

<sup>115</sup> Mrs. M.M. Scott, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2, and Miss C. Nicol, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

<sup>116</sup> Porter, "'Cultural Imperialism' and Protestant Missionary Enterprise, 1780-1914" in *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol. 25, No. 3, p. 382.

<sup>117</sup> Mr. J. MacLagan to J.F.W. Youngson, 18th March 1886, S.F.M.R., MS7548 (Letter book 1885-1887), p. 141.

his living & the temptation is strong to adopt very doubtful and even objectionable methods<sup>118</sup>

Even by the eve of Church Union in 1970, Young wrote of how ‘Christians moving from one mission to another to get jobs often simply changed their denomination.’ It is not certain here whether these Christians moved simply because their employment had changed, or whether they moved simply to use their religion as a means to gain employment, but even if the latter was not common, it was still an ever present possibility.<sup>119</sup>

### **3.11 Reaction to resistance: some bravado to bolster the public face**

In the face of such resistance, some made a stand. Reggie Thomas, a Pakistani member of staff, and William Young, the Scottish missionary, took a bold stance in the 1950s over Islamiyat teaching (Islamic religious instruction). Whilst teaching from the Bible was not wholly condemned or objected to by students or their parents, a decision of the College in 1952 to stop teaching Islamiyat caused outrage, and ruined the tolerance of any Christian teaching for a while. Thomas minuted how:

Min. 3 (viii). We have taken a bold stand against the teaching of Islamiyat and rightly so. The consequences of this might be grave but all right thinking people here are prepared for it. Already in the local (vernacular) press and in Lahore edited papers strong criticism against us has appeared.<sup>120</sup>

Indeed the *Pakistan Times* of 27th June 1952 printed a letter from ‘One concerned’ in Sialkot which commended Islamia College in Peshawar for its Rs30 scholarships to those who offered Islamiyat as an elective subject, and condemned Murray College’s decision. By April of the next year a student petition went to the

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<sup>118</sup> William Scott, 7th December 1933, in S.F.M.R., MS7609, p.165.

<sup>119</sup> Young, *Presbyterian Bishop*, p. 51.

<sup>120</sup> R.C. Thomas to Dr. Stewart, June 29th 1952, enclosing Board Meeting minutes, S.F.M.R., ACC7548/157B (Murray College Papers 29th June 1942-23rd July 1953).

Minister of Education, although when investigated by a messenger sent from the Ministry the signatories were not a unified body. Many signed on the understanding that every student had done so, or because they wanted Islamiyat, but had not been told that the petition would go to the Minister. The Government subsequently withdrew the College's grant but did not outline the reason behind this, which could have been linked to the College's healthy financial state at the time.<sup>121</sup> Gradually the dispute settled, with Vincent A. Das writing of how '... the students are not so much prejudiced against Bible teaching as they have been in previous years', as more Muslim students began to join the Bible classes.<sup>122</sup> Despite this entente, communal feelings could still be raised, and this spectre was still around in the 1960s. From February to April 1963 there was student unrest in the College. A dispute over the pumping of water from a mosque's water pipe to the College was amplified into a student strike, with the student messes dividing on religious lines when all had lived together previously. Demands then arose that the Qur'an should be read at the College Convocation, which William Young refused, since this '... was to ask us to worship according to the religion of the majority community, which was an infringement of our religious rights.' The dispute settled when it was pointed out to those protesting that, contrary to their beliefs, there was no Bible reading at the Convocation, but only a hymn and a prayer chosen carefully so as not to offend.

In these disputes, as with the earlier staff disturbances, it is difficult to determine exactly how much of the trouble came from the genuine grievances of the students and staff, and their genuine feelings of religious outrage or offence. A balance had to be struck by the College when it was felt that these feelings were open to exploitation. Young wrote of how:

Student strikes and indiscipline are common these days all over Pakistan, and are exploited by politicians. The students have been able to get their own way far too much. In a Christian College there is the additional difficulty that

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<sup>121</sup> Clipping from the *Pakistan Times*, 27th June 1952; Dr. Stewart to R.C. Thomas, 9th July 1952; L. Scott to Dr. Stewart, 16th April 1953 & College Report for 1952, dated 5th January 1953, S.F.M.R., ACC7548/157B (Murray College Papers 29th June 1942-23rd July 1953).

<sup>122</sup> Murray College accounts, 1953-4; Murray College S.C.M. Reports 1954-5 & 1955-6; S.F.M.R., ACC7548/158B (Murray College Papers 15th May 1953-7th November 1959).

communal feelings may be exploited. We feel that the stand we have taken may well ultimately be beneficial to other colleges in Pakistan, if we can hold to it consistently.<sup>123</sup>

### **3.12 Pakistanis empowered: toleration and collaboration on their terms**

Thomas and Youngs' actions here were based upon principle, but at other times Scottish missionaries were well aware that they engaged with Pakistanis on their terms. Young was well aware of how local loyalties and power politics could transcend religious loyalties, and accepted this.<sup>124</sup> Scottish missionary work was in many ways conditioned by local reactions. Medical mission work was generally well received because of the benefits it brought. Dr. Jean Orr came from a Brethren background, and worked in Multan and Baltistan with her husband, Robbie Orr:

I would say that one of the main factors in all the places that we worked was the fact that I was doing medical work and you are accepted wherever you go because of the medical needs of the women and the children and so they put up with the Christian aspect of it and the preaching that goes along with it because they want medical help, and I think that would apply to every area that we've been in, in Pakistan and to some extent in Afghanistan too, where eye work, eye hospital work is one of the main things.<sup>125</sup>

Such was the degree of acceptance that medical work could bring that on the troublesome frontier that 'It was said that each of these mission hospitals [at Peshawar, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan], linked with the chief mountain passes, was worth three battalions of troops in keeping peace on the Frontier.' Their importance is further shown by the recall of Harry Holland from the hospital he had set up at Imphal during the Second World War by his father (Henry Holland) and Auchinleck.

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<sup>123</sup> William G. Young, Typed resumé of events of July 1963, S.F.M.R., ACC 7548/160B (Murray College Papers, September 1962-December 1963).

<sup>124</sup> Young, *Presbyterian Bishop*, pp. 78-79.

<sup>125</sup> Dr. Jean Orr, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

This was much to Harry Holland's annoyance. Medical work opened friendships with Pathans for Henry Holland, who worked under the auspices of the C.M.S., and during the Quetta earthquake (albeit in that exceptional situation):

Such was the change which had come over the attitudes of the tribes of Baluchistan and of the Frontier. That change, I think, one can put down to the ministry of healing, which is essentially a ministry of friendship. Now we had made countless real friends on the Frontier.<sup>126</sup>

Church of Scotland medical missionaries were equally well received. Dr. Marie Ogilvie's father received countless letters of gratitude from patients at the Jalalpur hospital where he worked.<sup>127</sup>

Such gratitude and friendship was not necessarily merely in the eyes of these missionaries, but was a key factor in their acceptance. For earlier missionaries without this means of acceptance, adaptations to local cultural forms were necessary. Youngson described how mission work in Chamba adopted 'native ways' as the Church there grew. To him, this in no way contrary to Christian principles, although a certain tone of distaste comes through - only 'certain ceremonies' were altered:

The Church grew rapidly, and with that growth an adaptation to the habits and customs of the people was attempted. Believing that it is no part of Christianity to run antagonistic to anything but sin, the missionary applied this principle of conformity to native ways in certain ceremonies, in modes of music, and certain usages.

He added how some of the locals were ' "offended" ' by the '... first funeral after European fashion' and especially by interment. It was because of this that 'The missionary therefore resolved to conform somewhat to their ancient custom' by allowing a band of singers to head the funeral procession. However they were to sing '... not dirges, but suitable hymns'. At the time of writing Youngson seemed to

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<sup>126</sup> Henry Holland, *op. cit.*, p. 58, Mrs. Andrea Holland, *op. cit.*, p. 7, and Henry Holland, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

<sup>127</sup> Dr. Marie Ogilvie, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

believe that such concessions were just temporary diversions from the true Christian way:

We are dealing here with initial difficulties. Such problems have long since been solved, but none the less interesting is it to look back on those times of novelty and change in what touched most closely the sentiments and affections of the new converts.<sup>128</sup>

Youngson's bravado for a metropolitan audience scarcely reflects the dynamics of power in this encounter of cultures. In the face of locals' resistance, other methods were necessary. H.F. Lechmere Taylor, a medical missionary at Jalalpur writing only ten years later in 1906, saw the use of Punjabi folk music as a key in successful mission work. He related how the outcast convert, even if baptised later in life, would stand little chance of living a Christian life when his mind was '... steeped in superstition' and '... the plastic years of childhood and youth had been moulded by all the influences of debasing heathenism'. The only solution was if Christian teachers and catechists were sent to the villages, to gather people together, and '... by reading of the Word ... guide their feet into the way of peace.' However, this process this was ultimately facilitated by the fact that:

Fortunately the Panjabi is possessed of a soul for music, and is passionately fond of the songs of the country-side, uncouth though they sound to Western ears. Christian hymns, set to familiar tunes, many of them recounting at length the Gospel narratives, were quickly learned and became widely known, providing a precious means of grace to many who had no other.<sup>129</sup>

### **3.13 The crucial role of the local pastor**

Indeed these Church of Scotland missionaries were so disempowered, and had to concede so much, that the idea of them as being able to proselytise alone, secure in their cultural and religious superiority (as the creation of the missionary

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<sup>128</sup> Youngson, *op. cit.*, pp. 135 & 163-164.

<sup>129</sup> Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-90.

Scot suggested) is untenable. Their reliance on local village workers and self support pastors reinforces this. On initial arrival Hunter urgently requested Nufseeroola's help, and after Hunter's death Robert Hill requested that Mahomed Ismail should become a part of his mission.<sup>130</sup> These missionaries revealed their reliance upon such 'native agents' by these very requests, but it was only several decades later that praise of these workers and pastors' success came from them. John Alexander described the extent to which he relied on Padri Lazar in his replies to wishes of sympathy after Padri Lazar's death:

It was good of you to find the time to send me a few lines of sympathy on the death of Padri Lazar.

'I certainly do miss his wise help and all our poor Christians in Jammu miss him more than I can tell. He was their true and constant friend.'<sup>131</sup>

Even in his condemnation of other missions' policies for baptism and his assertion of the Church of Scotland mission's superior policy, Paterson proudly proclaimed how Mahtel Din has brought a fourth village of thirty-three people to be baptised. Whilst his tone might seem somewhat paternalistic, as if Mahtel Din was his protégé, the statistical reality of the number of converts that Mahtel Din brought to baptism again reveals this reliance.<sup>132</sup> In the 1920s, a contemporary of Paterson, the Reverend William Dalgetty, wrote honestly on the village worker, in a deserved eulogy:

... without our village workers what could we possibly have done in the past, what can we, as missionaries, do now ... One great hope in reaching our goal lies in making the Church indigenous and we can only do that by training and working through our Panjabi workers.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> Thomas Hunter to Mr. Cook, 17th April 1857, S.F.M.R., MS7618, p. 228.

<sup>131</sup> John Alexander, 31st July 1918, in S.F.M.R., MS7609, p. 27.

<sup>132</sup> Robert McCheyne Paterson, 11th July 1924, S.F.M.R., MS7609, p. 146.

<sup>133</sup> The Reverend William Dalgetty, '“The Training of Panjabi Village Workers”', (no date, c. 1925 on the basis of correspondence it is filed with), S.F.M.R., ACC7548/D17.

In their real encounter with local cultures and religions, it was often the case that Dalgetty's appraisal was the most honest in terms of these missionaries' reliance upon the village workers and self-support pastors, as Mahtel Din's example shows.

### **3.14 Meeting the 'other': language as a catalyst**

Language learning was, and is still, taken very seriously in the mission field. It was and is, of course, a necessary skill for missionaries to interact with those they proselytise among. Before coming to the Punjab in 1857, Hunter had '... devoted much time to the study of the vernacular' whilst in Bombay.<sup>134</sup> Youngson asserted how 'No one can expect to be a missionary worthy of the name who does not make the acquisition of the language or languages of his field of labour the very first consideration.' However, language learning was not just a means to an end. It directly influenced the outlook of some missionaries to a degree that questions the denigration of the 'other' and their culture that forms part of the stereotype of Scottish missionary enterprise.

Once learned, language opened many doors as 'The knowledge of a new language opened up a new world. A great revolution takes place in our minds regarding the capacities and capabilities of the native mind when interchange of thoughts become possible', and equally the 'native' begins to see the European in a better light.<sup>135</sup> Whilst language knowledge was undoubtedly an enabling skill for evangelisation, Youngson's admission of the 'great revolution' it caused should be noted. Not all missionaries saw language simply as a duty, and a means to an end to fill the empty vessel of the native mind. For many, it was a positive experience and achievement, beginning and enabling the cultural contact which in turn affected missionaries' outlooks. In 1924, Alexander Kerr wrote of how:

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<sup>134</sup> Thomas Hunter to Mr. Cook, 30th August 1856, S.F.M.R., MS7618, p. 210.

The Language is beginning now to prove really interesting, and tantalising. I am afraid I cannot yet get along very speedily, in fact it is good that the Indian temperament is not keen on speed; they are very patient when we try and talk to them.<sup>136</sup>

By 1929, his wife, Eva Kerr (who was a missionary before marrying him) found herself unable to ‘... make out one word of Panjabi’ but made do with what Urdu she had, English and the nurse’s help. She decided to learn Panjabi, which was to her like ‘... badly spoken Urdu & is rather like Scotch in that respect’, and to sit her mission board exam, since the C.M.S. exam was in a character that she would not use in her work.<sup>137</sup> At the same time, Elizabeth Bain was especially conscientious in her language learning, hoping to keep studying after her Panjabi exam because ‘... I think it is very necessary to get the language properly. It makes a great difference to one’s work.’<sup>138</sup> Such a sense of obligation regarding language learning was quite common. Bain’s contemporary, Mary Reid, refused a grant for her board ‘... as I feel that I know so little of the language I cannot be of real help in the actual work. Later, if I stayed on & could give more help I might consider it if the offer were made, but not now.’<sup>139</sup> For Mrs. M.M.Scott, language was emphasised, even if she felt, in 1937, that her skills were lacking:

Well language was the main thing they had already appointed someone to be a tutor and he came - oh the very, that was a Sunday that we arrived and he came the very next day and we sat on the verandah and I was shocked the first time he told me to say a prayer in Urdu (laughs) and the thing is the language school was due to begin a few months later and I had missed the beginning by arriving in February really instead of the autumn which would have been the normal time to arrive, so he had a short cut and taught me in Roman Urdu instead of starting to teach me the script he got me reading the language in the Roman script which I regretted afterwards because I've never really learned how to

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<sup>135</sup> Youngson, *op. cit.*, pp. 115 & 117.

<sup>136</sup> Alexander Kerr, 12th June 1924, S.F.M.R., MS7609, p. 132.

<sup>137</sup> E. Kerr to Miss Greenshields, 15th January 1929, S.F.M.R., MS7634, p. 13. The C.M.S. Panjabi exam was in the Garumki script, whereas the Church of Scotland exam was in the Persian script, which Kerr had already learned for reading and writing Urdu.

<sup>138</sup> E. Bain to Miss Greenshields, 19th February 1929, S.F.M.R., MS7634, p. 31.

<sup>139</sup> M. Reid to Miss Greenshields, 2nd August 1929, S.F.M.R., MS7604, p. 98a.

write Urdu properly but could hear it but I hadn't I wasn't especially good at the language.<sup>140</sup>

For Robbie and Jean Orr, in the 1950s, language again was a key area, and certainly not something (in response to my question) that was merely 'picked up':

Well 'picked up' is hardly the word. Language learning was taken very seriously. We had a very good tradition of language in our group. Our senior missionaries were probably the most fluent in the whole missionary community, and right from the beginning there was this tradition that for the first couple of years the great responsibility one has was to get language and to get it thoroughly... The key to it [assimilation] of course is thorough language learning<sup>141</sup>

In doing this, even if the official intent was for evangelisation, a process of change occurred. The concepts suggested by various words could be quite different, and so adaptation was necessary. Porter has portrayed missionaries as having an entirely utilitarian, mercenary outlook on language in their '... acquiring such portions as suited their role and neglecting the rest', which often necessitated the creation of new words for religious concepts.<sup>142</sup> Such a portrayal is perhaps a little unfair for some Church of Scotland missionaries, and other Scottish missionaries like the Orrs. Robbie Orr was very much aware of how:

... there's a much more philosophical and religious bent to the mind of the folks there but you would find that very often that you were using words, the same word, Persian or Arabic words, the same words, but with quite different connotations. The same vocabulary, the same religious vocabulary of God and his prophets and his hand in the holy books of the revelation of faith, love, repentance - different words which are the vocabulary with which one works whether Christian or Muslim but you've got to be very careful because they may mean something quite different, quite different.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> Mrs. M.M. Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>141</sup> Mr. Robbie Orr, *op. cit.*, pp. 2 and 5.

<sup>142</sup> Porter, 'Religion and Empire: British Expansion in the Long Nineteenth Century, 1780-1914', in *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, Vol. 20, No. 3, 1992, pp. 378-379.

<sup>143</sup> Mr. Robbie Orr, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

Language, then, was not just a tool for some missionaries, but could subtly change missionaries' perceptions of the 'other' in ways which more stereotypical portrayals do not allow.

### **3.15 Missionaries altered: from cultural contact to realigned loyalty**

In all this cultural and religious encounter, where missionaries adapted their work through the use of local cultural forms, missionaries' outlooks were altered. This change was never total, but its existence and significance was never alluded to in public representations of the missionary Scot. Holland's initial encounter with the Baluchis produced a unpleasant reaction. His journal recorded:

Feb. 3 1904

The people are extremely ignorant and fanatical, so up to the present we have not preached to them ... Here one is struck by a great difference between Muslim and Christian countries and peoples. The black ingratitude one meets here would not be encountered in any Christian country, I feel sure. ... [because] ... they have no experience of real love, because they know nothing of its source - our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ.

Holland added an addendum to this entry, quoted in his autobiography, that:

(N.B. Most of this was of course written over fifty years ago, and I may say truthfully that a great change has taken place among the people, due to some extent to the kind treatment and care they have received from the doctors and nurses at the mission hospital in Quetta.)<sup>144</sup>

That Holland attributed this change to the beneficent effect of his mission work is not surprising. However, it is difficult to assess to what extent such an isolated outburst, in the context of his whole autobiography, was indicative of Holland's real outlook, and whether he always felt that the Baluchis' character was

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<sup>144</sup> Henry Holland, *op. cit.*, pp. 86 & 88.

only redeemed by his mission work. Whilst his medical work would always be an enabling factor in assimilation, he was well known for his conscious effort in cultivating links with all peoples and creeds, using Freemason contacts from every community. Both he and his daughter-in-law, Mrs. Andrea Holland, presented a positive slant on his work, she described how:

... he was a very sociable person and he liked to play tennis and he was a very keen Mason, and the Masons in Quetta were of all religions so that he met the leaders of the Sikh community and the Muslim community ... and the Parsis, and he had some very good friends among them .. and he became very well known ... for his eye work, so lots of people who might have gone to the military hospital came to him for their eyes.<sup>145</sup>

Holland also had a liking for many of the peoples he worked among. Furthermore, his dislike of the reception that his work initially received is as much a natural, or at least a common, human reaction as it is any indication of deep seated orientalist prejudice, in terms of explaining rather than justifying this reaction. Admittedly, his liking of Pathans is couched in terms that coincide with the common liking amongst colonial officialdom of what they perceived as the manly as opposed to the scholarly, bookish or effeminate. However, he was not by the same token necessarily an intrinsically keen participant in the colonial venture, nor did he entirely espouse its values. As Proctor has suggested, the relation between missionaries and the colonial venture was often symbiotic, but with very different aims.<sup>146</sup> Even if Holland's hospitals were worth battalions on the Frontier, that was a chance benefit for others, not his motivation behind their establishment. Holland, despite an early distasteful reaction, made a deliberate attempt to assimilate. His assessment of Pathans was not unobjective - he could see their good and bad sides in writing of:

... the fine upstanding Pathans from the mountainous North, courageous, independent and fanatical, yet with a delightful sense of humour. .. Their

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<sup>145</sup> Mrs. Andrea Holland, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>146</sup> Proctor, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

bravery, their truthfulness and their chivalry have endeared them to all our Frontier officials who have had to do with them.<sup>147</sup>

Similarly Robbie Orr's reactions to various peoples of Pakistan quite naturally reflected the reception he was given at various times. Whilst he and his wife Jean '... were totally immersed in an Urdu speaking environment, a Punjabi speaking environment and soon it became home to us in a very real sense', when opposition came it was inclined to lead to his realisation that:

Punjabis I'm afraid are, although they may be initially easy to get in among, there's an unfortunate tendency, there's a kind of inbuilt nuclear fission, and they're apt to blow up suddenly.

Of course taken in isolation such a comment would seem orientalist, but this interpretation may alter when it is read in conjunction with Robbie Orr's later comment of how in Baltistan:

... we were welcomed there in a way that we never were welcomed in any other, to a degree that we weren't welcomed in any other part of Pakistan, although it is a hundred per cent Muslim and yet from the very top, from the Rajahs and the political chiefs and the Chief Superintendent of Police, that kind of thing we had a most cordial welcome and were able to integrate in a quite astonishing way.

In this light Robbie Orr's perception reflects the reception that their work was given and, as with Holland, a natural, or common human reaction. Even amongst the 'inbuilt nuclear fission' of the Punjabis it was the case that the Orrs felt the Punjab '...became home to us in a very real sense.', and they had made an effort to make it so.<sup>148</sup>

Of course, these accounts of two missionaries' work could be dismissed as indulgent self-justification. Moreover, their liking for certain groups coincides

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<sup>147</sup> Henry Holland, *op. cit.*, pp. 56 & 59.

<sup>148</sup> Mr. Robbie Orr, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 and 5.

exactly with colonial officialdom's preferred groups. There seems little to contrast the acquiescence to imperial values that forms part of stereotyped portrayals of Scottish missionary enterprise.

However, Holland's admission of earlier orientalist prejudice was not self-congratulatory. Moreover, their affinity with certain Pakistani peoples, even if couched in martial values, was an affinity missing from the public depiction of Scottish missionaries. Other missionaries showed a fierce loyalty and liking for those they lived and worked among. This was not simply paternalistic or expedient, as individual missionaries were unrepentantly outspoken at times, in criticising their superiors in the metropole. In the controversies of student and staff unrest and the Islamiat controversy at Murray College of 1949-1950, Leslie Scott talked of Muslim staff forcing home their demands simply because Pakistan had '... come to stay (probably)'. A year later Scott was writing of how:

The FMC [Foreign Missionary Committee] minutes arrived yesterday. I see there still seems to be confusion in people's minds between Pakistan and India. In the budget pages for example they put (*sic*) the big heading India and then Pakistan comes after that. As a loyal Pakistani my blood rises. As an unregenerate man I wish Pakistan would walk into India and give it two very thick ears. As a humble Christian I suppose I must forgive that country.<sup>149</sup>

Scott later wrote:

I'm afraid I was somewhat frivolous about the Pakistan-India matter. Whether with justification or not Pakistanies (*sic*) feel that Britain is not supporting Pakistan as it should. If they find that our Managing Committee (as you might call the F.M.C.) doesn't distinguish between Pakistan and India their idea will receive some confirmation. I note however that you have taken pretty thorough steps to remove misunderstanding. Thank you.<sup>150</sup>

This new loyalty was not simply to serve the mission's interests. In berating officials of the Church of Scotland - a church of which they were still a part, even if

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<sup>149</sup> Leslie Scott to Dr. John Stewart, 7th May 1950, S.F.M.R., ACC7548/157B.

<sup>150</sup> Leslie Scott to Dr. John Stewart, 25th May 1950, S.F.M.R., ACC7548/157B.

remade by their experiences in Pakistan - they showed a genuine affinity with, and concern for, their adopted home. Neither were Scott's sentiments unique. In the 1960s, William Young wrote:

I don't know how far the F.M.C. are aware of public opinion in Pakistan on the question of western aid to India, but it has to be realised that we here do feel that the West has been most unwise and most precipitate in its actions, and most unfair in its treatment of its ally Pakistan. In particular, there is a strong feeling of betrayal about the revelation of the secret agreement between India and the U.S.A. existing since 1951. We feel, too, that Nehru's hypocrisy, in condemning Pakistan for its pacts with the West, and refusing a joint defence pact with Pakistan because of its Western alliances, has been openly exposed.<sup>151</sup>

Young further remarked on how students from Jinnah Islamia went on strike at the time, and raised communal slogans and threw stones, when Murray College students when they did not join them. However his adopted patriotism remained, for whatever motive, despite this.

By the 1970s, the influence of Pakistani culture on Church of Scotland missionaries was even greater, and was manifested in the extent to which they adapted their ways and outlooks. William Young helped to facilitate Church Union in Pakistan in 1970, and had to manoeuvre his way around many intricate loyalties and rivalries on the way. However, in his appraisal of these he was not resentful, but accepted them as a part of Pakistani life. He described how:

What is known as *parti-bazi*, party power politics, is common in Pakistan in secular life - and in church life, even among sincerely converted and committed Christians. ... Some explain this power-seeking in the church from the fact that the Christian community in Pakistan is politically powerless. Others blame it on the bad example set by autocratic missionaries. I remember speaking about it to Padre Gill, and he said it was not his party but his *qaum* (extended family, clan group) to which he felt he had to be loyal. Youngsonabadis like him stuck together. But in Pakistan they speak of the *three r's*: besides *rishtedari* (family connections), the other available roads to position and power are *rusukh* (influence, knowing the right people), and

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<sup>151</sup> The Reverend W.B. Young to Willam C. Nelson, (no date - from papers between September 1962 and December 1965), S.F.M.R., ACC7548/160B.

*rishwat* (bribery, the judicious winning of friends by money). If a person did not belong to a strong clan group, he was tempted to follow one of the other roads.<sup>152</sup>

Here Young not only accepted and related these realities of Pakistani life which he had to accept when working there. He also saw how ‘autocratic missionaries’ might have been a part of a precedent that began these methods. Young himself was very keen to behold the creation of Pakistan.<sup>153</sup> Similarly for Young, any convert was not simply a statistic to be proudly proclaimed as Paterson did with Mahtel Din’s ‘souls’, but a human being with many difficulties after conversion, especially from Islam. He writes in his memoir of how ‘The convert from Islam is an *outcast* from his people’, often losing his home, family and job as a result, and of how they ‘... find it very difficult to feel at home in their new surroundings’, often because:

Many of the Christians simply don’t want him. He comes from what Hindus looked on as a enemy community. His motives are suspect. He tends to depend too much on the missionary, and to be looked upon a (*sic*) the ‘missionary’s child’.

Young continued, relating how such converts therefore begin to despise indigenous Christians as belonging to a lower class of society, so that ‘... he remains a stranger, a hanger-on, lacking the fellowship that would produce a mature faith.’<sup>154</sup> Similarly Holland remarked on how the local Punjabi Christians never really welcomed converts from the Pathan or Baluch tribes. He drew an analogy to the British Isles, saying ‘A Gaelic-speaking crofter in the West Highlands of Scotland and a Sussex farm labourer would have more in common than these two groups.’<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> Young, *Presbyterian Bishop*, pp. 78-79. ‘Youngsonabadis’ come from the colony of Youngsonabad, a Christian colony located along one of the canals from the Chenab - a part of the British policy of irrigation. In distributing the allotments, the Governor of the Punjab, Sir Mackworth Young, gave some to the Church of Scotland mission as well as to the American Presbyterians, the C.M.S. and the Church of England. A settlement named Youngsonabad, after John F.W. Youngson, was founded on the forty-four acres of Church of Scotland land. See J.N. Ogilvie, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58 and Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 163-164.

<sup>153</sup> Young, *Presbyterian Bishop*, p. 14.

<sup>154</sup> Young, *Presbyterian Bishop*, p.32.

<sup>155</sup> Henry Holland, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

Many other missionaries were and are aware of the convert's struggle, thus illustrating a realistic and sincere appreciation of the realities of their work. Holland talks of the privilege of knowing two converts who were killed in Afghanistan, having related the trials they faced. For him:

As my mind thus goes back to those two fine Christian Pathans, Abdul Karim and Nasrullah Khan, I consider it an honour and a privilege to have counted them among my friends. If "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church", then the seed of the tiny Frontier Church in Quetta is in the great Christian tradition, of service through suffering, of life out of death.<sup>156</sup>

Similarly Robbie Orr talks of how for missionaries in Afghanistan work could be dangerous, and of how:

... three friends of ours were murdered there, one couple very cruelly. She was Finnish, Lisa, and he was Dutch, Ben, and, they were, folks broke into their home and put them through a pretty bad time, and then cut their throats and the children were in the house and nobody found them out until the next noon, but another friend was shot. So it was pretty rough there.<sup>157</sup>

In spite of such treatment, many of these Scottish missionaries, within and without the Church of Scotland, were altered through cultural contact, across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The extent the influence varied, but was significant for each individual, especially when placed in the context of the values of their time, rather than being interpreted by the values of today. Holland's outburst at the Baluchis might seem loaded with prejudice, albeit spurred by a common reaction, but his assimilation, and his efforts to integrate and help at whatever level and by whatever means he could, show his ability and willingness to adapt. For Young, the title of his work, *Presbyterian Bishop*, shows his theological concession - that against the grain of his own denomination and religious values he was prepared to make concessions in order to facilitate Church Union, despite the dichotomy of this. He described how:

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<sup>156</sup> Henry Holland, *op. cit.*, p.81.

<sup>157</sup> Mr. Robbie Orr, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

This pointed to what for me as a bishop was to be a constant dilemma - how to reconcile my rooted Presbyterian habit of taking council together, and making sure that things come through proper channels, with the need of giving a firm and wise leadership, and seeing that the weak are not denied justice.

Regardless of this dilemma, and his readily admitted failings, Young was able to balance the two areas, and within the new Church was anxious that all were represented. In service forms he adapted the form to suit both local culture and all Christian denominations.<sup>158</sup> Whilst early Church of Scotland missionaries in the Punjab expressed occasional distaste at local cultures and asserted the superiority of their culture and religion, they also adapted, assimilated to some degree and were altered, even if this was forced upon them. The Scottish missionaries of the twentieth century represent a contrast to their antecedents. They moved more towards assimilation to whatever extent, often as a conscious goal that they themselves implemented. This was not just in terms of the practicalities of their work through adapting to the culture, but by altering the very views that had moulded them in the first place.

### **3.16 Colonial dissidents: Scottish missionary enterprise, women's education and nationalism**

Stereotypical portrayals of Scottish missionaries are not only questioned by the altering experiences of those missionaries in Pakistan. Late twentieth century historical analysis that locates missionaries (including Scots) firmly in the imperial mindset does not always match reality. The careers of Miss Joan McDonald and Miss Isabella McNair, in Christian educational work in Lahore, spanned the first half of the twentieth century. They worked in what became Kinnaird High School and later Kinnaird College, and in the Joan MacDonald School. Their work showed radical attitudes towards gender and Indian nationalism, wholehearted co-operation between missionaries and Indians, as well as between different missionary societies,

although neither were themselves attached to missionary societies. This fundamentally questions a depiction of Scottish Presbyterian missionary enterprise which is bound up in a sense of its own superiority and the inferiority of Pakistanis, especially when these values were held at a time when independence was by no means certain.

Missionary work among women in the Punjab had received an initial boost in 1867 when Sir Herbert Edwards wrote to the C.M.S. asking them to begin work in the *zanānās* - a collective term for women's apartments in both Hindu and Muslim houses.<sup>159</sup> However, whilst these official endorsements of mission work indicate an alliance of sorts between colonial rule and missionary work, the work of McDonald and McNair in women's education in the Punjab shows quite different outlooks from colonial officialdom.

In 1852 the Indian Female Normal School Instruction Society was founded in the U.K. to help education amongst India's women. By 1880 an added concern for medical work in the same field led to a change of title to the *Zenana* [ed. *zanānā*] Bible and Medical Mission (Z.B.M.M.). In Scotland, the Z.B.M.M. enjoyed enthusiastic patronage from the Kinnaird family. Lord Arthur Kinnaird, a spokesman for Indian affairs in Parliament, and his son successively chaired a committee which raised money for a girls' school in Lahore, which had originally been founded by Indian Christian businessmen to provide education for their daughters. The school was founded in 1864, and quickly began to admit other religions, with its first Hindu girl arriving in 1866. The School was known by various names during the nineteenth century - the Native Christian Girls' School, the Lahore Christian Girls' School and the Lady Dufferin Christian Girls' School. In 1907 the name was changed to The Kinnaird High School, after Lady Mary Kinnaird, Lord Arthur's wife, because Lady Dufferin was also associated with non-Christian medical work elsewhere in India,

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<sup>158</sup> Young, *Presbyterian Bishop*, pp. 65 & 89-90.

<sup>159</sup> History of Kinnaird College (draft), kindly loaned by the Principal of Kinnaird College, Miss Phailbus, pp. 4-5.

and the Z.B.M.M. worried that the school might also appear to be secular. This change indicates the school's overtly Christian ethos at this time.<sup>160</sup>

By the early 1900s the School began to teach at college level, based on requests from pupils, and also began to train teachers. By 1913 a class at college level had begun, and mission bodies were invited to participate, and in 1918 the college classes separated from the school to become Kinnaird College for Women. Financial pressures during the First World War precipitated co-operation between missions, as the American Presbyterian Mission and the C.M.S. joined the Board of the College in 1919. Other missionary societies gradually joined - the Punjab Indian Christian Conference (1921), the United Presbyterian Mission (1923) and the Church of Scotland (1946), and this trend continued after independence. The co-operation of the Church of Scotland again questions more monochrome representations of Scottish Presbyterian missionaries as distant, leading lights for other mission work. The success of Kinnaird School and College from its earliest days, and the involvement of several other missionary societies were most likely significant persuasive factors in this decision.

Both the College's first Principal, and the Principal who subsequently led the College during a period of change in India between the late 1920s and 1950, were Scotswomen. Both played a leading role in women's education in the Punjab. The first of these women was Miss Joan McDonald, who served as Principal from 1913, when college level classes began, until 1915.<sup>161</sup> In 1933 she established another school in Lahore, the Joan MacDonald School, with an Indian lady, Miss Singha. The school subsequently passed into the ownership of the Najmuddin family in the 1940s, who continue to own and run the school, and who have further links with Kinnaird College. The current principal, Dr. Dilshad Najmuddin, was himself educated at the school by Miss McDonald, and recalled how '... she must have been

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<sup>160</sup> London minutes of Z.B.M.M. No. 835, May 1st 1907, quoted in Draft History of Kinnaird College, p. 6.

<sup>161</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

a religious person ... because they ['my own parents'] selected her [as Dr. Najmuddin's godmother] ... she must have been a good proper practising Christian'. However, her faith did not preclude the establishment of a community, irrespective of faith, within the Joan McDonald School or within Kinnaird College. Illustrating his point with an old school picture, Dr. Najmuddin noted how '... there were at least four or five religions at that time [the early days of the Joan McDonald School] ... in that picture of '36'.<sup>162</sup> Mrs. L.R. Najmuddin, the aunt of Dr. Najmuddin, was an early student at Kinnaird. She recalled the first college level classes of 1913:

... with Miss Joan McDonald as the first Principal, who did all the spade work. Three years later I joined the First year myself. There were just seven of us, and with the five or six in the second year we formed the whole student body ... there were only about forty-five of us, forming a compact 'Family', though five different religions were represented and half the students were non-residents.<sup>163</sup>

By 1928, Isabella McNair became new Principal at Kinnaird. She had formerly taught English at the Women's Christian College in Madras from 1917, and her influence at Kinnaird was extensive. McNair clearly saw Kinnaird as having a duty to Lahore and the women of the Punjab, for a variety of reasons. As the College expanded, accommodation proved a problem, and in 1932 an offer to move the College to the larger site of St. John's College in Agra was made. Although the offer provided a solution to the problems of accommodation, McNair's reply outlined her opposition:

... I began to think of Lahore without the College, and I could not believe it was right to abandon it.

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<sup>162</sup> Interview with Dr. Dilshad Najmuddin, 24th February 1998, SA1998.39, pp. 2-3.

<sup>163</sup> Mrs. L.R. Najmuddin, 'Memories Old and New' in *The Last Word* (the magazine of O.A.K.S. - the Old Association of Kinnaird Students), 1962-1963, quoted in History of Kinnaird College (draft), pp. 19-20. New, first-year admissions to the College are known as 'acorns', with reference to O.A.K.S., reflecting further this sense of community and ethos within the College.

This reluctance to move arose partly out of a self-confident belief in the benefits of the strong Christian element within the College. McNair believed that it played a role in establishing a sense of community, and thus preventing communalism:

No province suffers so much as the Punjab from communalism ... I ascribe our happy united community life to our Christian teaching, our daily meeting together in Chapel, and to our common dining room. I think we render a service to India in helping to break down communalism in its greatest stronghold.

McNair also saw a danger in the establishment of rival colleges as a threat. She continued, remarking upon how Government colleges admitted 'so many [i.e. a quota of students] from each community', and how this could feed communalism. She also mentioned a rumour that the Sir Ganga Ram Trust was about to open college classes, but only for Hindu students.

McNair's outlook was not parochial, however. Her Christian faith and her belief in its beneficence and in the active role it could play was never doubted, but she did not see the College as simply a means to extend the Christian faith. McNair saw the College as playing a dual role of preparing Indian women for India's future, and of preparing the Church in the Punjab for its future. In the same letter she added:

... if Kinnaird left [Lahore] there would be no other college to do what it is now doing to unite women of different communities who are likely to have an important part to play later on in social and political life ... It is needed for non-Christians, and it is needed for Christians. The Church in the Punjab is young and its task is beset with difficulties. Mr. Rallia Ram wrote recently, "Thus the Kinnaird College is an indispensable necessity both as an effective evangelistic agency and as a training ground for the leadership of the Punjab Church." I believe that it can only hope to fulfil this two-fold mission adequately in Lahore.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> Letter of August 11th 1932 from Miss I. McNair to Revd. W. Paton, secretary of the International Missionary Council, quoted in History of Kinnaird College (draft), pp. 29-30.

Implementing this ‘two-fold mission’ proved difficult at times. In 1940 the Board of Directors of the College complained that the College was not doing enough to address ‘... the needs of the Church in creating leadership, and educational advancement in the community.’ McNair replied that there were not enough Christian girls seeking university education, which in turn dictated that the College must serve the needs of students from all communities. Indeed, admissions to the College in 1940 showed thirty-seven Christian students, compared to one hundred and three Hindus, thirty-eight Muslims and thirty-one Sikhs, so that non-Christian communities were in the majority by far. McNair herself had never seen the College as simply serving the Christian community. Moreover her commitment to India’s independent future was sincere, and not simply with a view to easing proselytising work. She wrote to the Bishop of Lahore on 9th February 1939 supporting an ‘Independence Day’ procession by her students, and she further sent a telegram to the Viceroy concerning Gandhi:

“The staff and students of Kinnaird College ask for Gandhiji’s unconditional release and express their strong conviction that this is the only right course.”

Some Kinnaird students also fasted along with Gandhi in the early 1940s.<sup>165</sup> McNair’s support was very much appreciated by nationalist students. Uma Charterjii, a senior student at Kinnaird, recalled how:

“One of the national leaders was released from jail, whom the younger generation, particularly students admired. They planned to meet him at Lahore’s Railway Station and take him in procession to Bradlaugh Hall, near Data Darbar, where he would address the crowd. A batch of Kinnaird College girls wished to join this procession. Miss McNair tried to dissuade them because she thought that violence and hooliganism might lead to a *lāthī* charge. However when she could not persuade them, she decided to accompany them herself. I wonder if you can bring to mind the picture of a huge procession of Indian students in British times, going down the length of McLeod Road and the Mall with a grey-haired British lady being driven at walking pace beside a batch of girl students, in a shabby old car, which the whole of Lahore

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<sup>165</sup> History of Kinnaird College (draft), pp. 40-41 and 44-45.

recognized as belonging to the Principal of Kinnaird College. Her presence extended protection, dignity, and sympathy with their nationalist aspirations.”<sup>166</sup>

The fondness in Uma Charterjii’s description almost presented McNair as a mother-like figure whose presence empowered the student procession, but Charterjii’s recollection of McNair’s commitment should not be dismissed as simple nostalgia. McNair’s support for nationalism was dissident, as was the support for Indian nationalism amongst the College’s patrons in the metropole. Emily Kinnaird, the daughter of Lord Arthur and Lady Mary Kinnaird, continued her family’s connection with Kinnaird College, visiting India in the early 1920s. Writing in 1925, she saw:

... how deep was the wound in the heart of the people of India which the Amritsar affair and the continuation of the Rowlatt Acts and other repressive measures had made ... [when she] ... saw elsewhere with my own eyes the treatment given to Indians, I confess my blood boiled.

When she met Gandhi, Kinnaird saw his non-violent principles as in tune with Christianity, comparing his trial with that of ‘our Lord’. She further described how:

... I deem it a privilege to have been allowed to sit on the floor with him and his wife and discuss some of the problems which oppressed them ... the conviction grows on me that we of the British race have got to change our point of view, [regarding Indian politics] and we can only do so by taking a new viewpoint.<sup>167</sup>

In India, McNair subsequently proved a guiding light at Independence. Mrs. L.R. Najmuddin recollected how:

The biggest crisis in our history came in 1947 when the bulk of the student population and most of the staff migrated across the newly established border. All honour to our beloved Principal of the time, Miss McNair, that she did not

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<sup>166</sup> Uma Chatterjii in *The Last Word*, 1985, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

<sup>167</sup> Emily Kinnaird, *Reminiscences*, (London, 1925), pp. 174 and 176-177.

let the college disintegrate completely, but put the bits and pieces together again to fashion and rebuild.<sup>168</sup>

Just as staff and students left, new Muslim students arrived. Miss Shamim Anwar arrived in Pakistan from Jullundur, in the Indian Punjab. She enrolled at Kinnaird in November 1947, and was the College's first Muslim refugee student. She recalled how 'Miss McNair seemed to have a special relationship with every student.'<sup>169</sup>

These Scotswomen, in their involvement with education at Kinnaird High School, the later College and the Joan McDonald School, combined their Christian outlook and aims, which included the development of Christianity in the Punjab, with a significant development in education for the women of the Punjab and beyond. In the 1930s, McNair reported how students '... apply to us from practically every province of India, and even from Burma.'<sup>170</sup> Educational achievement for Kinnaird was outstanding. In 1886 a Kinnaird student was the first girl in the Punjab to pass the matriculation of Punjab University, and in 1889 a Kinnaird student was the first girl in the Punjab to pass the F.A. examination. Another Kinnaird student, Miss Jamila Mary Siraj-ud-Din, was the first Indian woman to gain a State Scholarship to study in the U.K., and subsequently gained a Ph.D. in Economics from Edinburgh University in 1927.<sup>171</sup> The influence of Kinnaird extended beyond higher education, however. Some former students went on to lecture in higher education, whilst many more went to teach in schools across the Punjab. With this, the educational role and impact of the College across the Punjab was profound. The first ' "Old Students Weekend"' was held during the 1923-1924 academic year, by which time many former students were headteachers or teachers in Government High Schools as well as teaching in mission schools. Mrs. L.R. Najmuddin went on to teach in the Victoria School - a school for girls inside Lahore's walled city, and then moved out with some of its students to start the Lady Maclagan School. She went on to teach in

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<sup>168</sup> Mrs. L.R. Najmuddin, 'Memories Old and New', *op. cit.*, quoted in History of Kinnaird College (draft), p. 55.

<sup>169</sup> History of Kinnaird College (draft), pp. 51-53.

<sup>170</sup> Kinnaird College Annual Report, quoted in *op. cit.*, p. 37.

the Lahore College for Women and then taught English in Kinnaird College itself from 1925. This policy was itself wholeheartedly supported by Isabella McNair. The Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Punjab, Mian Afzal Husain, gave a speech at the opening of the new Kinnaird College campus on 3rd November 1938:

In my opinion, the examination results, however glorious, very inadequately reflect the influence which a college has on its students as individuals, and as citizens of a fast developing and progressing country. To my mind it appears that our present day education suffers from one very serious defect. The educated lose touch with the masses, and in our already complicated caste system we are creating yet another caste more rigid and more aloof - the caste of the 'educated'. I am glad to find that true to their missionary tradition, Miss McNair and her staff have safeguarded against this eventuality and have planned contacts between the educated girls and their less fortunate sisters in the villages in the neighbourhood of Lahore. These students, brought up in large towns, know little of the life in our villages - where real India lives and the value of this aspect of your education and the experience cannot be over-estimated.<sup>172</sup>

The influence of Joan McDonald and Isabella McNair was extensive. Their example, although outside official missionary bodies, offers a contrast to a simplistic and unrepresentative portrayal of Scottish missionary educational enterprise. For them, inter-missionary rivalry was not prevalent and an adherence to Christianity did not prevent an equally strong commitment to upholding both the educational and nationalistic aspirations of their students.

### **3.17 Mutual tolerance: acceptance from both cultures**

This commitment of Macdonald and McNair was echoed by some Scottish missionaries in 1960s Pakistan. Whilst Scott and Young asserted their patriotism for Pakistan, and students went on strike during the 1950s, the next decade saw a mutual tolerance between some missionaries and some Pakistanis, who criticised more extreme attitudes on their respective sides. This was not unique to Scottish

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<sup>171</sup> History of Kinnaird College (draft), pp. 7 and 17.

<sup>172</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

missionaries, however. In an address at Forman College Chapel in 1961, James A. Gittings (an American Presbyterian, at a time of more co-operation between missionary societies) spoke against favouritism towards Christians:

I know of Christian Schools in some number which have no scholarship program for poor though deserving Muslim students. Is it right to give only to your own ? ...

I am disturbed that in some Christian hospitals the indignant Christian stands a much better chance of getting free or reduced treatment than (*sic*) do Muslims of the same status. I question the theology of this practice. I question the justice of it. I search for love in it and I do not find it.<sup>173</sup>

Some of the Muslim community wrote with similarly tolerant views in the emergent Pakistan (this would seem to correlate with Young's assessment of there being some political manipulation of student strikes). An editorial in 'The Civil and Military Gazette' referred to a Muslim organisation, the Himayat-i-Himayat-i-Islam, under Al-Haj H. Habibullah, which had founded the Islamia Colleges in Lahore. It commented upon how Habibullah had '... unleashed his ire against Christian missions in Pakistan and asked for their closure.' The editorial continued:

It seems customary with us these days to demonstrate our attachment to Islam by vehemently decrying everything that does not come within its folds ... the unreasonable demands for the closure of Christian missions made by Mr. Habibullah ... [are] against the very spirit of Islam which always preached and stood for tolerance. The Christian missions are doing good work in the spheres of education and social welfare. Some of the finest schools in the country - to which those who blatantly denounce these institutions, send their children - are run by them ... We would plead with Al-Haj Habibullah to act as a true Muslim and devote himself wholeheartedly to his work instead of frittering away his time in such unproductive disputations.<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>173</sup> "The Sign of the Broom", Address at Forman College Chapel, Sunday September 24th 1961 by James A. Gittings, in S.F.M.R., ACC7548/159B (Murray College Papers 1959-1962).

<sup>174</sup> Clipping of the Editorial of 'The Civil and Military Gazette', Lahore, enclosed in a letter from F. Khair Ullah to William Young of August 30th 1963, in S.F.M.R., ACC7548/160B (Murray College Papers September 1962-December 1965).

### **3.18 The manifestation of change: the making of an indigenous church**

Those Scottish missionaries who were altered, and those who are shown here as colonial dissidents, moved closer towards the culture they lived among during their mission work. This process had one ultimate manifestation, which further questions the sense of denigration of Indians and their cultures within the stereotype of Scottish missionary enterprise. Whilst their attempts to establish their religion on the ground were, in one sense, to assert their own religious and partially cultural outlook over others, they also worked towards and desired the establishment of an indigenous, rather than a mission run and supported church. This was not a last minute conversion. Proctor has concluded that Scottish missionaries supported or opposed nationalism dependent on which best suited their missions' interests, although McNair's support for nationalism seems far more genuine.<sup>175</sup> In the sphere of religious government, and what was in effect religious nationalism, most Scottish missionaries wholeheartedly supported self-government. In 1872, only fifteen years after the Church of Scotland mission was established in the Punjab, the General Missionary Conference at Allahabad placed the ' "State of the Native Church, and the Best Means of making it Self-Supporting, Self-Governing and Self-Propagating" ' on its agenda.<sup>176</sup> The C.M.S. set up a Native Church Council in the Punjab, on the instigation of Henry Venn, in 1877, although this remained under a European Corresponding Committee, which itself admitted Indian members in 1904.<sup>177</sup> That same year saw Dr. Norman Macleod, the Convenor of the Foreign Mission Committee, writing from Scotland to the missionaries in Sialkot on the same topic. As Youngson described, he was 'Anxious to promote the advancement and consolidation of the native Church'. Macleod wrote at length that '... any theories of

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<sup>175</sup> Proctor, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-61.

<sup>176</sup> *Report of the General Missionary Conference held at Allahabad 1872-73*, (London, 1873), p. 249 quoted in Webster, 'British Missions in India', in Torben Christensen and William R. Hutchison (eds.), *Missionary Ideologies in the Imperialist Era: 1880-1920*, p. 42.

<sup>177</sup> Webster, 'British Missions in India', in Torben Christensen and William R. Hutchison (eds.), *Missionary Ideologies in the Imperialist Era: 1880-1920*, p. 44.

the government of a native mission congregation' should be '... in themselves wise and good for India'. Whilst that of course would leave scope for paternalistic influence on the part of the missionaries, this seems unlikely since even in the metropole, unaffected by the situation in India, Macleod conceded that 'The Committee do not deem it essential that any native congregation planted by the Church of Scotland should necessarily carry out *her* peculiar government'. It is unsurprising that Macleod's own loyalties lead him to add that 'It may possibly be desirable in every case, and highly expedient that this [church government] should be done according to our Presbyterian model, which we think harmonises, as much at least as any other, the freedom of congregational action with the unity, order, and government of the whole', but even here he further conceded that all the mechanisms of such a system may not be possible in a station like Sialkot, and so that system of government may not be possible. In concluding, he stated that:

... the ultimate end which we have in view is not assuredly to form a native Indian Church as an extension of the Church of Scotland, but one that shall be independent of us altogether, and whose outward organisation shall be determined by its own members and ministers. I long to see the day when European missionaries shall be enabled to retire from all interference with the native Church; that day has not yet come, and we must hasten it on to the best of our ability.<sup>178</sup>

It might seem that such a policy was merely official rhetoric, but it was supported by action and intents in India. Mahomet Ismael, who had accompanied Hunter, was the pastor at Hunter Memorial Church in Sialkot in 1868, as was Tabal Singh in 1887 (see Figure 7). In 1880 William Harper wrote that:

We greatly need a settled pastor to minister to the native congregation and evangelise in the neighbourhood; and it is most desirable in every way that we should try to do something to make our native congregations independent of foreign aid ... Besides, it is most desirable that we should aim at making our older Mission stations independent, - that having planted organised churches

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<sup>178</sup> A letter of Dr. Norman Macleod, Convenor of the Foreign Mission Committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, to the Sialkot missionaries, 1872, quoted in Youngson, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-181.

Figure 7

Constructing the indigenous church



Pastors of Hunter Memorial Church inscribed on the font  
Indian pastors were appointed as early as 1868, eleven years  
after the Church of Scotland mission was founded in Sialkot.

From 1923, all pastors were Indian.

in them. We should leave them **in great measure to themselves and direct efforts of our church to new fields.**<sup>179</sup>

Whilst here for Harper the ultimate aim was for further evangelism, he nevertheless deemed that older mission stations did not need a paternalistic overseer in the form of a missionary. By the twentieth century an indigenous church was still a goal, but the evolution of the nationalist movement in India had conditioned some official attitudes towards it. Whilst on his 'Indian Pilgrimage', Ogilvie wrote how there were moderates and extremists in the Indian Church. The former '... seek to fit their Church for future independent life by a continuance of the present close co-operation with the Churches of the West', whilst the latter consider '... that the Indian Church is even now qualified to run alone, and would hasten the dissolution of the time-honoured bond'. He continued in suggesting that the extremists have taken their lead from the nationalist politicians and forget '... the tie that links the Churches of these two countries together [which] is of a much more tender and intimate kind.' He argued that whilst an element of diarchy may be appropriate for the Indian Church, in giving some responsibilities to Indians, the main control should rest in the West since this was where the funds of the missions come from. He concluded that:

... the principle of Diarchy is accepted and welcomed by all the Missions in regard to their work. What needs to be done now, and is being done, is to work out a scheme, or many schemes, of Diarchy in the allied sphere of Church and Mission, which shall give interesting scope for the healthy nationalism of the Church, add to the real efficiency of the Mission, and maintain the loving concord between Eastern Church and Western Mission unbroken.<sup>180</sup>

Ogilvie showed little support for the Indian Church's nationalist aspirations, but this might well have been because of financial realities, as much as from any objection based purely on principle. Indigenous churches had been formed from 1904, but interdenominational rivalries had prevented wholesale union. The

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<sup>179</sup> William Harper in *The Church of Scotland Home and Foreign Missionary Record*, July 1st, 1880, pp. 174-175, quoted in Young, *Days of Small Things*, pp. 72-73. The emphasis is Harper's.

<sup>180</sup> J.N. Ogilvie, *op. cit.*, pp. 31 & 240.

Presbyterian Church of North India, established in 1904, had included American Presbyterians and the Church of Scotland, but the American United Presbyterians and the American Associate Reformed Presbyterians stayed out. This Church then expanded in 1924, when several Congregational Churches joined it, forming the United Church of Northern India.<sup>181</sup> Of course it should be remembered that interdenominational unifications were very much an issue in the metropole in the 1920s, with the union of the United Free Church of Scotland and the Church of Scotland in 1929. The independence of the Indian Church was still supported by others during the 1920s. The Advance Movement Committee of the Panjab Mission stated one of its 'Ideals and Aims' to be 'To build up a self-supporting Church'.<sup>182</sup>

By the 1940s the question was even more pressing. The constitution of Murray College received much attention in its expression of the role and aims of the College, and the changes to it almost became a barometer showing the changes during the establishment of the indigenous church. In 1941 a draft of it circulated in Scotland simply stated:

The Murray College is a missionary institution in which the United Church of North India and the Church of Scotland are partners. Its purpose is to provide a sound education on a Christian basis for its students.<sup>183</sup>

This was amended (again in Scotland) to:

The Murray College is a missionary institution founded by the Church of Scotland. Its primary purpose is to provide a sound education on a Christian basis for its students, but it exists also to further in every possible way the interests of the Church of Northern India<sup>184</sup>

The evolution of the indigenous church at this time was not in doubt.

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<sup>181</sup> Young, *Presbyterian Bishop*, p. 19.

<sup>182</sup> 'Panjab Mission, Advance Movement Committee, Ideals and Aims, No. 3, (no date but c. 1925 ? from a Report of the Medical Committee filed next to it), S.F.M.R., ACC7548/D17.

<sup>183</sup> Mr. A.S. Kydd to The Reverend J. Muir, North Berwick, 5th August 1941, S.F.M.R., ACC7548/157B.

<sup>184</sup> The Reverend J. Muir to Mr. A.S. Kydd, 6th August 1941, S.F.M.R., ACC7548/157B.

Partition left only two of the twenty-five Church Councils in Pakistan, namely Sialkot under the Church of Scotland mission, and Lahore under the American Presbyterian mission. The headquarters of the United Church of North India were in India, and so the Protestant churches generally collaborated in the West Pakistan Christian Council.<sup>185</sup> By this time the Church of Scotland missionaries were keen to hand over, but the issue of finance which had troubled Ogilvie in the 1920s was still a real difficulty. Leslie Scott wrote about this to the mission authorities in Scotland, and how the American missions could train locals to succeed their missionaries, and subsequently repatriate their missionaries all because they had more money. He further remarked that many of them were able to pay their own expenses.<sup>186</sup> Often finance might force an unwillingly made decision. William Young had fully supported the growth of the indigenous church throughout his missionary career, which on occasion made him unpopular. In 1950 he had raised the possibility of transferring his ministry from the Church of Scotland to the United Church of North India, under which he felt he was serving, and this caused some ill feeling among his fellow missionaries. By 1967 he was asked to become Bishop of Sialkot diocese, which he was very reluctant to do, only relenting when it became clear that the position of bishop in Sialkot was only viable if he could be financially supported from abroad, as Young could be from Scotland.<sup>187</sup> Other missionaries were working towards a time when Pakistani colleagues could take over. Both Peter Scott and his mother, Mrs. Scott, recall how her late husband consciously worked towards a Pakistani colleague succeeding him as Principal of Murray College, and a letter in the records of the Church of Scotland mission in the Punjab confirms this.<sup>188</sup> This was a decision based upon confidence in Reggie Thomas' ability since the College had still not fully escaped the difficulties of Partition:

**Mr. S. :** Even by the time you came away there were clear signs that the local Pakistanis were taking over everything.

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<sup>185</sup> Young, *Presbyterian Bishop*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>186</sup> Leslie Scott to Dr. Stewart, 2nd June 1949, S.F.M.R., ACC7548/157B.

<sup>187</sup> Young, *Presbyterian Bishop*, pp. 30 & 56-57.

<sup>188</sup> JWCD/MSH to Leslie Scott, (no date, c. 1956 from surrounding correspondence), S.F.M.R., ACC7548/158B.

**Mrs. S. :** Oh yes your Dad deliberately encouraged ... Uncle Reggie to take over to be responsible for the [College] - by this time my husband had become Principal of the College in fact he was before we married, just around about the time we were engaged he had to take over the responsibility and that was a very anxious time because students were liable to be on the two sides. Oh the College suffered from the departure of all the Hindus, Hindu and Sikhs all left so it was the Muslims and Christians who were left and financially too the College suffered quite a bit.<sup>189</sup>

Later, when Reggie Thomas' spending at the college seemed extravagant, it was Scott who, whilst agreeing that he spent money freely, also defended this on the basis that he achieved things. He does say that 'Reggie has really little idea about finance', and that he spends 'unwisely' as soon as a balance sheet seems okay, but also remarks how '... he has got things done - two staff houses, one built and one bought, and a science block: and these have been done through Reggie's push and initiative.'<sup>190</sup> By 1959 the draft constitution of Murray College was more Pakistani in tone:

The Murray College is a Christian Institution founded by the Church of Scotland. Its object is to provide higher education, including that of University grade on a Christian basis for all its students, to prepare them for responsible citizenship and to strengthen the Christian Church in West Pakistan.<sup>191</sup>

Just as with the hand over of political power in Pakistan as a whole, events surrounding the evolution of an indigenous church in Pakistan were, and even now are, never completely smooth. The draft constitution warranted further attention in 1964. Dr. James Kellock, writing from Scotland, warned against vague phrases like 'on a Christian basis', 'responsible citizenship', and 'strengthen the Christian Church', since, 'Hostile minds tend to read dangerous and unwarrantable things into vague phrases.'<sup>192</sup> In the changed situation of working amongst a majority Muslim

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<sup>189</sup> Mr. P. and Mrs. M. M. Scott, p. 26.

<sup>190</sup> Leslie Scott to The Reverend I.M. Paterson, 3rd May 1961, S.F.M.R., ACC7548/159B.

<sup>191</sup> Murray College draft constitution 1959, S.F.M.R., ACC7548/159B.

<sup>192</sup> Dr. James Kellock, 24th February 1964, S.F.M.R., ACC7548/161B.

population whose leaders held the reins of power, care was necessary. A few months later Dr. Lillie feared the use the phrase 'rooted in the Church of Pakistan' in a further draft since this might facilitate inadequate compensation to the colleges and schools when they are nationalised by the government.<sup>193</sup> Such fears did not represent a lack of support for the emergent church or a simple protection of the metropolitan church's interests as per Proctor. In fact they very much show a desire that the new church should not be hindered by officialdom at all, and represent a part of the transfer of power. It was the case that Church of Scotland mission established institutions, such as the girls' boarding school at Barah Patthar, did lose property with nationalisation.

Elsewhere in the subcontinent problems had emerged for other churches at the time. India had refused to support thirty-two Anglican chaplains who had been maintained by the British Raj, leading the Reverend Max Warren, the General Secretary of the C.M.S., to urge that '... missions should carefully position themselves well in advance to cope successfully with the emergence of new political orders.' Warren was further discomfited by what he saw as the emergence of an identification of mission work with the American way of life after the Second World War.<sup>194</sup> In the emergence of the Church of Pakistan, Young pointed to the difficulties posed by American non-denominational and mostly Baptist-aligned missionaries who came in to Pakistan from the mid 1950s. Those followers of Carl McIntire who saw most other churches and missions as too ecumenically minded and liberal were particularly problematic. In the context of local power politics and rivalries, McIntire was later to support a breakaway seminary at Gujrunwala led by the former Principal, the Reverend K.L. Nasir. Those disaffected by appointments also joined McIntire, such as Khurshid Alam, who felt that his transfer to Narowal had located him in a backwater. These events seem reminiscent of earlier rivalries of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, but for missionaries like Young they were, and are accepted as a part of '*parti-bazi*'. Even for the few missionaries of the

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<sup>193</sup> Dr. W. Lillie to The Reverend W. C. Nelson, 17th June 1964, S.F.M.R., ACC7548/161B.

<sup>194</sup> Andrew N. Porter, 'War, Colonialism and the British Experience: the redefinition of Christian missionary policy, 1938-1952' in *Kirkliche Zeitgeschichte*, Vol. 12, No. 3, pp. 279-281.

Church of Scotland left in Pakistan such matters are frustrating, but accepted. For Catherine Nicol, the difficulties of the future of the school at Barah Patthar and of choosing a successor are:

...of course what concerns ... when you're working with women in this country and young women ... they're all going to get married and go and so it's the turnover, and people keep saying to me, 'Oh you must train somebody to take over you must train somebody to take over' and I sort of say, 'Well I'm training people all the time' but you can't train one person, you know, that this person will take over because ... that person just doesn't appear just like that and I feel when it's the time for me to go the right person will be there. ... Things fit into place and I don't, I mean in the church here so many things are planned and almost plotted is a word better than planned, and whenever you mention a person or training up a person for a job you immediately create those for and those against ... a lot of the padres the senior padres say this hostel it'll run well, the girls will be looked after so long as you're here, and I say, 'That's rubbish'. They say, 'Oh no'. I say, 'Well if you say it won't run after I'm not here it's only because you won't let it run. You'll say put a Pakistani lady in and the minute she disagrees with you you'll say 'Out'. You can't do that with me', and they laugh and they know it's true cause they do it with each other but it does make a problem, and if you get a married person here then there's always the problem of their children of relationships, boys and girls, and the people like Miss Martin whom you met this morning, the old dedicated people who chose not to marry and spent their lives in very dedicated service, well you don't get that kind of dedication now because I think fewer girls remain unmarried.

Even now, with missionaries from the Church of Scotland still in Pakistan, it might be said that the mission schools and churches established by the Church of Scotland are still not fully self-governed.<sup>195</sup> This is not by intent, however, and in no way reinforces a sense of Scottish missionaries asserting their superiority over an inferior. An entirely indigenous church remains a conscious goal.

Scottish missionary experiences in Pakistan across denominations, and time, cannot be singularly characterised, despite the public creation of the missionary Scot during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The public and private faces of

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<sup>195</sup> Miss Catherine Nicol, pp. 7-8, who is the only Church of Scotland missionary in Sialkot Diocese. The only other Church of Scotland missionaries in Pakistan are a lady in Gujrunwala, a man in Mardan and some teachers in the Murree Christian School, which mostly teaches the children of missionaries.

Scottish missionary enterprise, as a result, are divergent. The depiction of self-assured missionaries as leading lights of mission work, devaluing Indian culture within their commitment to imperial values is largely inaccurate, even if some missionaries were prejudiced at times. It does not match Scottish missionaries' different, strongly held motivations; their experiences and recollections of facing competition from other denominations; the unsettling resistance from indigenous cultures and the concessions and adaptations they made as a result.

In addition, later twentieth century historical analysis, which has placed missionaries as a whole within the imperial camp, fails to include divergent and nonconformist support of nationalism amongst some Scottish missionaries. Furthermore, both the public creation of the missionary Scot and later historical analysis do not allow for the altering effects of Scottish missionaries' interaction with Pakistani culture.

That process did not remake missionaries so that they discarded everything. The process of change was more subtle, and different missionaries changed in different ways, across different times. Moreover the change was generally chronological, through their missionary careers, and mirrored a wider change within missionary enterprise as a whole, as it reacted to changes over the subcontinent, and within colonial rule, across the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. However, the change they experienced was real, and in stark contrast to the rigid parameters of the public creation of the missionary Scot.

**Scottish military experiences in Pakistan**

**Figure 8**

**Ranks in an Indian Army Battalion (for infantry regiments)**

Listed below are the various ranks in an Indian Army battalion at the time when the interviewees here were serving. A battalion was divided into three companies, each usually being composed of one ‘type’ or ‘class’ e.g. Dogras, Sikhs, Punjabi Mussulmans etc. . Each company had three platoons. Each platoon had three sections.

| <b>Rank:</b>                    | <b>Role:</b>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Lieutenant-Colonel              | Commanded an infantry battalion                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| Major                           | Second in command of a battalion or a company commander.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| Captain                         | Adjutant (assists the commanding officer).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| Captain/lieutenant              | Quartermaster, or signals officer, intelligence officer, commander of mortar or machine gun platoon, or other support company platoons.                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Lieutenant/second lieutenant    | Company officer (not second in command).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>Subadar-major</i>            | Senior Viceroy’s Commissioned Officer. Personal adviser to the commanding officer on personnel, morale and discipline. Held considerable power in the battalion, including over junior British officers.                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>Subadar</i>                  | Second in command of a rifle company                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>Jemedar</i>                  | Or commanded/second in command of support platoons. Commanded a platoon, or second in command of certain support platoons. Also <i>Jemedar Adjutant</i> , who reports to the Adjutant on personnel, discipline and ceremonial matters. Also a <i>Jemedar Quartermaster</i> (second in command to the quartermaster). A <i>jemedar</i> was also the head clerk. |
| Battalion <i>Havildar major</i> | Reported to <i>Jemedar Adjutant</i> on personnel, discipline and ceremonial matters.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| Company <i>Havildar major</i>   | Reports on discipline within a company.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| Company Quartermaster           | In charge of supplies in the company.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>Havildar</i>                 |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>Havildar</i>                 | Second in command in rifle platoons, and various specialist appointments (e.g. quartermaster, signals transport etc.).                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>Naik</i>                     | Section commander within a platoon, support platoons, and specialist appointments.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>Lance naik</i>               | Section second in command, and appointments as above.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |

If nineteenth and early twentieth century accounts of military Scots are read at face value, the hardy product of a hard land almost conquered a subcontinent single-handedly. In such a portrayal, the 'martial Scot' subjugated weak, inept and subservient Indians. There was no interaction of any sort. However, the day-to-day lived experiences of Scots in military settings, and the realities of military life, both positive and negative, suggest a different picture. This holds true for Scots' experiences in Scottish regiments and in the Indian army, as recorded in documentary and oral sources. Here, in contrast, the military Scot is no longer the single, martial epitome, especially when some Indian 'races' are also proclaimed as martial. As a result, the stark contrast between omnipotent Scots as colonisers, and submissive Indians as the colonised is questioned, and a less stereotyped picture drawn. That picture does not glorify a catalogue of imperial victories across India, won single-handedly by the 'martial Scot'. Its realism and humanity represents and reflects Scots in military settings far more effectively than the creation of the 'martial Scot' ever did.

Many of those who were proclaimed as 'martial Scots' in Scottish regiments never had the power to represent themselves. Much of the dichotomy here between portrayal and reality stems from this. Of course, few people were able to represent themselves in published material across this period, so military Scots were not in a unique situation in that sense. What is more marked, though, is the contrast between their casting as dominant and their actual status. The records of the life of Scottish British Other Rankers (BORs) – non-commissioned officers and men in the British Army in India – indicate a much lower status, and a less pleasant, and as a result inglorious existence than that portrayed in the public depiction of them.

This contrast is all the more significant given the context of several of the available nineteenth century documentary sources used here. Indian campaigns of that century, such as the 42<sup>nd</sup> Highlanders in the 'Mutiny', and the Gordons and Borderers in

the Siege of Chitral and the Tirah campaign, were cornerstones in the creation of the military Scot. Yet documentary sources from the Gordon Highlanders and the King's Own Scottish Borderers regiments from the Chitral and Tirah campaigns show different sides to the military Scot, as do accounts written by Scottish officers in Indian Army regiments from the same campaigns. The twentieth century military sources used here, from Scots in British and Indian Army settings, continue this divergence between public presentation and private experience.

Crucially, the creation of the military Scot only allowed for confrontation between the Scot and the servile 'other', and denied other experiences within this cultural interaction. Firstly, within this creation, Scots who served in Indian Army regiments were rarely mentioned, and if they were, they were dominant. Histories and biographies by retired officers and administrators appeared in mid-Victorian periodicals in both Britain and India, romanticising the Indian army, because 'now that the old race of heroes, who saved England from the grasp of Napoleon is fast dying out, it is to India that we must turn for those noble exemplars of the true military tradition'.<sup>1</sup> In that 'true military tradition', there was no question that this alleged power over Indians could ever be questioned at an individual, personal level.

Secondly, Indians could never be cast as in any way empowered, engaging with the Indian Army on their terms. Thirdly, there was no allowance for the subjugation of Scottish BORs in India – a circumstance that does not sit alongside omnipotence. Finally, the creation of the military Scot could neither allow for, nor anticipate, Scots' roles in establishing a military tradition in colonial Pakistan, which then continued into post-Independence Pakistan.

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<sup>1</sup> J.W. Kaye, 'The Romance of Indian Warfare', *North British Review*, Vol. 12, (1849/50), p. 222 quoted in Douglas M. Peers, '“Those Noble Exemplars of the True Military Tradition”'; Constructions of the Indian Army in the Mid-Victorian Press', in *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 1, (1997), p. 110.

#### 4.1 Imperial mindsets

When any Indian author reinforced the discourse of dominance and power of which the portrayal of the military Scot formed part, their ideas were circulated. Subadar Sita Ram's *From Sepoy to Soobadar* empowered the *sāhab* simply by the description of him being 'seven feet high', and its influence was widespread as it was used as a text for Higher Standard Hindustani.<sup>2</sup> Major J.P. Rutherford recalled how he used the same text in learning Urdu during the Second World War, and loaned me his copy.

The loyalty of such Indians was always a quality to be codified and emphasised. The discourse within the codification of martial races in India invested those who served the Indian army with traits believed to be naturally present in the British themselves, almost as a reward for such loyalty. Thus the peoples of North-West India who enrolled in the Army in large numbers, and who were delineated into their groups - Sikhs, Pathans, Dogras, Punjabi Mussalmans etc. - were deemed as masculine and martial. However, the peoples of the South were often held to be unsuitable for military recruitment, were deemed effeminate, and were scarcely popular among Indian Army officers as a result.

Lieutenant-Colonel Roy Douglas Howse further related how the expansion of the Indian Army during World War Two meant that the Army took peoples whom they normally avoided, so they were '... scraping the bottom of the barrel and those at the bottom of the barrel hadn't got the same loyalty', with the result that desertions occurred

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<sup>2</sup> Sita Ram, *From Sepoy to Soobadar: Being the life and adventures of a native officer of the Bengal Army written and related by himself*, translated by Lieutenant-Colonel Norgate, in Lieutenant-Colonel D.C. Phillott, *Annotated English Translation of Khwab o Khayal or "Visions of the Past" The Text-Book for The Higher Standard Examination in Hindustani*, (Calcutta, 1914), 2nd edition, pp. 9-10. (J.P. Rutherford's own copy).

in his Jat regiment.<sup>3</sup> As a pre-War regular Howse's ascription of problems within his regiment to the intake of non-martial types is not surprising, since he was inculcated with this discourse in the relative calmness of the pre-War Indian Army. The concept was clearly widespread, however, given references to it by Emergency Commissioned Officers commissioned during World War Two. Their relatively hasty recruitment and training, compared to that of the pre-War Indian Army, illustrates a residual influence of martial race theory. An ECO in the 9th/9th Jat Regiment, Mr. Duncan Henderson, was aware of how Jats and Ahirs were 'not really top grade.'<sup>4</sup>

Such a discourse of power often meant that colonial dominance and Indian inferiority were rarely outwardly questioned by Scots, or others from the British Isles, across much of the period of colonial rule. On arriving with the Gordon Highlanders in Bombay in 1873, Ian Hamilton's use of Orientalist language to describe some in the bazaar as 'Fuzzy-Wuzzies' clearly shows such an inherited discourse of power and racism.<sup>5</sup> Such attitudes continued further down the ranks as well, across all peoples of the British Isles. Mrs. A. Lee, the wife of an English Band-Master in the British Army, recalled how:

... everybody in these days thought we owned India, I believe ... we thought we were the bosses ... I think everybody took it for granted that the British Empire was there for good [ed. ie. permanently].<sup>6</sup>

An English BOR, Ed Brown, remembered how in the minds of many BORs:

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<sup>3</sup> Lieutenant-Colonel Roy Douglas Howse, 9th Jat Regiment 1937-1947, interviewed by Kim Prior between 1983 and 1987, p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Interview with Mr. Duncan Henderson, SA1997.36, 9th/9th Jat Regiment, 1943-1947, p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> General Sir Ian Hamilton, *Listening for the Drums*, (London, 1944), p. 21.

<sup>6</sup> Mrs. A. Lee, wife of Band-Sergeant G.T.H. Lee, 2nd North Staffs., in North-West Frontier Province 1909-1920; IOLR, Mss. Eur. T. 57, p. 513.

There was a very definite relation with the soldiers to the natives they came in contact with. They were lesser mortals the natives and they had to do as they were told or else, that's what the private soldier thought.<sup>7</sup>

The sense of superiority was reinforced spatially too. In order to further emphasise such attitudes and ensure the separation of British personnel and Indians, cantonments and civil lines were the norm in many stations of India, where the British military and the civilian population would live in separate, designated areas built specially for the purpose. As a child growing up in a Scottish and Irish family in several military cantonments in India, Spike Milligan recalled how, 'Most certainly I was brought up not to mix with them, without actually being told - just by the attitude of parents and white people around me, mostly military at that time.'<sup>8</sup> This inherited attitude of dominance existed since '... we had to set the example to the people', as Mrs. Norah Carstairs described.<sup>9</sup> A degree of separation from civil India was also common in the Indian Army. The need to turn officer cadets into officers capable of commanding Indian troops meant that the political situation was never prioritised in training. As a result, some officers here had little interest in India's political situation. Major Peter Rattray remembered how the army was 'inward facing' in its lack of interest in politics. Given such an isolation from politics many Indian Army officers had a low opinion of Indian politicians. For Lieutenant-Colonel Howse these were 'mostly unprintable'.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Ed Brown, Band Boy in 2nd Battalion Royal Warwickshire Regiment, from 1919 (aged 14) to 1928, including service in the Khyber, North-West Frontier Province; IOLR, Mss. Eur. T. 9, p. 3.

<sup>8</sup> Spike Milligan, born in Ahmednagar in 1918, and in India until 1927. Father served at different times as a corporal rough rider in the British Army and in the 60th Field Medium Royal Artillery, Indian Army; IOLR, Mss. Eur. T. 47 (two interviews, of 21st March and 29th May, 1973, hereafter I and II respectively), I, p. 1.

<sup>9</sup> Mrs. Norah Carstairs, in India as a child, and when married to her husband in the 1st Royal Scots, 1920s and 1930s, interviewed by Kim Prior between 1983 and 1987, p. 3.

<sup>10</sup> Lieutenant-Colonel Howse, p. 9.

## 4.2 Imperial attitudes within motivations

In the metropole, these ideas of dominance were represented across many forms of popular culture, such as films and juvenile literature, and given a romantic bent. Settings for colonial dominance were constructed just as the ‘martial Scot’ was. These ideas had their influence, and are commonly cited by individuals when discussing their motivation for joining the services in an imperial context. Before joining the 17th Dogras in 1942, Major Moodie mentioned that what he knew of India was ‘... probably really things like the *Boys’ Own Paper* and stuff like that’.<sup>11</sup> Major Willie Brown transferred from the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders to the 3rd/12th Frontier Force Rifles, because:

I’d always wanted to go to India. As a small boy I’d watched films like *Lives of a Bengal Lancer* and that sort of thing, and I thought, you know, that’s the place I want to go.<sup>12</sup>

The same was true for soldiers serving in India in the ranks of the British Army. Alexander Bain was called up in 1940, and the prospect of going to India in 1942 to join the 2nd Battalion of the King’s Own Scottish Borderers was not an unpleasant one, since:

... when I was a youth I used to read a thing called the *Boys’ Own Paper* which is now defunct, and you used to get Rudyard Kipling type stories about the things on the North-West Frontier (laughs). I little thought that I’d ever get there (laughs). So I suppose I had a sort of romantic notion of going overseas.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Interview with Major C.M. Moodie, SA1998.43, 17th Dogras 1942-1947, Banker in Karachi, 1947-1959, 1973-1976, p. 1.

<sup>12</sup> Interview with Major Willie Brown, Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders 1941, 10th/12th Frontier Force Rifles, 1941-1943, South Waziristan Scouts 1943, Gilgit Scouts, 1943-1946, Tochi Scouts, 1946-1947, Chitral Scouts, 1947, Gilgit Scouts, 1947-1948, p. 2.

<sup>13</sup> Alexander Bain, 2nd Battalion King’s Own Scottish Borderers, On North-West Frontier 1942, and subsequent active service in Burma, SA1997.35, p. 2.

The same was true for Ed Brown, an English BOR, who joined up as a band boy, aged fourteen, because:

The books I had read particularly the *Magnet* and the *Boys' Own* comics, all gave a romantic angle to everything you read and, of course if you were introspective as I was you built up these things into things of your own doing. You were the hero, you were the one who saved the lives of everyone who mattered. You saved the British empire, you finished, you ended the war and you were eventually rewarded by a visit to Buckingham Palace with some honour of some sort. What a load of rubbish. But a lot could be gained by reading a book like that ... especially when it was the only kind of literature you could get.<sup>14</sup>

Furthermore, the North-West Frontier itself was commonly perceived with an aura of romance and adventure. Mrs. Howman relates how her husband delighted in his posting to Dera Ismail Khan in the 1930s as it 'was quite a thing apart'.<sup>15</sup> For Mrs. Margaret Brown, her perceptions of the frontier were:

'... very glamorous, the stories tend to glamorise that area and because it was so little known ... the mystery of it was there and it was so remote, and all the stories that I read, all the travel books I read made it into a, well, a very desirable place to go to, simply because, I think, of the mystery and excitement that there had been, and very brave deeds had been done there, brave men, men with great imagination.'

Equally, it was 'the very place of romance'.<sup>16</sup>

Such a romanticised outlook motivated many, and was not an overt expression of imperial dominance, although it might be seen as operating towards that end in as much as it constructed knowledge of the 'other'.

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<sup>14</sup> Ed Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 10/1.

<sup>15</sup> Interview with Mrs. Howman, SA1998.37, in India from the early 1930s until 1945, p. 7.

<sup>16</sup> Interview with Mrs. Margaret Brown on SA1995.47, wife of Major Willie Brown, in Karachi with the Commonwealth Relations Office through the 1950s until 1960, pp. 1 and 17.

### 4.3 Beyond the discourse: a variety of motivations

There were some Scots, however, who were motivated by different factors Scots beyond such glamourisation. Several concentrated upon purely practical motivations for going to colonial and post-Independence Pakistan, and approached the new cultural experience of the subcontinent with a mindset that does not match the jingoism of the created 'martial Scot'. Both Scots in Scottish regiments and in the Indian Army were far more open to the culture of the 'other'.

Motivations for employment in the services were rarely altruistic, but often pragmatically based. Family connections were often a motivation, and these afforded a first hand introduction to life on the subcontinent. Spike Milligan recalled how family pressure led his father to join the army, since it was his father's occupation.<sup>17</sup> Major Rattray enlisted in the regiment that his grandfather had founded in 1856, whilst Mrs. Howman described her husband as having extensive family links with India.<sup>18</sup> Captain Archie Black also had an uncle who was a tea planter in Ceylon, and for John Masters there was a long line of family connections with India.<sup>19</sup> For Major Roy Rutherford, family connections were a very significant influence, even if they painted a nostalgic picture of India:

... from a very early age I'd wanted to go into the Indian Army ... The initial sort of impulse to go into the Indian Army was through my father who'd served out there [in the Black Watch as a boy soldier] and who had ... painted a romantic picture of the life of a British battalion in India in the very latter part of the last century and my sister who enthused over her life in India [her husband was in

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<sup>17</sup> Milligan, *op. cit.*, II, p. 1

<sup>18</sup> Major Peter Rattray, 3rd/11th Rattray Sikhs, from 1934 until Partition, interviewed by Kim Prior between 1983 and 1987, p. 3, and Mrs. Howman, p. 9.

<sup>19</sup> Interview with Captain Archie Black, SA1997.95, Indian Signals 1944-1947, p. 2., and John Masters, *Bugles and a Tiger*, (London, 1956), pp. 35-36.

India] ... two of her children were born out there and this was what took me in the first instance.<sup>20</sup>

Finance was also a motivation. For those with no private means like Roy Howse, the better pay of the Indian Army as against that in the British Army was a motivation, with Archie Black describing how a subaltern in the Indian Army and a Major in the British Army got the same pay.<sup>21</sup> Mountain artillery was the best paid of all, and so some joined for that reason.<sup>22</sup> Alternatively, some joined up to avoid becoming a Bevin boy - a fate that appalled Duncan Henderson and 'terrified' Archie Black.<sup>23</sup>

Others were less motivated by self-interest. Many enlisted during World War Two out of patriotism. J.P. Rutherford tried to enlist but was told he was too young, whilst Roy Rutherford managed to enlist underage, only to be later charged with fraudulent enlistment.<sup>24</sup> Ronnie Paul joined the Edinburgh University Officer Training Corps out of similar patriotic feelings, and was listed Certificate 'A' from his school O.T.C. and therefore a prospective gunner. After initial training in Yorkshire and Woolwich, he was told that he was going to India. On arriving to join the Mountain Artillery, he was mystified by the system of rank and the fact he had to learn a new language, since:

I joined up to fight Hitler ... You know the whole thing to me it was a shock and a mystery. Here was I going to learn Hindustani with a chap called *mum'si* - I didn't even know what *mum'si* meant, and be taught to ride and I'd come to fight Hitler. You know it didn't add up.<sup>25</sup>

A major in the Frontier Force Rifles enlisted when :

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<sup>20</sup> Interview with Major R. Rutherford, SA1997.87 & 88, 16th Punjab Regiment 1942-1946, pp. 1,2 and 27.

<sup>21</sup> Howse, *op. cit.*, p. 2, and Black, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

<sup>22</sup> Interview with Major R.B. Paul SA1997.89 & 90, Mountain Artillery 1939-1945, p. 7.

<sup>23</sup> Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 2; Henderson, *op. cit.*, p. 1 and Black, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

<sup>24</sup> J.P. Rutherford, *op. cit.*, p. 1; R. Rutherford, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

<sup>25</sup> Ronnie Paul, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-4.

... I was at school here in Edinburgh, and the dear old colonel came round one day and gave a talk to the school, said we want people to join the Indian Army, officers, and of course, I was a schoolboy, Bengal Lancers (laughs) ... and lots of other immature schoolboys like me, joined what was called the Indian Army O.C.T.U., a detachment. ... So there was I, and I was eighteen I suppose ... this was in 1943 ... and that time the bottom of the barrel had been reached, the only people who were called up were the school leavers, everybody else was either in the army or in a reserved occupation. And this had been going on since the beginning of the war, and we were put through a crash course at Bangalore, I think actually it lasted six months, and quite a number of us got various bugs and things like that ... but quite a number of us spent a bit of time in hospital looking out, after all I should hope, we were only eighteen, immature, it's an embarrassment to think about it.<sup>26</sup>

These schoolboys scarcely match the picture of the 'martial Scot'. Captain Ronnie Guild had signed on as a reserve whilst at school '... largely because it was a day off school I think ... we were signing up for anything to do that.' He subsequently joined a Black Watch Young Soldiers' Battalion in Dundee in 1940 whilst still a teenager, and :

... I mean looking back it's all comic, I mean if it wasn't so terrible it was really a sort of, there was, young people at that age it was something different, you know, there was patriotism in it, of course there was, but there was also enormous sense of fun, and something completely different.

He subsequently went to India as his application to go where a friend was in West Africa was turned down due to there being no vacancies.<sup>27</sup> Such friendship was itself often a motivation. George Morrice joined the Gordon Highlanders because:

Well there was nothing for us but to work on the land ... and after four years I joined ... the Gordon Highlanders ... Well a lot of my friends joined and we might have had a drink or so ... accused of that anyhow ... that was

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<sup>26</sup> The interviewee here, who did not want his name to be used, joined the Indian army in 1943, went to the Officer Cadet Training Unit at Bangalore, later became a major in the Frontier Force Rifles until 1947/8 (hereafter 'Major FFR'), SA1998.41, p. 5.

<sup>27</sup> Interview with Captain Ronnie H. Guild, SA1998.44, Frontier Force Rifles from 1941-1945, pp. 1-3.

where most of the recruits came from, country chaps, conditions were hard, no so hard as the army we found out.

He then volunteered for India because ‘... all of my friends were going, had already left’.<sup>28</sup> The monochrome picture that is the created ‘martial Scot’ fails to include such varied motivations among Scots who joined the services. It furthermore denies that any Scots could be open to the influence of the other.

#### **4.4 An internalised discourse of dominance: subjugation amongst the British in India**

Morrice’s comments on his reasons for joining the army hint at socio-economic inequities in Scotland, which were in turn replicated for many Scottish BORs in India. In addition, BORs encountered class-based prejudice, and were bound within an asymmetrical power relationship when serving in colonial Pakistan. This was not an exclusively Scottish experience, though. BORs of all nationalities of the British Isles were bound up in this asymmetry of power, and subjugated. However, Scottish experiences here are distinct as Scots were codified and essentialised in martial terms, unlike other BORs, so that the public representation and the private realities of their lives were in stark contrast.

Indeed Scottish troops were often described in identical ways to Indian ‘martial races’. When reviewing the operations of the Tochi Field force in 1900, Major Kemball was quick to praise Indian troops who served well. Individuals who led once their officers were injured or killed were named, and:

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<sup>28</sup> Interview with Mr. George Morrice M.M., SA1997.93, joined the Gordon Highlanders in 1929, served on the North-West Frontier in the 1930s, and in the Second World War, becoming R.S.M, pp. 1-2.

The staunchness and devotion of the whole force, and particularly the excellent conduct of the native officers when thrown on their own resources, are worthy of the highest praise.

The same tone that Kemball used to praise the Indian troops is reserved for the Highland troops. Following the heat of the 176 mile march from the railway at Khushulgarh, only the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders and the Rifle Brigade were able to present 'effective rank and file', and subsequently:

In the Highlanders disease ran an ordinary course, was amenable to treatment and the majority recovered: in the Rifles a very low form prevailed, and once a man took sick, he hardly ever was fit for duty again; they were utterly wanting in recuperative power ... The Highlanders improved rapidly and in the cold weather were very fit and well. I can only attribute the difference to the superior physique of the Highlanders.

Their martial abilities and strengths were increased when they also had to fight in the kilt, since '... I do not consider the dress of the Highlanders suitable for active service especially in hot weather'.<sup>29</sup> When Captain Ormsby, of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Gurkha Rifles, wished to describe the Tirah in terms that his readers would understand, he chose the Highlands, asking them to imagine:

... an army of Afridis, or Frenchmen, or Russians, encamped in the heart of the wildest part of Scotland, believing that it is the custom of the natives to murder any of the wounded that may fall into their hands and to mutilate the dead. And imagine swarming on their flanks a few hundred Gillies or gamekeepers armed with Lee Metfords, answerable to no man, sure of a meal and welcome in every village, with frenzied hatred burning in their hearts, and with the knowledge that each of the invaders carries a rifle which can be sold anywhere for £300 ... Would not that invading army have had as bad a time of it as we had in Tirah ? And would they have come out of it as well ?<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Major G.V. Kemball, *Operations of the Tochi Field Force in 1897-98*, (Simla, 1900), pp. 32, 7, 20-21 and 58-59

<sup>30</sup> Ormsby, *A Battalion in Tirah*, pp. 75-76.

The same tone is present in the Dogra handbook of 1932, where Lieutenant-Colonel Cunningham drew an analogy between a Scottish Border rhyme (which suggests his domicile) and a Dogra rhyme.<sup>31</sup> Brigadier R.C.B. Bristow drew the same analogy, relating how there were many Scottish officers in his 38th Dogras ‘... who said they were attracted by the Dogras because they were hillmen like themselves.’<sup>32</sup> Similarly, a Brigadier who accompanied Victor Bayly through the Khyber Pass drew an analogy between Bayley’s Khyber Railway and General Wade’s programme of road construction in their respective pacification of wild areas.<sup>33</sup> However, the Highlands themselves were no longer regarded by officialdom simply as ‘an expensive nuisance’, but rather as ‘the arsenal of the empire’.<sup>34</sup> Lieutenant-General Sir Reginald Savory was forthright in his relation of Scot and Sikh:

The Sikh is one of the most interesting men in the world, and one of the most difficult to command. In some respects, I can compare him with a Highlander, although I don’t ... think the men in Highlanders will agree with this! But the Sikhs are great travellers, they’re very independent people. And like the Highlander, they require very firm, very fair discipline.<sup>35</sup>

There is even an inclination amongst some Scots themselves to ascribe characteristics to Scottish troops. Alexander Bain attributed Borderers’ success in beating the local Tochi Scouts in a hill climbing competition partly to a desire to beat the locals, and also because ‘... Scottish people generally they’re better at hill climbing than people in flatter parts of the country’.<sup>36</sup> Mrs. Howman also related that ‘I think if you were born in Scotland you were fairly used to hills’.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Lieutenant W.B. Cunningham, 2nd Battalion 17th Dogra Regiment, *Handbooks for the Indian Army: Dogras*, (Government of India Central Publication Branch, Calcutta, 1932), p. 21. The Dogra rhyme is an exchange between the Khowli and Baner rivers about how dangerous they are after heavy rain in claiming lives - the Border rhyme compares the Tweed and the Till on the same terms.

<sup>32</sup> Brigadier R.C.B. Bristow, *Memoirs of the British Raj: A Soldier in India*, (London, 1974), p. 68.

<sup>33</sup> Victor Bayley, *Permanent Way Through the Khyber*, (London, 1939), pp. 140-143.

<sup>34</sup> Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1857*, (New Haven and London, 1992), p. 120.

<sup>35</sup> Lieutenant-General Sir Reginald Savory, 14th Sikhs 1914-1947, rising to Adjutant-General -in-India by 1947; IOLR, Mss. Eur. T. 58, p. 9.

<sup>36</sup> Bain, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

<sup>37</sup> Mrs. A. Howman, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

Such analogies are not so far fetched as they might seem. The Scots and Irish were seen by the authorities as martial races, and in this sense pre-empted the martial race theory later used in India.<sup>38</sup> The same agrarian and demographic pressures which led Indians to join the Army were also present amongst the ‘subordinate peasantries’ of the Scottish Highlands and in Ireland. Given such pressures, moves to expand recruitment in these areas had begun in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>39</sup>

This discourse of dominance was not simply manifested in attitudes, but in actual conditions as well. In active service and barrack room, the lot of BORs, both Scottish or otherwise, reflected attitudes of class and dominance inherent in the metropole. Journals from the Chitral and Tirah campaigns of the 1890s reflect this. Lieutenant Mackenzie of the Gordon Highlanders wrote a retrospective diary of the Tirah campaign. Its cheery tone is doubtless in part due to his distance from the campaign, when the discomfort and distress of active service were not so poignant, but also reflect something of the gulf between officers and men in the British Army in India. It further shows condescending elements in its attitudes to Indians. Mackenzie recalled:

Sunday 8AM the 31st July 1897 found me enjoying the delights of a “Europe Morning” smoking a cigarette, when my mild Hindoo bearer interrupted one with the remark, ‘Huzoor, adjutant sahib [ed. *sāhab*] tell his bearer all regiment be in ‘Pindi tomorrow.’ Allowing for slight variation from the truth which our Aryan brethren allow themselves in their Statements, this news was sufficient to see me up & dressed in a very short space of time, and entering the Mess found to my delight that it was true.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Omissi, *The Sepoy and the Raj*, p. 24 and Alavi, *The Sepoys and the Company*, p. 36.

<sup>39</sup> Chris Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780-1830*, (London and New York, 1989), p. 126

<sup>40</sup> Lieutenant George Douglas Mackenzie, *August 1897-February 1898 A Retrospect*, PB167, Gordon Highlanders Regimental Archives, Aberdeen, p. I.

Such jingoism contrasts sharply with the experience of the ranks in the Gordon Highlanders. Bandsman William Marr kept a diary through both the Chitral and the Tirah campaigns, in which his preoccupation was for a degree of physical comfort given the conditions during these campaigns. After a 'miserable' train journey from Nowshera, each entry recorded the day's events, or events of the preceding days, usually with a focus on the weather and food. On only one occasion did Marr write with any sense of jingoistic enthusiasm for the campaign, describing how, 'The 11th Bengal Lancers had just come in from doing a splendid cavalry charge their lances covered in blood'. Most of his entries were written in the same tone as his description of the first march from camp on April 1st, which '... was a very miserable day raining most of the way'. April 13th saw:

... 4 companies of the Gordons out lying on the hills all night we was (*sic*) very glad when we got relieved by the other 4 Companies on the morning of the 14th as we had nothing to eat since 1 o'clock the day before and we was (*sic*) commencing to get a bit hungry. 15th Capt. Pebbles died this morning. We have had an awful night of rain evrything (*sic*) drenched through ... 16th We passed another miserable night of thunder and rain the River is very much swollen. The Brigade got an extra issue of Rum owing to the cold and wet weather we have been exposed to for the last few days.<sup>41</sup>

At the end of the Relief of Chitral, Marr's own relief at finding himself in the relative comfort of barracks in Rawalpindi is clear:

... all in good spirits as we was glad we was back (*sic*) in a bit of civilisation once more we marched to our new Barracks as proud as anything and when we got inside our rooms once more we could hardly believe it we got our beds issued out and the first night we thought we was in heaven (*sic*) lying in a bed after six months on the ground with nothing but a sheet and two Blankets and a stone for a pillow.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Bandsman William Marr, No. 3709, 1st Gordon Highlanders, PB180, Gordon Highlanders Regimental Archives, Aberdeen, entries for April 4th, 1st, 13th, 14th and 16th 1895.

<sup>42</sup> Marr, entry for August 28th, 1895.

The diary continued through the campaign in the Tirah of 1897, again with the same subject matter. Even after the storming of the Dargai Heights, which subsequently assumed such a place in the Regiment's history and lore. Marr recorded, 'We lay on the hill all night without any blankets or great coats and the cold was most intense everyone was glad when daylight came.'<sup>43</sup> During the Second Afghan War of 1878-1880, Thomas Rogers of the Kings' Own Scottish Borderers wrote to his sister of how so many volunteered to go to advance on Kabul that names were taken from the roll. Rogers continued, writing that:

We expect to advance on Cabul about the 15th of next month, & I hope we may do so so that we may get the campaign over. I sincerely wish it was over & my time [i.e. in the army] in that I might get home and see you again, also James.<sup>44</sup>

There is occasional patriotism in Marr's letters. In September 1879, he wrote of Cavagnari's murder in Kabul, and how '... it is hoped that his death shall be speedily avenged.' Later that year, however, he was as despondent as before:

Christmas is again approaching and I hope you will enjoy it at home, I only wish I was at home to sit down with you on that day & say my Indian soldiering was over, however this will make it one nearer the time when with God's help I shall be able to say so.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Savory, *op. cit.*, p. 5. Marr, entry for October 20th, 1897.

<sup>44</sup> Private 1440 Thomas Rogers, Letter to his sister of 29th January 1878, King's Own Scottish Borderers Regimental Archives, Berwick-upon-Tweed (hereafter KOSB), T4/81. Rogers was Irish, and ran away with a schoolmate aged 16 to join the army, enlisting under Rogers, his grandmother's name.

<sup>45</sup> Rogers, Letters to his sister of 11th September and 24th November 1879.

His tone here reflects the realities of life as a BOR, which differ entirely from the portrayal of the ‘martial Scot’.

#### **4.5 Subordination in a peacetime role**

BORs in a peacetime station, Scottish or otherwise, did little better than on active service. The attitudes which deemed their uncomfortable conditions adequate clearly show a discourse of dominance, since BORs was seen as inferior in every respect. These attitudes began even before arrival in India. For officers and civilians a forthcoming post in Indian meant tailored garments and visits to suppliers, whereas for BORs drafts were issued, there was no choice, and kit was usually ill-fitting.<sup>46</sup> In 1883 Thomas Rogers wrote of how:

It is all very well for officers & civilian gentlemen & ladies (I should have put ladies first ?) who travel to & from this country during the hot months, on the P & O steamers, they can sit in their saloon having *punkahs* [ed. *pankhās*] pulled over their heads, & sipping Iced (*sic*) lemonade etc. but I assure you it is quite a different affair with private Thomas Atkins when he does the same journey on board ship.<sup>47</sup>

By the 1920s little had changed. Stephen Bentley sailed as a ‘band boy’ with the 2nd Battalion Seaforth Highlanders in 1927, and recalled the ‘vomit-buckets’ (what many BORs called the troop-ships) well:

I don’t think there will be one man who went to India on a troop-ship who won’t remember it as one of the most sordid experiences of his life ... The officers

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<sup>46</sup> Charles Allen, *Plain Tales from the Raj: Images of British India in the Twentieth Century*, (London, 1975; this edition London, 1994), pp. 43-44.

<sup>47</sup> Rogers, *op. cit.*, Letter to his sister of 27th June 1883.

got three-quarters of the ship with their lounges and smoke rooms and luxurious cabins, and the troops got only the troop-deck.<sup>48</sup>

During the Second World War, necessity meant that ECO officer cadets endured the same conditions, as Major Roy Rutherford and Major J.P. Rutherford recalled.<sup>49</sup> However, for BORs in peacetime, transport in India was equally unpleasant. Bentley remembered:

We were put in six to a compartment and told to settle down. Which is just about the last thing you can do in any compartment on an Indian military train. They were about ten by eight feet in area and in each compartment ... you had all your kit, you had all your equipment, you had your blankets, you even had your greatcoat rolled up - it all had to be stowed away ... [how the meals were] ... nearly always stew and rice pudding, of such poor quality that very few of the troops ever ate it, and most of it was given to the begging Indians.<sup>50</sup>

Once in barracks life continued in the same vein. On occasion a battalion could be sent to a hard station as a punishment. George Morrice suspected that the 1st Battalion Gordon Highlanders had ‘... come from Delhi up to Landi Kotal, I don’t know for what reason, it might have been punishment, I don’t know if the battalions hadn’t be working according to the rules and regulations.’<sup>51</sup> Bentley’s battalion were sent to Jhansi, a ‘punishment station’, because the battalion had been too raucous in its Hogmanay celebrations in Aldershot. The battalion was immediately told that any Indian village and the civilian lines were out of bounds, so that Bentley soon realised that:

... anyone coming to Jhansi realized that henceforth for as many years as he had to serve in Jhansi - which in my case was four - his life was the barracks, the

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<sup>48</sup> Stephen Bentley, ‘Band boy’, aged 15 in the 2nd Battalion Seaforth Highlanders, in Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP), 1927-1933, in Allen, *Plain Tales from the Raj*, p. 49.

<sup>49</sup> Roy Rutherford, *op. cit.*, p. 3, and J.P. Rutherford, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>50</sup> Bentley, in Allen, *Plain Tales from the Raj*, pp. 59-60.

<sup>51</sup> Morrice, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

canteen, the regimental institute or a walk round the roads immediately surrounding the cantonment.<sup>52</sup>

Life was an endless round of parades, and in a bungalow housing up to fifty men, there was little privacy.<sup>53</sup> Boredom was commonplace, and especially trying during the hot months. Spike Milligan described how soldiers would simply lie naked under a mosquito net, with the punkah [ed. *pankhā*] going. ‘Many a man just sat there and watched the punkahs [ed. *pankhā*]. I suppose there was little else one could do but just watch.’<sup>54</sup>

Other non-Scottish BORs endured the same conditions too, such as dreaded route marches in hot weather. Ed Davies, an English BOR, described how:

Your feet would be so blistered they felt like hot water bottles ... As you walked along a fine dust would rise in vast clouds and get up your nose, into your eyes, into your ears. Drinking water on the march was taboo. I used to suck a pebble all the way, which is what dad told me to do, and found it very soothing.<sup>55</sup>

Here, Davies’ familial links with India were not vested with nostalgic tales of the subcontinent, as recalled by others, but rather with a tip to ease the discomfort of route marches.<sup>56</sup> This contrast between the recollections of higher and lower ranks clearly illuminates the status of many BORs in India. In such harsh conditions, men were often carried along by their fellow BORs, and a spirit of camaraderie developed. Comforts were few, such a mail from home, and were eagerly awaited. Sport could relieve boredom, and was often played with Indian Other Ranks (IORs).<sup>57</sup> Given such

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<sup>52</sup> Bentley, in Allen, *Plain Tales from the Raj*, p. 65.

<sup>53</sup> Allen, *Plain Tales from the Raj*, pp. 184-185.

<sup>54</sup> Ed Davies, Dorset Regiment from 1924 (aged 16) to 1936, including service in NWFP, and Milligan in Allen, *Plain Tales from the Raj*, pp. 147-148.

<sup>55</sup> Davies in Allen, *Plain Tales from the Raj*, p. 172.

<sup>56</sup> Major Roy Rutherford recalled more nostalgic memories of India that his family told him, *op. cit.*, pp. 1, 2 and 26.

<sup>57</sup> Allen, *Plain Tales from the Raj*, pp. 195, 188-189 and 130.

conditions, some BORs would have engaged their minds but were never given the chance. Whilst officers had their *mum'sis*, Ed Brown related how:

After being in India a few years I decided to learn the language and made enquiries as to what facilities were available, there weren't any, and if anyone wanted to learn it had to be arranged privately. This was very difficult as very few munshies (*sic*) [ed. *mum'sis*] ... were allowed inside the barracks. I did find one however, he used to charge me two rupees a week, about three shillings at that time, for three half-hour lessons. This was a lot of money as it was soldiers' pay and I think I was his only pupil. Never, never at any time did I know of anybody else in the battalion wanting to learn Hindustani. I think if the facilities had been easily available a lot of people would've gone in for it. They were so bored with the ordinary monotony of the existence that anything to lessen that would've been welcome.<sup>58</sup>

For Brown life held few comforts, simply:

... being able to get off parade. Being able to go sick and say that you'd got three days excused duties. Or meeting up with someone you hadn't seen for years and hadn't expected to see. Another soldier coming out from home; or the weekly mail coming in.<sup>59</sup>

BORs were only praised or eulogised when their actions coincided with the aims of wider policy. A soldier like Piper George Findlater could be held as an exemplum for his courage at Dargai, and Highlanders were praised as martial because it suited imperial purpose. When other aspects of these men came to the fore, the underlying patterns of dominance are clearly seen. The sexual needs of BORs in India provoked a constant paranoia amongst officialdom. As working class soldiers, BORs were seen as sexually incontinent, their lower class signifying an inherent lack of self control and of 'intellectual and moral resources'.<sup>60</sup> This certainly came through in the treatment of

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<sup>58</sup> Ed Brown, *op. cit.*, IOLR, Mss. Eur. T. 9., p. 7/2.

<sup>59</sup> Ed Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 9/3. See also Morrice, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>60</sup> Kenneth Ballhatchet, *Race, Sex and Class Under the Raj: Imperial attitudes and policies and their critics, 1793-1905*, (New Delhi, 1979), pp. 162 and 165.

BORs. For some BORs, the prejudices of authority were wholly inappropriate. E.S. Humphries claimed that:

... contrary to the general consensus of opinion today we were somewhat old fashioned even among the lower British ranks, in as much as none of us contemplated the prospects of ever having licentious or sexual knowledge of any of the women we might meet, if we had that good fortune.<sup>61</sup>

Of course, individual thoughts and actions varied in this respect. Spike Milligan described how the 'poor men' who were BORs he met as a boy would constantly ask him about his sister and her appearance, and '... were starved of sex ... I could have made a lot of money just describing my sister, my fabulous sister which I didn't have.'<sup>62</sup>

Officialdom did what it could to prevent any sexual contact between BORs and Indian women. However, some BORs were able to slip through the net. Mrs. Lee recounted how men:

... used to break bounds, but ... that was ... kept under their hat ... one chap would watch out for another. They ... all cover up for each other ... they were very loyal to each other.<sup>63</sup>

The authorities were aware that this went on, as some men caught venereal diseases and were invalided home, as Mrs. Lee described. Realising that this was a losing battle, the authorities licensed brothels and prostitutes were checked for venereal disease under the 1864 Cantonment Act.<sup>64</sup> Beyond their alleged sexual incontinence, BORs were seen as inferior in general. Ranks in British regiments did not mix to the same extent as in Indian Regiments. Norah Carstairs remembered how:

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<sup>61</sup> Humphries, *op. cit.*, p. 4/7.

<sup>62</sup> Milligan, *op. cit.*, II, p. 3/3.

<sup>63</sup> Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 4/7. For instances of liaisons and the problems they caused, see Ballhatchett, *Race, Sex and Class Under the Raj*, pp. 10, 144-145 and 162-164.

<sup>64</sup> Jyotna G. Singh, *Colonial Narratives/Cultural Dialogues: "Discoveries" of India in the language of colonialism*, (London & New York, 1996), p. 113.

... life was very divided you didn't mix with other ranks ... The warrant officers they'd had their own club ... and you wouldn't get to know other ranks and it's the same with sports and all those sort of things ... officers would have a section, the warrant officers would have a section and then other ranks would have a section.<sup>65</sup>

Mrs. Lee recollected the elitism of Regimental wives, and that '... among the lower ranks ... the ... sergeants' wives don't mix with the privates' wives'. Whilst children could be a common denominator, '... the snobbish sergeants' wives ... they look at you with a bit of scorn if you've got several children'.<sup>66</sup> Such an attitude further condemned such working class soldiers and their wives as excessive breeders of inferior people. Brown recalled how '... you were just an ordinary soldier and you were treated as an ordinary soldier. Officers were the elite, ICS and civilians were the next best and so on down'.<sup>67</sup> George Morrice remembered that '... the civilians wouldnae take you on a soldier at all, you were looked down on.'<sup>68</sup> Many simply accepted such divisions, and deference can be seen. For some this was cultivated by fear. Around 1880, Thomas Rogers and his comrades were exposed to a cholera outbreak, as a result of which several died. When writing to his brother, his complaints of how 'common sense & general opinion' would have conducted matters differently are prefixed by the caveat, 'It is not my place to judge of the manner in which my superiors transacted their business'.<sup>69</sup> Milligan recalled how '... the officer was God', and that he '... never got close to them without being terrified out of my life'. Officers wives were even more remote.<sup>70</sup> For Mrs. Lee, '... all our officers were gentlemen. I will say that. They were all gentlemen.'<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Carstairs, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

<sup>66</sup> Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 2/5.

<sup>67</sup> Ed Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

<sup>68</sup> Morrice, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

<sup>69</sup> Rogers, *op. cit.*, Letter to his brother, no date, but placed among correspondence of 1880.

<sup>70</sup> Milligan, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 6/5-6/6.

<sup>71</sup> Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 5/3.

#### **4.6 Reactions to subordination: camaraderie or subjugation**

Such deference led to submissiveness on the part of some BORs in India. They would not question the *status quo* in relation to their fate, although some, like Ed Brown, came to doubt the morality of British rule. The ranks tended to react to this subordination in two divergent ways. Many formed friendships with other subordinate groups within Indian life, such as Anglo-Indians and camp followers, and also became close to their IOR comrades. Alternatively, some subordinated others in turn. Individuals quite possibly reacted in both ways. Whilst it was frowned upon from the same inherent racial fears of the authorities, contact with Anglo-Indian women, such as at Railway Institute dances, was usual for many BORs, and recalled with fondness by some men in Scottish Regiments like Bentley and Humphries.<sup>72</sup> The Anglo-Indian community itself had partially grown from discharged soldiers who had taken up employment in the railways and married Indian women.<sup>73</sup> On occasion soldiers would marry Anglo-Indian women, but there could be difficulties both sides depending on where the couple settled in terms of living in an alien culture, as Humphries pointed out. Some of the ranks of the Black Watch wanted to marry Anglo-Indian girls they had met before the 2nd Battalion left Karachi in 1948. Women from the Women's Voluntary Service told them about '... the problems of living in post-War Britain with its rationing and so on ... [and] ... about the culture shock of exchanging India for a two-room tenement flat in Glasgow', so that none of the couples decided to marry. A sergeant of the Black Watch came back to Scotland with his Indian wife of twenty years,

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<sup>72</sup> Allen, *Plain Tales from the Raj*, p. 217. The term 'Anglo-Indian' was initially used to denote British people in India, but was later used to describe those of Indian and British parents. The term 'Eurasian' was also used, sometimes with negative connotations.

<sup>73</sup> Humphries, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

but their marriage did not survive.<sup>74</sup> Nevertheless some of these marriages succeeded, much to Brown's pleasure:

... in certain cases it was known that some of the men had got to know some of the ... Eurasians, and one fellow in the band who I know and still do he married one of these girls. He had to wait until he got back to England before he could send for her at his own expense. The Army wouldn't have anything to do with it. It was frowned upon even talking to them. But he eventually did marry her and to this day is living in Coventry with this lady.<sup>75</sup>

Some BORs maintained friendly relations with the followers and contractors who provided essential services for army regiments in Indian stations. Blair recalls how some of the ranks of the Black Watch would converse in a 'hybrid language' and drink with them, and the same was true of BORs in other regiments.<sup>76</sup>

The affinity that many BORs had with their IOR comrades is perhaps unsurprising, mirroring the reality that drew officers and men of the Indian Army closer when they shared the same conditions of active service.

Indian officers had also found such camaraderie, as previously described. E.S. Humphries felt very much the same, when he served with Indian soldiers in an Indian Signal company:

We were very much impressed from the moment we met them on their fine bearing as soldiers ... there was a kindred feeling of being in the same Army, or working together. And a respect for each other and I must say that later on this respect when on active service in France and Mesopotamia paid off a hundred per cent.

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<sup>74</sup> Humphries, *op. cit.*, p. 8 and Neville Blair, Commanding Officer of the 2nd Battalion, Black Watch, stationed in N.W. India/Pakistan during the post-war period until February 1948, in Trevor Royle, *The Last Days of the Raj*, (Michael Joseph, 1989, John Murray, London, 1997), p. 38.

<sup>75</sup> Ed Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 4/1.

<sup>76</sup> Royle, *The Last Days of the Raj*, p. 38 and Allen, *Plain Tales from the Raj*, pp. 187-188

Although Humphries did feel that the reality of the colonial situation meant that 'it was quite impossible to become real friends as between two Britishers', such a camaraderie was not unusual, and led to the formation of many Regimental affiliations.<sup>77</sup>

For some Indian officers, there was a similar camaraderie, especially with Scottish regiments in India. Whilst J.S. (later General) Aurora found British Indian Army officers distant, those officers in the KOSBs and the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders that he served with when a ULIA treated him far more equally. He recalls:

We found that the young officers were quite friendly really ... and they made you feel reasonably welcome. The British Army was not being affected by Indianisation; so their attitude was that they took you at your face value. If you were somebody who fitted in, they liked you. If you were aloof or wanted to be on your own, they left you alone.<sup>78</sup>

Although such friendliness was partially there because there was no policy of Indianisation in these Scottish regiments, there was little or no assertion of dominance and distance. However, those who were subjugated, as some BORs were (unlike these Scottish officers in Scottish regiments) reacted differently. They subjugated others in turn rather than having friendly relations with them. It was a case of empowering oneself in a psychologically unsettling situation. Spike Milligan describes how '... there is something in all of us which likes to make somebody else sound inferior ... because it puts up your ego a bit'.<sup>79</sup> Given the subordination of BORs in general, their respective subordination of others also deemed as inferior by the authorities is reminiscent, without intending to demean them, of dogs fighting for scraps at the master's table.

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<sup>77</sup> Humphries, pp. 4/10-4/11.

<sup>78</sup> Masani, *Indian Tales of the Raj*, p. 25.

<sup>79</sup> Milligan, *op. cit.*, I, p. 2/7.

#### 4.7 The quandary of deference

In all the maltreatment of BORs, their relative submissiveness cannot be explained solely by the deference alluded to earlier. Several Scottish BORs do not even talk of their experiences in negative terms, although they were subject to the same conditions and treatment as the other BORs quoted here. E.S. Humphries recalled how:

Life in the barrack room was always great fun provided we were companionable people. There was always of course just the one odd man out who ... was ... disgruntled with everyone but in the main we had a wonderful time together.

Humphries further remembered the light hearted games and jokes of the barrack room.<sup>80</sup> Such camaraderie could be a very effective comfort. By the 1930s, George Morrice found life in barracks pleasant, so much so that '... och when we came home was '35 so many times I wished we could have stayed in India another while longer.'<sup>81</sup> The discomfort of camp life in Ranchi, where '... there was really no place to go and I can't remember any sort of comforts at all' meant that it was unpleasant for Alex Bain. With barrack life, pay was low, many luxuries were out of his reach, and activities were limited:

Well the only things, well you could read you couldn't go for a walk no place to walk to. Some people did run round the perimeter you could do that, nothing to stop you doing that. They played football, hockey, there was a cinema I think probably about once a week they showed a film. Polishing your brasses, cleaning your rifle (laughs) no it wasn't a social life at all, och I played cards and that sort of thing, and ... in the P.R.I., that's ... a sort of N.A.A.F.I. type of thing, they had ... housey-housey.

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<sup>80</sup> Humphries, *op. cit.*, p. 2/7.

<sup>81</sup> Morrice, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

However, for Bain, the only negative memory of his service was that he and ninety per cent of his battalion caught malaria in the Tochi Valley. In terms of his overall service, ‘... I must say I enjoyed it, it was a spartan existence’.<sup>82</sup>

Both Humphries and Bain served in Scottish regiments in India, and this fact itself caused the Scottish BOR to accept, if not to be positively content with his lot. Many Scottish regiments had a full and active chaplaincy during the nineteenth century, with religion having an important role in regimental life overseas. Calvinism has been represented as a driving imperial force, and some have further suggested that the Scot, battered by Calvinism at home, was easily moulded into regimental service.<sup>83</sup> Religion does appear important to nineteenth-century BORs in Scottish regiments. Thomas Rogers remarked to his sister that:

(I may mention in parenthesis that on all occasions Church Service is conducted “slightly different” in this country from what I have been used to at St. Peters; there are a great many crosses etc. on the communion table & in other parts of the Church, a little High Church, I fancy).<sup>84</sup>

Accompanying her husband, who commanded a Sikh regiment in the Punjab, Mrs. Colin Mackenzie noted that in Poona, Presbyterian soldiers of the 83rd and 86th regiments were regularly marched to the Presbyterian chapel in the mission house. She further remarked, in January 1851, that:

A great many of the 83rd joined the Evangelical Alliance. About ten of the 86th meet for prayer in a room in Mr. Mitchell’s Compound every evening, and

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<sup>82</sup> Bain, *op. cit.*, pp. 13 and 9.

<sup>83</sup> Graham Walker, ‘Empire, Religion and Nationality in Scotland and Ulster Before the First World War’ in Ian S. Wood, (ed.), *Scotland and Ulster*, (Edinburgh, 1994), p. 99, and Victor Kiernan, ‘Scottish Soldiers and the Conquest of India’, in Grant G. Simpson (ed.), *The Scottish Soldier Abroad 1247-1967*, (Edinburgh and Maryland, 1992), p. 98.

<sup>84</sup> Rogers, *op. cit.*, letter to his sister of 1st January 1883.

there is no other meeting for them. Mr. Fenton, the good chaplain, and Mr. Mitchell, have each one a week.<sup>85</sup>

Religion was still important to some Scottish regiments in this century. When he was posted to the 93rd (Argyll and Sutherland) Highlanders as a ULIA from 1936-1937, Mike Wilcox found that ‘The 93rd was then a staunchly Presbyterian regt. with a presbyterian (*sic*) padre attached.’<sup>86</sup> However, neither Humphries, Morrice or Bain mention religion as central to their lives, and so other explanations are necessary. Both Humphries and Morrice rose up the ranks, and this was quite probably helped by their enthusiasm and acceptance of their lot as BORs.<sup>87</sup> It is too simplistic to assert that after such promotion they might remember their days in the ranks more idyllically, and their enthusiastic memories of barrack life should not be discarded simply as false. The element of camaraderie that Humphries mentions, which helped BORs through route marches and the discomforts of their lives, played a role in bonding men together, just as the bonds of secrecy over liaisons with Indian women that Mrs. Lee mentions did. Such bonding itself was then subsumed into a larger identity that encompasses not only the stoicism of these BORs in Scottish regiments, but the unity of all elements of the services, to some degree.

#### **4.8 Scots in the Indian Army:** **the subservience of youth** **- mentors and language**

The experiences of Scots in the Indian Army did not feature in the creation of the ‘martial Scot’ outlined here, which was built around Scottish regiments of the British

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<sup>85</sup> Mrs. Colin Mackenzie, *Life in the Mission, the Camp, and the Zenáná or, Six Years in India*, (London, 1854), 3 Vols., Vol II, p. 293.

<sup>86</sup> Lieutenant-Colonel Mike Wilcox, 1/13 FFR October 1937-March 1947, correspondence of 14th September 1998 in response to a short questionnaire.

<sup>87</sup> Humphries rose to a Major and Morrice to an RSM.

Army. However, the denigration of Indians within that creation, and the omnipotence of the ‘martial Scot’, would suggest that Scots in the Indian Army would dominate the ‘other’ in military service, just as they did in imperial battles. In the experiences recounted here, that was not the case. Many of the realities of service life for such Scots question the stereotype of the ‘martial Scot’.

The Scottish Emergency Commissioned Officers of World War Two interviewed here were very young when faced with commanding the ranks. Duncan Henderson went as an officer cadet to Mhow aged nineteen, and others were even younger - a Major in the Frontier Force Rifles recalling how those officers going to British Regiments in India, whom he trained beside for six months at Bangalore, were ‘much more mature people’. Given such youth and inexperience, these officers were naturally attracted to those Indians in their regiments who did not cause them trouble. Thus Henderson talked of his Jats and Ahirs as ‘very good types’ for their lack of belligerence towards him, whilst for a Major in the Frontier Force Rifles:

I was attracted to the Dogras more than to the others ... they were very amenable, the Sikhs and the Pathan companies were very hard to handle, they were called ‘Barbary’... the Sikhs and the Pathans were a more forceful personality. The Dogras were quite small people, and amenable to discipline, and I suppose that, I had taken the easy way out, and I liked them, and they spoke Urdu.<sup>88</sup>

These young officers were equally subservient in terms of rank. Ronnie Guild was sent to the Frontier Force Regiment, along with three fellow old boys from Glenalmond School, because the Officer Commanding Troops on the troopship to India had been a bursar at the school, and ‘he worked the network from Durban.’<sup>89</sup> Indeed others have used the analogy of the Indian Army being run like a public school in terms of its mess life, discipline, and code of keeping up a ‘certain standard of behaviour’, and

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<sup>88</sup> Henderson, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-2 and 8, and 11 and Major FFR, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-7.

<sup>89</sup> Guild, *op. cit.*, pp. 4 and 6.

such enforced standards of behaviour were entirely placed upon such new officers.<sup>90</sup> In the Indian Army, Captain Guild recollected how life was very formal, even though the Indian army was changing a little during the War, and that ‘... it was a bit ... like a large public school’.<sup>91</sup> Duncan Henderson recalls how ‘... at that age and in the army whatever you thought didn’t matter, so you accepted what came to you.’<sup>92</sup>

The youth and inexperience of many officers meant that they rarely felt any sense of power at all. They were subservient to those above them, but did not attempt to dominate those beneath them, in turn. This was not only the case for ECOs, whose youth and relatively rushed training would seem to explain such feelings. Pre-War regulars spent one year with a British regiment as Unattached List Indian Army, commanding British troops with a familiar culture and language before commanding Indian troops, with their unfamiliar culture and language. Commanding men did not come easily, though, and individuals were not afraid to admit this in interviews, papers or memoirs. Peter Rattray was posted to the Norfolk regiment, and relied heavily on his subordinates:

Sergeant Patrick ... he was a Londoner ... very nice man, he was firm, kind, he looked after one. ... I think they must have picked the sergeants who they gave the inexperienced officers in charge of because ... he would kind of steer you in the right direction and see that ..you didn’t ... do anything that was wrong, and come to suggest to you what you should do and when you should inspect them, when you should inspect the lines and all this kind of business.

When these pre-War regulars went to their respective Indian Army regiments, the Viceroy’s Commissioned Officers (VCOs) assumed an equally pivotal role, and with even greater importance given the learning curve for these new officers, in terms of

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<sup>90</sup> Sir Olaf Caroe, Queen’s Regiment in India, 1914-1920, Indian Civil Service 1920-1923, Indian Political service, 1923-1947, Indian Office Library and Records (IOLR), Mss. Eur. T. 10., p. 48.

<sup>91</sup> Guild, p. 9.

<sup>92</sup> Henderson, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

language and culture. Peter Rattray explained how:

... I was given a company to command straight away having been dipped in at the bare, at the deep end, but fortunately I had a very old experienced *subadar* who really did most of the commanding, you know stood behind me and told me what to do kind of thing and it was really very interesting.

Rattray further recalled how ‘... we were really rather frightened of the *subadar major*’, as he could easily call up young subalterns and discipline them for misdemeanours, such as being sloppily dressed.<sup>93</sup> This reality was common. When Douglas Howse joined his Indian regiment as a pre-War regular:

... the adjutant said that, ‘This is the *subadar-major*, you’re going to such-and-such a company with *subadar* so-and-so. Now on the military side you will rely on these two for guidance. On the administrative side you will have in your office a clerk who can speak English if not more than one, and also there is the Chief Regimental Clerk who is a *jemedar* and he will guide you on that side’, and so between the two one tried to pick up the basic elements of one’s career.<sup>94</sup>

John Masters has suggested that the VCOs, and even the ranks, were empowered with regard to the new officer, since ‘None of the men, not even the recruits, accepted a British officer until he had been there several months and they had had time to adjust to his presence.’<sup>95</sup> For these Scottish ECOs, who had a more hurried introduction into commanding Indian troops, the influence of VCOs was even more central. Colin Moodie described how VCOs provided an essential link when officers like himself were still learning the language. For Duncan Henderson language was also an early difficulty, which necessitated care:

... the *subadar-major* ... he was a direct line to the Colonel commanding the unit and you never knew as a young British officer and not really having full command of the language ... I always felt you had to be very careful how you

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<sup>93</sup> Rattray, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9, 2 and 14.

<sup>94</sup> Howse, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

<sup>95</sup> Masters, *Bugles and a Tiger*, pp. 128-129.

spoke because it could go the alternative way through the *jemedar* or the *subadar*, to the *subadar-major*, the Colonel's ear.<sup>96</sup>

In order to progress in their early days of command, these officers had to rely on NCOs in British regiments and on VCOs in Indian regiments, so that in practical terms there was no great dominance on their part. The further practicalities of communication meant that British officers were effectively powerless, as indicated, until they had some mastery of Urdu. A major in the Frontier Force Rifles was amazed at Gerald Elliot's linguistic ability when he arrived at the Regimental Depot in Abbotabad:

I think he was about six months senior to me, and he was the first British officer I met when I arrived at the depot, ... he spoke fluent Urdu, idiomatic Urdu, I thought, 'My Gosh !', and in fact he passed the examination for what was called first class interpretership both in written and spoken Urdu, which very few regular officers did, and he took it in his stride.<sup>97</sup>

For others, language was more of a chore. For Douglas Howse, '...the biggest problem naturally was the language barrier and all through the summer months one used to have a teacher, a *mumsi*, in the afternoons which were used for rest periods trying to master this language which came gradually.'<sup>98</sup> To many, language was worked at, combining lessons with a teacher, a *mumsi*, with actual exposure to the language with the troops. As with their motivation in actually joining the Indian Army, for some language learning meant extra pay. Archie Black had been taught some Urdu on the way to India, and once in India gained his interpreter certificate, motivated by the extra pay it would bring. Scottish diction seemed to help some, with Archie Black crediting his success to his slower diction.<sup>99</sup> When Ed Brown arranged Hindustani lessons, 'I

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<sup>96</sup> Henderson, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>97</sup> Major FFR, *op. cit.*, pp. 11 - 12.

<sup>98</sup> Howse, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

<sup>99</sup> Black, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 and 11. Savory also mentions the financial rewards of language learning, *op. cit.*, p. 3/9.

remember the munshi [ed. *mumsi*] asking me if I was Scottish ... He said, Well they seem to have the best g ... [gutturals] next to Germans to learn Hindustani'.<sup>100</sup>

However, one Scottish ECO saw the military establishment as distinctly outdated and distasteful, despite his youth. Ronnie Guild's objections, when describing Abbotabad in private correspondence, are clear and dissident:

... I was just turning out my notes ... I got this thing [letter] dated seventeen one forty-three, letter number thirty, 'That night I reached the mess famished, only to have the pleasure of watching the Colonel and Commandant sipping stupid little drinks, obviously after a late and large tea - stop - I can scarcely retain my mutterings on such occasions.' (laughs), so they were obviously, one had the feeling that these old boys hadn't the foggiest idea ... what the devil was going on in the outside world, I'm sure they did have, but their disciplined life, and their pattern of life was that, I mean you know, set before and set parade hours and all this sort of thing, and a mess with silver and set with umpteen courses.<sup>101</sup>

The attitude of some BORs was set even further against the *status quo*. For all that Ed Brown and other BORs saw the 'natives' as 'lesser mortals', this could be a situation forced by peer pressure, especially when Brown had gone to India as a band boy aged fourteen:

... if a soldier was seen joking or talking to an Indian especially the same Indian two or three times, he had to be jeered at by being called a white Nigger. I think it used to stop many people talking to the natives. It was just a cult of the times. One that was never stopped. One that was never encouraged. It was just allowed. Had there been more facilities available to soldiers I don't think phrases like this would have been made. I think they would have seen that we are all humans.

Whilst Brown's thoughts might be dismissed as an attempt to excuse a prejudiced past in which he was a part, it was not unusual for BORs to be disillusioned

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<sup>100</sup> Ed Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 7/2.

<sup>101</sup> Guild, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

with British rule, for all their involvement in it. Brown attributed the problems of India to the British:

... the British ... could have given much more help [to India] ... and helped to put the country on its feet. No-one seemed to bother about it. Cheap labour and another jewel in the crown of the Raj. At the back of the jewel was the squalor, hunger, filth, disease, beggary.<sup>102</sup>

#### **4.9 Indianisation: reluctance or acceptance?**

Although the age of these ECOs meant that there was a degree of equity on a practical level, between commander and commanded, the hierarchies within the Indian Army kept Indians from the commissioned ranks. This changed in the 1920s, as nationalist demands called for the commissioned ranks to be opened to Indians, especially since they had contributed so much during the First World War. The subsequent policy of Indianisation allowed Indians to become commissioned officers in the Indian Army. The initial plan was to introduce Indian officers over three fourteen year periods, but the Second World War forced the policy to be scrapped, and all regiments were opened to Indian officers as the Indian Army underwent rapid expansion.<sup>103</sup> Indian officers' recollections of this policy, and how British officers received it, further illustrate the dynamics of power within the Indian Army.

Some Indian officers recalled negative British perceptions of the policy. J.S. Aurora, a General in the Indian Army after 1947, remembered that:

I think they resented Indianisation; and one did come across a certain number of officers who were apt to run down or be unduly supercilious about the Indians. When it came to giving choice appointments and commands, the Indian officers did not get them.

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<sup>102</sup> Ed Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 5/5 and 9/5.

<sup>103</sup> Omissi, *The Sepoy and the Raj*, pp. 170 and 190. Indianisation is discussed at length from pp. 153-191.

Another post-Independence Indian Army General, 'Monty' Palit, described how Indian officers were assigned to certain battalions, which became 'ghettos' in the regiments.<sup>104</sup> Furthermore, they never mixed with their British fellow officers. However, Aurora did concede that his commandant admired his nationalist views, later inviting him to his house for dinner. Other Indian officers, like Colonel Khushwaqt ul Mulk, recalled the promotions that resulted from Indianisation, but no animosity on the part of British officers.<sup>105</sup>

The recollections of British officers do not reflect those negative experiences of Aurora and Palit, although they were doubtless very real. For Douglas Howse, Indianisation was flawed in operation, not principle, which caused problems at Partition:

Now the trouble with Indianisation was not that it was ineffective, it was sound, it was progressing steadily to the correct conclusion which was to have the regiment from top to bottom commanded by Indians. Where the system fell down and I'm told the same thing occurred in police and in the government was that at the time of Partition the Indianisation was only half completed.

Indianisation was three-quarters complete in his regiment at Independence, and Indian officers had been well received. Their first Indian officer soon rose up the hierarchy:

... when this Indian officer joined the training centre in Bareilly the club would not let him in and the regiment took a very firm line and they said, 'Right we will have this barred and we will get the rest of the military in Bareilly to bar the Club. This is an accredited officer of the Jat Regiment', and they had to give

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<sup>104</sup> Zareer Masani, *Indian Tales of the Raj*, (London, 1987), pp. 24-27.

<sup>105</sup> Interview with Colonel Khushwaqt-ul-Mulk, SA1998.38, 4/19 Hyderabad Regiment 1936-1941, South Waziristan Scouts (S.W.S.) 1941-1946 then returns to Regiment. Commandant of S.W.S. 1947-1949, Deputy Inspector General of Scouts in Baluchistan 1949-1952, Commanding officer of 3rd Royal Battalion 12th FFR, 1952-1954 and commander of Frontier Force Centre, pp. 4 and 6.

way and after that I mean we had a number of Indian people in, and the other end of the story ... he became my Indian C.O. and I was very proud to serve under him, he was a brilliant man a very good chap indeed.<sup>106</sup>

Other officers, like Howse, endorsed Indianisation. Although Lord Roberts believed that Indian officers could never replace their British comrades, he was surprised to find that an 1885 plan to raise one regiment of horse and one regiment of foot, both officered entirely by Indians, was not opposed by British officers. The Sken (Indian Sandhurst) Committee met in February 1925, following pressure on the Government of India to increase the pace of Indianisation. Its recommendations went much further than the government foresaw, in suggesting that Indian vacancies at Sandhurst were doubled, expanding the Indian Military Academy at Dehra Dun and establishing another military academy elsewhere in India., so that the ‘... Government of India were taken aback by the liberality of their own officers.’<sup>107</sup> Reactions to Indianisation revealed opposition, but more significantly there were also many in the Indian Army who supported it, being willing to loosen their hold on the reins of power.

#### **4.10 Indians dominant in the Services: enlistment on their terms**

The youth and inexperience of these Scottish officers meant that they could not dominate the troops they commanded, in practice. However, that reality might seem irrelevant given the economic disparities that resulted from colonial rule, which pressured some Indians into joining the Indian Army. This might suggest that Indians would exercise little real choice in their involvement in the services.

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<sup>106</sup> Howse, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>107</sup> Omissi, *The Sepoy and the Raj*, pp. 159 and 178-179.

There is an element of truth in this perception, since in many areas of high recruitment either demographic pressure on land as a result of a reduction in land holdings, poor soils or the custom of primogeniture forced recruitment into the army. For Punjab, this was true in the first instance for Kangra and Ludhiana, in Attock, Jhelum and Rawalpindi for the second, whilst primogeniture was common in Punjab and Gujarat.

However, there was also an element of self-motivated, self-interest in a decision to send sons to the army, as opposed to it being a forced decision. One or two sons might be sent from an extended family into the army to raise cash to improve a land holding, which might be inadequate, whilst other sons remained.<sup>108</sup> Equally, the concept of martial race was not simply a stereotype placed upon some Indians, over which they had no influence. Martial concepts, whilst codified and emphasised by the British, were familiar to some Indians, as were caste prejudices. Douglas Howse described how:

... on this particular occasion there was a unanimous approval that so-and-so would make a good lance-corporal or *lance-naik* as we call them, so I agreed and I was about to publish the order the next day when my *subadar* came along and said, 'We can't promote so-and-so' and I said, 'Why not?'... and he explained that the man concerned was a weaver which is below the lowest of the military caste. Now from that moment on the man was an outcast and I had to have an N.C.O. watching him to see that he was fed otherwise they would not feed him from the cookhouse which he had been using without anybody objecting for the previous six months.<sup>109</sup>

'Martial race', as with any concept used by colonial authority, was not passively received by Indians. Concepts were taken by Indians and adapted to suit their own purpose in many instances. Some Indians were able to turn elements of martial race theory to their own ends, such as reforming Singh Sabhas did from

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<sup>108</sup> Omissi, *The Sepoy and the Raj*, pp. 49-52.

<sup>109</sup> Howse, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

1873 onwards.<sup>110</sup> In this respect the supposedly disempowered were empowered. Indian recruits to the Indian army were commonly in a much greater position of power than is generally realised. Most service personnel interviewed, or others writing in memoirs or in their papers, clearly indicate this. There were many motivations for enlistment beyond those forced by economic and demographic force of circumstance. Indian recruits acted with as much of a pragmatic outlook as many British officers did. Douglas Howse described how ‘... for the troops it was a steady employment, it was an honourable profession with a pension at the end of it, there was no lacking in recruits’.<sup>111</sup>

It was the idea of the army as an ‘honourable profession’ that was a particular motivation for many Indians in the Army, and also a means of censure. The concept of *izzat* was central in the mind of many Indian soldiers. There is no single word in English to adequately describe *izzat*, but it combines ideals of honour, pride, reputation, credit, prestige and glory, and could be felt in terms of the honour etc. of the individual, family, village or regiment.<sup>112</sup> *Izzat* was not only a motivation in becoming a soldier, but was also an incentive once enlisted. Any dishonourable action or behaviour brought shame on the individual, or family, village or regiment.<sup>113</sup> *Izzat* was a powerful concept. Sita Ram explains the mutiny of troops at Meerut and Delhi in 1857 simply because their *izzat* was compromised by being put in chains.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> A criticism of scholarship which denies communities’ abilities and roles in making their own identities, martial or otherwise, can be found in Douglas M. Peers, “ ‘Those Noble Exemplars of the True Military Tradition’; Constructions of the Indian Army in the Mid-Victorian Press”, in *Modern Asian Studies*, 31, 1, (1997), p. 110. Discussion of Indian conceptions of martial race can be found in Stephen P. Cohen, *The Indian Army: Its contribution to the development of a nation*, (Berkeley, 1971), p. 45 and Omissi, *The Sepoy and the Raj*, p. 26. Singh Sabhas’ use of a martial Sikh identity is discussed in Richard G. Fox, *Lions of the Punjab: Culture in the Making*, (Berkeley, 1985) and Omissi, pp. 94-5.

<sup>111</sup> Howse, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

<sup>112</sup> These approximations are taken from Omissi, *The Sepoy and the Raj*, p. 79 and Philip Mason, *A Matter of Honour: An Account of the Indian Army, its Officers and its Men*, (London, 1974), p. 127.

<sup>113</sup> Omissi thoroughly discusses the role of *izzat* and quotes extensively from sepoys’ letters from World War One which illustrate the motivation that *izzat* inculcated, pp. 77-84.

<sup>114</sup> Sita Ram, *From Sepoy to Soobadar*, p. 110.

Such motivation, of course, might have coincided very conveniently with wider British policy, as it did here. *Izzat* also had its uses as a mechanism of control, since British officers were aware of its role for censure. As a new officer, Douglas Howse confined a *sipāhī* to barracks for three days for being dirty on guard mounting. Howse then asked his *jemedar* interpreter if he had taken the correct course of action, and whilst he initially approved, he added:

Yes *sāhab* but what you don't understand yet is that that fellow will have to report it in a letter to his father who I happen to know is *ex-jemedar* XYZ you see, and when that gets round the village someone is bound to pull the old man's leg and say, 'Well of course young recruits now you know - dirty on parade - didn't happen in my day' and when this young man gets back to his village he'll get absolute hell, so I took that as a warning and I was very careful as to what I did in future.<sup>115</sup>

This concept of shaming one's family in one's village was a very powerful threat. Roy Rutherford remarked on how:

... the Viceroy Commissioned Officers were very much in touch with what was happening in the village back in the Punjab and any misdemeanours would get its way back to the village and would bring shame on the parents and on the village and so on.<sup>116</sup>

In this sense, *izzat* could facilitate discipline and control. Young officers, who preferred some groups over others for their amenability, would doubtless appreciate the potential for censure that it implied, as Gerald Elliot explained:

... the thing wasn't done so much on military discipline as moral discipline, and they were rather good, and became rather good schoolmasters. I mean all these kids, after all, they were only fifteen or sixteen some of them, I think they were meant to be sixteen but some of them fudged their age, and you didn't beat him up, or put him in gaol for twenty-three days for having a dirty rifle, you'd tell

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<sup>115</sup> Howse, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>116</sup> Roy Rutherford, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

him that they were letting down their village or letting down their uncle, or letting down the army.<sup>117</sup>

This potential for censure was deeply felt by Indian soldiers, so that moral discipline was a powerful tool for control. Equally, alongside this, was the concept that by taking military employment, Indians were 'eating salt' - a reference to times when salt was used as currency. This implied a sense of obligation whereby the soldier was duty bound to serve, in this case, the British.

This did not mean that Indian soldiers were powerless in this relationship, however. Indian soldiers perceived this as a reciprocal process whereby their loyalty and service gave them privileges, such as access to British officials. Indian soldiers were not afraid to extract their dues from authority on the basis of these rights. Soldiers wrote to their families urging them not to buy war bonds during World War One, as they had sent a son to fight, and this was enough of a contribution. In 1916, the Rawalpindi district received 2388 petitions from men in the ranks demanding patronage for their relatives.<sup>118</sup>

This relationship was one that influenced colonial policy itself. Whilst honour was seen as a powerful motivation, incentives must be offered, and thus the Indian soldier was empowered. After the Tirah Campaign of 1897, a letter to the *Civil and Military Gazette* argued that the 'fine spirit among the fighting races' must not be allowed to die out, and:

To maintain this spirit all that is necessary is that our native soldiers should be assured that their services are acceptable to the Sovereign, and are appreciated and acknowledged by their fellow subjects in this country. They are ready to do much

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<sup>117</sup> Sir Gerald Elliot, Arrived in Abbotabad in 1943, initially worked in intelligence, transferred to FFR, and served until 1946, SA1998.42, p. 7.

<sup>118</sup> Omissi, *The Sepoy and the Raj*, pp. 56-57.

for us ... we are willing to do what we can for them. It is for this reason that the "Indian Heroes' Fund" has been started.<sup>119</sup>

This attitude, that Indians would do their duty based only on their Sovereign and fellow subjects' appreciation, was prejudicial towards Indians and their motivations, as it portrayed a one-sided, servile relationship. Although the notion of the King-Emperor's appreciation was itself a powerful one, evoking a further element of *izzat*, and honorific Royal prefixes to regiments were prized,<sup>120</sup> the need for a fund suggests that such incentives alone were not enough.

#### **4.11 Concessions and collaboration: acquiescence to culture and religion and the need for collaboration**

The British policy within which Scots in the Indian Army served was, at times, careful to accede to Indian soldiers' sensibilities, especially in cultural and religious terms. This had been a policy from the earliest days of the military recruitment of Indians, such as in terms of catering for diet. Before fears of religious conversion were widespread, in the period before 1857, the East India Company had been careful regarding religion. In 1819 a *sipāhī* was discharged from the 25th Native Infantry for converting to Christianity, lest he give rise to fears of a policy of conversion.<sup>121</sup> However, events surrounding 1857 saw scant respect for religion or culture even among officers of the Company's Army. Arthur Moffat Lang of the Bengal Engineers records how, once Delhi was captured:

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<sup>119</sup> *Civil and Military Gazette*, Thursday, July 7th 1898, Gordon Highlanders' Regimental Archives, PB378/103 (Newspaper Cuttings).

<sup>120</sup> Omissi, *The Sepoy and the Raj*, pp. 108-111.

<sup>121</sup> Seema Alavi, *The Sepoys and the Company: Tradition and Transition in Northern India 1770-1830*, (Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. 76 and 85.

Taylor rode his horse up the steps of the Jama Masjid, we danced about, drank beer and brandy, and Sikhs lit fires in the sacred mosque: Geneste and I sent sappers for ladders and took down the two sacred Roe's eggs: I have one now.<sup>122</sup>

The attitude towards religion and culture in later years was quite different. Training for pre-War regulars and for ECOs included education on the culture and religion of their troops.<sup>123</sup> Consideration was given to religious and cultural needs. Douglas Howse remarked on how an injured *havildar* was allowed three months' leave, when the Medical Officer's methods had failed, to visit his local *hākīm*, who cured the problem.<sup>124</sup> Ronnie Guild recalled how he learned as a new Company commander to accede to all religious requests. A soldier had been told that it would be auspicious to marry when he was meant to attend a course, so '... I went to my Indian Battalion commander and he said, 'Yes of course he's got to get married then', and that was one ... part of the learning process that you had'.<sup>125</sup> The authorities were careful to ensure that religious custom could be adhered to on the Western Front during World War One. Qu'rans were sent from Bhopal, and three thousand sets of bracelets and daggers for Sikh soldiers were forged in Sheffield, through a fund set up in Britain for this purpose.<sup>126</sup> Whilst these policies took place within a larger development of caste and race theory, the fact that they were necessary also illustrates the degree of equanimity, on a practical level, between Scots (as well as others from the British Isles) and Indians in the services. That, in turn, again contrasts the alleged, innate omnipotence of the created 'martial Scot'.

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<sup>122</sup> David Blomfield (ed.), *Lahore to Lucknow: the Indian Mutiny journal of Arthur Moffat Lang*, (London, 1992), p. 97.

<sup>123</sup> J.P. Rutherford, *op. cit.*, p. 4, Black, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>124</sup> Howse, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>125</sup> Guild, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

<sup>126</sup> Omissi, *The Sepoy and the Raj*, pp. 99-102.

#### **4.12 Officers and men: closeness from necessity and affinity**

The closeness of relations between officers and men in the Indian Army that is mentioned in the majority of interviews and memoirs used here might seem like a nostalgic creation of retired officers. However, when placed in the context of the need to placate the empowered Indian soldier, on whose collaboration the army depended, it is shown to be a necessity of the time and not nostalgia of the present. That reality, though, is further at odds with the creation of the ‘martial Scot’.

Some pre-War regulars have suggested that an unsuitable intake of both ECOs and Indian recruits ruined the idyllic relations between officers and men. For Douglas Howse, the intake of ‘an awful lot of rubbish’ during World War Two was the cause of the military blunders he described.<sup>127</sup> Some Indian and British officers recruited during the War ‘were not suitable’ according to Peter Rattray.<sup>128</sup> However, these notions are not simply a romanticised idea of a golden age in their past, subsequently ruined by new ECOs. When there was such a need to placate the Indian soldier, the closeness of relations between officers and men could not be compromised. This was all the more threatening since the army was already overburdened by its wartime expansion, which Rattray noted was stretching the army to its limits. For many ECOs, though, there were cordial relations between themselves and the pre-War regulars, partly because many regulars had to leave to go to newly formed battalions.<sup>129</sup> Colin Moodie found that when he arrived at the Dogra Regimental Depot at Jhallander:

I was made very welcome, that was the first thing, they were absolutely first class, there was no hint that I’m a regular officer and you’re just an Emergency Commissioned Officer ... There was no hint of that at all. I was an officer I was

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<sup>127</sup> Howse, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>128</sup> Rattray, *op. cit.*, pp. 22.

<sup>129</sup> Elliot, pp. 4-5. Cordial relations between ECOs and regulars are also described in Bristow, *Memoirs of the British Raj*, p. 125.

embodied in the Regiment, I was expected to get to know more about the Regiment and it just took off from there.<sup>130</sup>

For these ECOs and regulars before them, their main task as new officers was to build a relationship with the men they commanded. Sport was an important component of this relationship, not in the sense of instilling the discourse embodied in the games ethic, but to form an *esprit de corps*.<sup>131</sup> Douglas Howse mentioned the playing of sport with his men most afternoons, and for Colin Moodie:

... as a young officer you had no choice you had to participate in the games and play with them, you know, and that sort of thing ... I always reckoned that I was pretty good at sport or at least I thought I was, ... but when it comes to playing hockey I mean their standard of hockey was something I couldn't even approach, you know, but I still played with them and volleyball and all this sort of thing you joined in with the games, yea.

**Jeremy Weston :** And that was important.

**Major Moodie :** That's right very important'.<sup>132</sup>

For Archie Black sport was a unifier across the services, since:

... I used to play cricket quite a bit and also soccer and also hockey. I played hockey with Indian soldiers I used to play quite a bit of soccer with R.A.F. airmen and then we played cricket but that would be anyone who wants to play cricket.<sup>133</sup>

The same was true for Indian officers. For Colonel Khushwaqt-ul-Mulk, sport also acted as a common denominator, since '... I was fond of playing soccer so that

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<sup>130</sup> Moodie, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>131</sup> The role of the games ethic is described in J.A. Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal*, (Harmondsworth, 1986).

<sup>132</sup> Moodie, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

<sup>133</sup> Black, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

helped me to get to know the officers and the other ranks' when he joined the Green Howards as an U.L.I.A. in 1935.<sup>134</sup>

The bond between officers and men was further cemented by social contact. There was, of course, no allowance in public depictions of the 'martial Scot', for those cultural exchanges that took place in such situations. In those depictions, the 'other' was to be vilified rather than encountered and engaged with. Peter Rattray would regularly eat with his men, and his C.O. made sure that young officers visited the men in their villages:

I used to often go and eat with them in fact I got a great liking for goat and curry and I thought that chapattis were absolutely marvellous so one was sometimes a little bit pushed to eat a little bit in the mess ... we used to go and visit them in their villages too. Generally taken round by a senior *Soobadar* or somebody like that and it was all mapped out so-and-so's going on leave so you'd visit him in such-and-such a village and he would show all you round the village.<sup>135</sup>

Major Alistair Howman recalled how his father:

... thought his soldiers were the most marvellous men that ever were, he worshiped them, he knew all their names, he spoke their language and it was just a privilege to be with such marvellous people.<sup>136</sup>

ECOs were also able to bond with their men, although certain cultural factors, such as their men living in married quarters, could restrict contact in the lines.<sup>137</sup> Once again, given their youth, close relationships would form. Duncan Henderson remembered his orderly fondly, how he would talk about Britain to him and how '... I

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<sup>134</sup> Khushwaqt-ul-Mulk, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

<sup>135</sup> Rattray, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

<sup>136</sup> Major Alistair Howman SA1997.96. His father founded the Assam regiment, and was also in the Punjab Regiment (see Mrs. C. Howman), p. 6.

<sup>137</sup> Paul, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

would have loved to have invited my own orderly over to Britain'. Henderson was transferred elsewhere and so they lost contact, but some officers managed to maintain contact with their orderlies.<sup>138</sup> Archie Black thought that his men were 'smashing blokes' and as with so many bitterly regretted the break up of his men (a wireless troop) at Partition.<sup>139</sup> Both pre-War regulars and later ECOs felt that this relationship was extremely close, unique, and in current times open to misinterpretation. Roy Rutherford would visit his men in the evenings, playing sport with them and talking to them, all because:

... it was absolutely fundamental to life in an Indian infantry battalion this relationship between officers and men ... it is perhaps difficult for someone who has not served in that environment, in that sort of relationship to understand it, and it's so easy to be misled by what one reads, what has been written about it by those who had no actual inside contact, only an outside contact, conjecture.

For Willy Wilcock, Rutherford's C.O., '... what he didn't know about the soldiers in the Regiment wasn't worth knowing. He spoke Urdu fluently and he spoke Pushtu fluently.'<sup>140</sup> As an officer in the Frontier Scouts, Willie Brown was noted for his complete assimilation into the local culture in Gilgit, where '... he just imbibed the whole thing, he breathed it in and revelled in it and that I think is was very typical of all Scotsmen who served there'. His wife, Margaret Brown, explained this partially by the fact that:

... he always felt being a Borderer gave him a great deal in common with the men of the marches, as he called them, ... that was his feeling that Frontier people all over the world had more in common with each other than they do with anyone else.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> Henderson, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

<sup>139</sup> Black, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>140</sup> Roy Rutherford, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 and 11.

<sup>141</sup> Margaret Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 14 and 2.

This cannot simply be dismissed as a romanticised perspective, because the same terms are used by Colonel Khushwaqt-ul-Mulk in his analogy between the contrast of settled and tribal Pathans, and the English and Scottish respectively:

... Scot officers or even the Irish chaps who were there they were more like the tribal people, ... for one thing the tribal people didn't speak Pushtu in the same way that the settled people did and the Scot officers didn't speak English.<sup>142</sup>

Within such affinities, Scots in the Indian Army recalled no sense of superiority over their men beyond the fact that they commanded them. Roy Rutherford recounted fond memories of these ties, and stated that his time with Indian troops was far happier than his subsequent command of British troops.<sup>143</sup> Overall, most fulfilled their role to command by remembering the maxim that Ronnie Paul was told to command by, that, 'There's no such thing as bad troops and there's only bad officers', since:

Good officers get to know their men inside out. They get to know all their plusses and all their minuses. There isn't such a thing as a bad soldier. It's a bad officer. But I didn't believe it until I proved it.<sup>144</sup>

The same code had informed command in an earlier period. In 1898, a letter in the *Civil and Military Gazette* decried the forthcoming appointment of Sir Richard Udny as the first Chief Commissioner of the North-West Frontier, since he had forced a Captain Barton to leave his men and followers of the Khyber Rifles at Landi Kotal, where they were subsequently killed. 'Thus', the letter continued, 'did a British Commissioner complete the betrayal of our allies the Khyber Rifles, who, had trusted British honour, and who when they came into Jamrud, jeered at the British troops

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<sup>142</sup> Khushwaqt-ul-Mulk, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11. Cis-Frontier Pathans living in the settled districts of North-West Frontier Province lived a more stable, agricultural life, whereas Trans-Frontier tribes in tribal territory lived entirely on the basis of *Pukhtunwali* - the way of the Pathans. In tribal territory, the law of the Government of India only applied on the roads.

<sup>143</sup> Roy Rutherford, *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 18-19 and 26-8. Rutherford served in the Royal Regiment from 1946-1950 and then in various staff appointments.

<sup>144</sup> Paul, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

assembled, for not lifting a finger to help them ... A more disgraceful appointment has never been contemplated'.<sup>145</sup>

#### **4.13 Active service: the cementing of bonds and the rejection of strictures**

Such an abandonment was all the more disgraceful since it was during such active service that the bond between officer and men was further strengthened. In the 1870s R.J. Osborn wrote how:

Any officer who has served in India with native troops must have perceived how genial and cordial are the relations among all ranks, from the commanding officer down to the private, so long as a regiment is on active service. The dangers and hardships which have to be endured by all, keep alive and strengthen the feeling of comradeship.<sup>146</sup>

When officers had to command troops, the lack of any preformed bond could prove problematic. Captain Gordon went to command Punjab Infantry, as opposed to the Sikhs whom he usually commanded, during the Tirah campaign of 1897. On joining an Afridi company of the 5th Punjab Infantry:

The bullets began to whizz about us then and the Afridis who were with me got quite out of hand and began blazing off anyhow. I was wild with rage as I knew that once they started that game it would take very little to make them run. I managed to stop them after a bit by getting in front of them and yelling 'cease fire' during which I ran far more risk from the rifles than from the enemy ... The Afridis ... were in a real jumpy state and it only required a charge from the enemy to turn the retirement into a *sauve-qui-peut*, in which case very few of us would have escaped. I never expected to get clear of the hills alive ... I shan't volunteer to command men of another corps again. We got into camp at 10:30 p.m. when, for

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<sup>145</sup> *Civil and Military Gazette*, Lahore, January 29th 1898, PB378/15, Gordon Highlanders Regimental Archives, Aberdeen.

<sup>146</sup> R.D. Osborn, *Islam Under the Arabs*, (London, 1876), p. v. Osborn was in the Bengal Staff Corps.

the first time this day, I met my regiment. They were very glad to see me, but not more so than I was to get back to the 15th.<sup>147</sup>

In the same campaign, Captain Ormsby was far happier commanding Gurkhas. When they first saw combat during the campaign ‘... there was at all times great danger of firing on our own men. But in this respect especially the discipline was excellent: the men might have been firing at targets on the range’.<sup>148</sup>

Almost fifty years later, in 1942, an ECO, Mr. Robinson found that the realities of active service were very different from training. He arrived ‘... in the middle of nowhere ... a bit of patch of sort of clearing in the jungle’, looking for Major-General Briggs’ headquarters. On discovering that it was a caravan ‘... we realised then that things weren’t going to be quite the same as in peacetime soldiering’.<sup>149</sup> J.P. Rutherford felt that links with his men were far closer in the field, and Roy Rutherford ‘... became very close to all the soldiers in my platoon’ whilst serving in Burma, when ‘... I knew which villages they came from and I would play games with them’ such as basketball.<sup>150</sup> A more egalitarian relationship would develop, as men and officers shared the same conditions, - ‘All in the same stewpot’, as Ronnie Guild described it.<sup>151</sup> There was a certain reciprocity in the relationship, as Colin Moodie found it:

... officers ... in a war atmosphere lived very much with the troops and you eat the troops’ food and all this sort of thing, and ... one of the great things about the Indian Army is that they look on their officers as being, as I said a saying in Urdu, as being a father and mother to them, you know, but equally they look after you, and look after you extremely well, they take great care of you I mean you go from one position to another and the first thing the batman, without saying anything

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<sup>147</sup> *Diary of Captain John Lewis Randolph Gordon, 15th Sikhs, August 15th 1897 - November 17th 1897.* Consulted in the Gordon Highlanders Regimental Archives with the kind permission of Captain M.P. Taitt. Gordon was from Cooper Park, Elgin.

<sup>148</sup> Captain V. Ormsby, 3rd Gurkha Rifles, *A Battalion in Tirah: Being the Experiences, in Tirah, and on the Samana of a Regimental Officer*, written in 1899, B8/16, King’s Own Scottish Borderers Archives, Berwick-upon-Tweed.

<sup>149</sup> Robinson, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>150</sup> J.P. Rutherford, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8 and R. Rutherford, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>151</sup> Guild, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

he'd get a couple of bodies together and make sure that your slit trench or your basha if you're far enough back to have one, is prepared ready for you and that sort of thing, you know, so it's a very, very fine relationship in actual fact.<sup>152</sup>

However, it must be noted here that some Indian officers and ranks did not enjoy such cordial interaction with British and other Commonwealth troops. An Indian naval rating, B.C. Dutt, recalled harsh training instructors, and living conditions based on racial distinction during peacetime, so that 'there was no question of meeting them.' White soldiers had 'everything they wanted', whilst 'We had a little cowshed.' Once on active service, divisions were highlighted even more:

We were a small group from the Royal Indian Navy attached to the army that invaded Burma. We were the communications ratings, and the invading army were Indians, British and Australians. Wherever we landed, we always, invariably, saw that we were the last to be taken off the beach ... white people were taken out first.

Dutt also found that other ranks treated him and his fellow Indian ratings with equal contempt, so that:

... if we came into contact, their attitude, their talk, their language, there was no question of hiding it. Their greeting was: 'Hi, black bastard!'

Such prejudice turned the Anglo-Indians in his group from pro-British to anti-British in outlook. It further was a root cause of Dutt's leadership of the naval mutiny on H.M.S. *Talwar* in January 1946. These mutinies proved a serious threat to colonial authority in both their spread beyond Bombay to other Indian Navy stations in Karachi and Calcutta, and through mill workers joining the protest in Bombay. There, tanks were called in to suppress the protest, for the first time in Bombay. Similarly, Sergeant Umrao Singh recalled similar distinctions being made between British and Indian troops,

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<sup>152</sup> Moodie, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

such as poorer conditions and lower pay.<sup>153</sup> However, Dutt also remembered another British instructor, Lieutenant Yorker, who ‘was always trying to make up for his brother officers’ by treating Indian ratings well, although he was ostracised, and eventually left.<sup>154</sup> Just as with reactions to Indianisation outlined earlier, impressions and memories vary, so that one single analytical representation is not only impossible, but is a misrepresentation.

However, the realities of active service could still transcend rigid adherence to the strictures of training and hierarchy, even during the nineteenth century. In the Tirah campaign of 1896, Gordon freely criticised the logistical failings of the system. A baggage train failed to arrive, so that his men could only get half rations, and this showed ‘... the want of management in the Transport dept.’. Ormsby was clearly influenced by such strictures, but soon discarded them when retiring from a foraging trip:

Tradition and Regulation said ‘Quick’: Instinct and Common Sense said ‘Double’... [they retreat at the double] We were a bit ashamed of ourselves, and a bit diffident as to the way in which those tactics would be accepted by Mess opinion, that great ‘arbiter merum militarium’, but in a day or two we found that it was quite the correct thing. For in Tirah it was soon discovered that Discretion, as exemplified by an energetic use of one’s legs to get out of the way of one’s enemy, was decidedly the better part of Valour that would stand to be shot at with (seeming) indifference.<sup>155</sup>

The almost self-deprecatory tone here further illustrates how a sense of dominance and power was rarely, if ever, to the forefront of such officers’ minds. If anything their loyalty and ties to their own men, or those they were working among, was

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<sup>153</sup> Interview with Sergeant Umrao Singh shown in BBC’s *Timewatch: The Forgotten Volunteers*, BBC2, Saturday 5th June 1999.

<sup>154</sup> Masani, *Indian Tales of the Raj*, pp. 29-31 and 123-126.

<sup>155</sup> Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 38 and Ormsby, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

far stronger.

Indeed, during the Chitral and Tirah campaigns, Indian Army officers had a far more pastoral concern for their men than British Army officers. When serving in the Tirah, Gordon was able to note that 'It is just as pleasant to be shot at comfortable and warm in bed as standing shivering in the cold', since he had a bed, but he was still concerned for his men, writing with worry that 'we are leading a most hand to mouth existence ... The men are getting only half their usual amount, which is a great mistake at the beginning of a campaign.' Just as Bandsman William Marr suffered an uncomfortable night after the storming of the Dargai Heights, Gordon described how 'None of our baggage had come up, so we were obliged to spend the night on the hillside, hungry, cold and thirsty.' He was later embarrassed to admit that 'Wimberly was lying next to me and I managed to get a suck out of his bottle when he was asleep.'<sup>156</sup> Ormsby and his fellow officers also suffered discomfort alongside their men, and Ormsby found himself ashamed at a fellow officer's kindness:

... we were met by fellows of our Right Wing, my request was for water. Tillard gave me his water bottle. I drank some of it, and then asked if there was any more. 'Plenty' said Tillard, whereupon I immediately finished it. That was the last drop of water in the camp.<sup>157</sup>

Such a sense of shame itself reveals that Ormsby considered the fate of his men. In contrast, the retrospect from the Tirah campaign by Lieutenant George Douglas Mackenzie, an officer in the Gordon Highlanders, differed. He often adopted a more flippant tone, with his memories of how the kilt provides inadequate protection against sandflies or how piping confuses Indian buglers in Peshawar.<sup>158</sup> In fairness, Mackenzie did also recall combat in a serious and sober tone, although the flippant tone of much of his account stands out.

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<sup>156</sup> Gordon, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 11 and 34.

<sup>157</sup> Ormsby, *op. cit.*, p. 16. His preoccupation with food, given their circumstances, continues on pp. 17-18.

Gordon and Ormsbys' admissions of the system's shortcomings, or their selfishness in trying circumstances, show not only a sense of conscience, but that they were scarcely trying to empower themselves as omnipotent, righteous colonialists in their respective records of events. A comparison of the retrospects of Ormsby and Mackenzie, in their recall of same campaign, informs a representation of a different approach across two armies. Ormsby recalled the campaign, and reveals a pastoral concern for his men that is more than an extension of the power inherent in a paternalistic relationship. He was prepared to criticise when he felt that men's lives were unnecessarily endangered. He wrote that '... this does not profess to be a critical account', but continued to criticise the abandoning of the Dargai position overnight and the heavy losses incurred in its recapture. He continued '... I will make no comment on the matter other than to say that we were all reluctant to leave the position we had won, and would have been glad if it could have been found advisable to retain it'.<sup>159</sup>

The variety of individuals' experiences across the same campaign given their respective roles, rank *et cetera* would also cause some of these differences between these accounts. Nevertheless, the contrast between them also serves well to represent a divergence of attitudes towards the officer-men relationship between two armies.

#### **4.14 Breaking ties: Partition and its effect on the officer-men relationship**

In the twentieth century, Partition brought these concerns and loyalties to the

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<sup>158</sup> Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, pp. III-IV

<sup>159</sup> Ormsby, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

fore once again. Some Scottish officers in the Indian Army risked censure in acting in what they saw as the interests of the troop they served with. Archie Black remembered ‘... a feeling of real, of a very deep concern’ regarding Partition, ‘and we all thought in the Army that the whole thing was done in a very unplanned, precipitate manner’. Black had trained Auchinleck, Wavell and Mountbatten in the use of voice radio, which the British Army did not have, and whilst they superseded him in rank, he was not afraid to vent his anger. In 1947 Black became Officer Commanding the Ridge in Delhi, and watched Partition take its course:

I got quite bad tempered about it. ... I can remember being really very rude to Mountbatten (laughs) about the whole thing. I mean I felt that he was totally inhuman in his attitude to what he was doing ... Mountbatten was just swanning around, you know, I think it was deplorable ... my troop was decommissioned ... and I used to see Mountbatten quite a lot because he used to come riding ... at the weekend up on the ridge with one of his daughters ... and Mountbatten ... would come up and stop ... they always stopped and had a little chat ... and ... it was on one of these occasions that I really got angry with him (laughs) which is not really what you’re meant to do (laughs).<sup>160</sup>

Others in the services took even more drastic action. Willie Brown was appointed to command the Gilgit Scouts through Partition. After Roger Bacon, the last Political Agent, had left Gilgit he was then serving the Maharajah of Kashmir. Gilgit was entirely Muslim, and the Maharajah of Kashmir was Hindu. Rumours surrounding what would happen to Gilgit were rife, as Shah Khan explained:

‘... when the British were leaving this place they handed right back to Maharajah of Kashmir. ...[This was] ... the biggest mistake and unfair because on the basis of democracy ... why we should not be with the Muslims [who formed] 100% the population, why should not be part of Pakistan, this was mood here, ... [how the local ruling families had places reserved in the Scouts] ... so when the these people [the Dogras] came there were rumours spread, so much so they said they were going to suspend the Gilgit Scouts ..[who were rumoured to be moving

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<sup>160</sup> Black, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-8 and 11-13.

to an unpopular posting] ... so this was not liked ... by those people ... from the ruling family so those are two main things to bring this coup.’<sup>161</sup>

Shah Khan was one of five *subadars* around whom the coup centred, and secrecy was paramount, ‘ We had to keep this thing secret from even our relatives ... so till the last day nobody knew.’ Shah Khan added how Willie Brown was also unaware of the plotting, <sup>162</sup> but well aware of both the likely outcome of accession to India and the general circumstances surrounding events. Nehru was determined to hold on to Kashmir, and Mountbatten ‘... was a man of action, he wanted to get the Partition arrangement completed as quickly as he could’.<sup>163</sup> Brown was eventually asked by the VCOs of the Gilgit Scouts whether he wanted to join the coup or not, and was given a chance to fly out on a plane leaving Gilgit at ten o’clock:

Till ten o’clock of 31<sup>st</sup> October Willie did not know. So there you see he is our friend he is not a Dogra so we’ll ask his what he wants and then when we asked him he said oh I’m so happy he said I’ll join the regulars that’s why the Government of Pakistan they gave the ... award.<sup>164</sup>

For Brown and his second-in-command Jock Mathieson (also a Scot) this meant potentially serious consequences if they were captured by the Dogra Kashmir State troops sent to take Gilgit. Officialdom itself was split as to whether Brown’s actions were correct:

... as far as I can gather Mountbatten was furious. ... Latterly a friend of mine met him ... and he said to Mountbatten that he was going to stay with me ... and Mountbatten flew into a rage and he said that fellow Brown he was a traitor to India, he was a traitor to his country and furthermore he was a traitor to me ... However the funny thing was that the British government seemed to think it was alright because they gave me an M.B.E. ... and the King wrote me a letter ... thanking me for my efforts.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> Mirzada Shah Khan, SA1998.39, Gilgit Scouts 1940s, p. 6.

<sup>162</sup> Shah Khan, pp. 8-9.

<sup>163</sup> Interview with Major Willie Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

<sup>164</sup> Shah Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>165</sup> Willie Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

British officers in the Scouts and political agents were both noted for their fierce loyalty to their men. Masters recalled a misunderstanding where a Political Agent talked of how ‘... our chaps fought very well today’, and where he meant the Pathans he worked among and not Gurkha troops fighting them.<sup>166</sup> For all that this might be dismissed as an extension of those paternalistic attitudes that underlay much of colonial rule, it was a deep seated and genuine feeling, especially when to follow it could have serious repercussions. When these officers rigidly followed the expectations of Pathan culture, this could often lead to difficult situations. James Watson, a Scot in the SWS and fellow officer of Colonel Khushwaqt-ul-Mulk, found himself nearly kidnapped when he accepted a dinner invitation from a Mahsud noted for his antipathy to British rule. Many such Scout officers were noted for what has been called their ‘pukhtunitis’ - a blind refusal to countenance any faults among the Pathans they served with.<sup>167</sup>

#### **4.15 Regimental identity: the root of loyalty**

Regimental identity links Scots’ experiences in both Scottish and Indian Army regiments, and was and is a key concept for the services in India. Such a motivation is intangible and qualitative, but that does not detract from the power which it could exert over all personnel, at whatever level, over time. To Indians, *izzat* applied to the *paltan* (regiment) as much as anything else.

For Scottish BORs, their pride in their Regiment, their battalion of their regiment, or in a group of regiments in a brigade, was a powerful incentive. It would further feed into those regimental histories used to inspire the later recruit. For all the

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<sup>166</sup> Master, *Bugles and a Tiger*, pp. 196-197.

<sup>167</sup> Charles Chenevix Trench, *The Frontier Scouts*, (Oxford, 1986), pp. 103 and 225. Also see V.E.O. Steven Hamilton’s description of the same outlook in an Irishman on the Frontier, Brigadier John Booth, in *Yes Your Excellency*, (London, 1985), p. 184.

discomfort that Bandsman Marr recounted in his diary during the relief of Chitral and the Tirah campaign, it is important to note that the opening pages of the diary contain a poem. No author is given, but its eulogistic tone on the Scottish Brigade would have been a significant inculcator of regimental pride (Figure 9). Similarly, the King's Own Scottish Borderers' role in the Tirah campaign gave rise to equally eulogistic poetry printed in India (Figure 10). In Borders, General Westmacott's praise of the regiment, as mentioned in the poem, was quoted in a history of the regiment used for recruitment. His address to Borderers of 6th April 1898 described how he had been their Brigadier:

... long enough for me to find out myself what I had always heard, that Borderers are one of the finest regiments in the service. You have been tried very highly, my men: constant rearguard actions, marching through ice-cold water, and fighting all night without either food or blankets; and I have never heard a murmur or an unsoldierlike word. It is you, men, and men like you, who have made the name of the Fourth Brigade famous throughout the civilised world. I am very proud of having had Borderers in my command, and it will be my pride, so long as I live, that I have commanded the Fourth Brigade. Good-bye.

Of course, such an exemplum of men fighting in testing conditions without 'a murmur or unsoldierlike word' would exert the pressure of regimental expectation upon the new recruit. Sergeant McIlroy, the author, then follows Westmacott's praise with his recruitment drive:

This sketch, brief though it is, amply justifies the feeling of pride in his regiment which animates every man in the ranks of the Scottish Borderers and if this little pamphlet be but the means of making the people of Border Counties better acquainted with, and more appreciative of their Territorial Regiment, the writer will feel amply repaid for his trouble. It is to be regretted that a certain number of young men born in Border Counties should leave the district and enlist into Corps with which they have no connection whatever, and not more distinguished than their own Territorial Regiment. Border man who contemplates adopting the army as a profession should bear in mind that in joining the King's Own Scottish Borderers he will be serving under officers who for the most part come from the same part of the country, and that he will be amongst men who at

## Figure 9

### Regimental identity

#### The Relief of Chitral

Marching steadily forward scorning  
the thought of fear  
Thinking only of [imprisoned] one's (*sic*)  
selling their life's blood dear  
Onward o'er mountain and river  
facing heat and snow  
"Gay Gordon's and "Borderers" (*sic*)  
bravely shoulder to shoulder they go  
What though the road be roughish what  
though the miles be long,  
Our Scottish lads are willing and  
Scottish limbs are strong  
Cheerfully fearlessly onward they march  
in their Tartan arrayed  
Aye fine to the core as in days of yore  
Worthy Son's (*sic*) of the Old Brigade  
Right nobly they've done their duty  
the Malakand Pass will tell  
To future generations how gallant  
they fought and fell  
Scaling the steepest passes steady and  
undismayed  
The enemy's braved the garrison's  
saved  
Hurrah for the Scottish Brigade

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From the diary of Bandsman William Marr, No. 3709,  
1<sup>st</sup> Gordon Highlanders

PB180, Gordon Highlanders Regimental Archives, Aberdeen.

Figure 10

Regimental identity

**2nd King's Own Scottish Borderers.**

**IN TIRAH LAND.**

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I.  
THROUGH TIRAH, lads, many sights you have seen,  
Fighting amidst hardships all for the Queen,  
For your country, too, lads, you have shown,  
Your British pluck as in days by gone.

II.  
At Dargai you proved yourselves to be,  
A sturdy fighting race from o'er the sea,  
Which you can boast and proudly say,  
You was the first European regiments that crossed that way.

III.  
From Dargai you retired, then the enemy came,  
Some say a mistake; who was to blame?  
God knows who it was, you must be content,  
It's all in your soldiering and days you have spent.

IV.  
At Karrappa, too, you was almost surrounded,  
Where some of you fell, severely wounded;  
But out of that also, boys, you went on your way,  
Ready to fight at any hour of the day.

V.  
With your hardships now before you know roads for to march,  
Mostly with empty stomachs, your, tongues thick with parch,  
But did not keep you boys, back, that day,  
When from Sampagha Pass you drove the enemy away.

VI.  
At Huraugha Pass, boys, you was the leading corps,  
You proved yourselves to be heroes, also something more,  
Drove the enemy from the heights, where lots of them did fall,  
But the casualties on your side, the number was small.

VII.  
At Tirah Maidan, boys, some good work was done,  
Where two of your companies, foraging had gone,  
Attacked by the enemy, the two companies did retire,  
But they left their mark boys, with their excellent fire.

VIII.  
The three days' column from Bagh to Detoi,  
Struggling through hardships the enemy to employ,  
You showed what was in you when you got there,  
The sound of your volleys was like thunder in the air.

IX.  
The order came from Detoi, you must retire,  
Back again to Bagh, under a heavy, hot fire,  
Through river beds you struggled along,  
Your rear guard attacked, for the enemy was strong.

X.  
It was awful, the marching you had to endure,  
From Bagh to Seragarha, it was to be sure,  
Although it was hard, lads, you stuck it right through,  
By the people at home respected are you.

XI.  
The 13th of December you should well keep in mind,  
When you defied the Afridis, and their kind,  
How you made them reel, boys, both left and right,  
For the enemy had great numbers, must have been an awful sight.

XII.  
You respect your Colonel, a brave man is he,  
Famous for frontier fighting, a hero he proved to be,  
We wish him long life boys, for many years to come,  
To fight for Queen and country until his days are done.

XIII.  
You can't forget your officers, a brave lot are they,  
Who did good work in Tirah, and led you to the fray,  
You should be glad to see, boys, that they all came back,  
From fighting against the Afridis, following them on their track.

XIV.  
Now the N.-C. O's boys, of the fame they have their share,  
For the splendid work they did, there and everywhere,  
Also the men in the ranks, can we forget them,  
For they have the pluck and hearts of true British men.

XV.  
All you Borderers put together, you proved in Tirah land,  
To be a fighting regiment, under good command;  
In all the papers that we read, we see the name you got,  
From your gallant Brigade Commander, General Westmacott.

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PRICE ONE ANNA. Imperial Printing Press.—Luck

Brought back from India by George Geoffrey Brough  
King's Own Scottish Borderers

Brough served in India and the Dardenelles, and died in Germany in 1919

Printed Poems X1/13, King's Own Scottish Borderers Regimental Archives  
Berwick-upon-Tweed

least have the same ways and manners as himself, whereas if he goes into an Irish or an English regiment he will be amongst men whose tastes and sympathies are entirely different to his own, and thus he will find himself “alone in a crowd”.

McIlroy appeals here to a sense of camaraderie amongst the ranks, and the focus of local identity which it is built around. This reflects the importance of such identities for the ranks, otherwise McIlroy’s appeals would be entirely redundant. The fact that the history itself is a part of Sergeant Robertson’s papers in the KOSB archives further shows the importance of such issues to NCOs and the ranks.<sup>168</sup> Camaraderie, and the need to be amongst friends, was important for many who enlisted in the Scottish Regiments. George Morrice enlisted partly because his friends had, and then followed them as a volunteer for service in India for the same reason.

For Morrice, though, there was also his battalion’s identity within his regiment’s identity. His scrapbook of photos includes many of the places he visited or was posted to. Also included are those photos reflecting his Battalion’s success, and which reflected upon and feed into regimental pride. There are photos of the presentation of long service medals, of ‘ “D” (M.G.) [Machine Gun] Company, 1st battalion, Peshawar 1933, who scored 699 Points in the Machine Gunners Cup’, of ‘ “A” Company, 1st Battalion The Gordon Highlanders Champion Company for 1933-34’, of ‘Battalion Hockey team, 1st Battalion The Gordon Highlanders, Winners, Peshawar District Hot-Weather League 1932, Runners Up 1933’ and of ‘ “A” Company 1st Battalion The Gordon Highlanders

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<sup>168</sup> Sergeant Thomas McIlroy, *A Short Sketch of the King’s Own Scottish Borderers The Territorial regiment of the Counties of Berwick, Roxburgh, Selkirk, Dumfries, and Kirkcudbright, Compiled from Authentic Sources by Sergeant Thomas McIlroy, orderly Room Clerk*, (Dumfries, no date), pp. 5-6. Compilation probably took place after April 1898 (the date of Westmacott’s address) and before 1896 (when Sergeant Robertson left the KOSB). Sergeant M. Robertson, 1134, T4/187, KOSB Archives.

Winners, Inter-Company Football Knock-Out Competition (Rose Bowl) Peshawar, October, 1933.<sup>169</sup> A regiment's identity or that of a battalion within it, was an ever present constant. For all their status as being the last British regiment to leave Pakistan, in 1948, what was in the forefront of many minds in the 2nd Black Watch was their forthcoming amalgamation with the 1st Black Watch, and the prospect of a reduction in numbers. Blair in fact set in motion a process whereby as many men as possible were kept busy in Pakistan so that they would be more likely to be kept on when the battalions amalgamated.<sup>170</sup>

This element of identity seems particularly present in the Scottish regiments, and goes some way to explain why Scottish BORs like Bain and Morrice, and those in Scottish regiments like Humphries were content with their lot in India. Of course, this would not be a universal feeling across all Scottish BORs, with Bentley standing out as an exception. However, it was significant, especially since these Scottish regiments often focused themselves around a local identity and unity in their recruitment in the metropole, so that the regiment or battalion was a unit into which the recruit was absorbed. Within this unit, and in contrast to the distance of some officers, superiors were not always harsh. George Morrice also remembered that '... we had a very kind R.S.M. [Regimental Sergeant Major] called Jimmie Dunbar', and Dunbar's daughter, Mrs. A. Stewart, also remembered how her father was kind to troops under his care.<sup>171</sup> The unit's identity in turn incorporated regimental traditions and histories to further inculcate this identity upon the recruit.<sup>172</sup> This identity itself was based upon the regiment or battalion, aside from national identity. Although the regiments were Scottish, the regimental identity was not exclusively Scottish. Mike Wilcox found that when he was posted to the 93rd Highlanders:

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<sup>169</sup> George Morrice's scrapbook of photos, Gordon Highlander Regimental Archives, Aberdeen.

<sup>170</sup> Blair in Royle, *The Last Days of the Raj*, pp. 215-220.

<sup>171</sup> Morrice, *op. cit.*, p. 2 and interview with Mrs. A. Stewart, SA 1997.98, p. 2. Mrs. Stewart spent some of her childhood in India when her father was posted there. She later returned in the 1960s, when her husband worked in the Attock Oil Company.

I must stress strongly, that I never ever found my lack of any sort of Scottish connection was in any way a disadvantage in the 93rd. In fact shortly before my years attachment ended, I had the pleasure and satisfaction of being asked by the CO if I would consider transferring to them!

Wilcox was not able to accept as this meant a demotion of rank and pay, but his experience ratified with the CO's promise '... that we would be treated the same as his own officers, and so it proved to be.' The importance of the *esprit de corps* in the Regiment was further shown by the fact that the ranks were by no means entirely Scottish, and yet they bonded:

The men in the unit were a varied lot. Lowland and Highland Scots. Glaswegians include Glasgow Irish and Irish, some from the Western Isles a number of whom spoke Gaelic, and a number of Cockneys.<sup>173</sup>

Norah Carstairs found life as an English wife in a Scottish regiment to be very different, however. She recalls how '... the Scots people were more clanny than ever we were, they would say to my husband, 'Oh come and meet the so-and-so's they're from Inverness' '. As an officer's wife, Carstairs was perhaps more isolated from the bonding effects of the regiment's identity, and hence felt excluded.<sup>174</sup>

Of course the strength of regimental identity did not preclude an expression of Scottish identity. Captain Greenhill-Gardyne proudly announced how his Gordon Highlanders won the Punjab-Bengal Army Football Association Challenge Cup in February 1896, and clearly feels a strong regimental identity and loyalty. However, once out of the context of the army, where he was comfortable, he clung on to his Scottish identity in the horrors of mingling in British Indian society in Rawalpindi, which proved to be an experience he loathed. He wrote, 'Went to a 'at home' this afternoon a most

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<sup>172</sup> Diana M. Henderson, 'The Scottish Soldier Abroad: The Sociology of Acclimatization' in Simpson (ed.), *The Scottish Soldier Abroad 1247-1967*, pp. 122-123.

<sup>173</sup> Wilcox, correspondence of 14th September 1998 in response to a short questionnaire.

painful performance. I was astonished to find how very out of place and uncomfortable I felt.’ It is perhaps a similar discomfort which led those Scots in the Royal Scots that Carstairs found so ‘clannish’ to socialise amongst themselves, but this can only be conjecture. For Greenhill-Gardyne, this discomfort continued, and within it he only found solace in meeting fellow Scots. He delighted in meeting Scots from the Black Isle, then ‘Thornstone of the 5th P.I. [Punjab Infantry]’ who was ‘a great Scotsman of the middle class, not of the country but of the town’, and exonerated because he went to Wellington. With such attitudes, Greenhill-Gardyne also embodied the same values of the metropole that deemed BORs an inferior. He wrote of how he ‘... met MacLean, Pennycross, who I thought looked a firstrater ... it is a very great pity we didn’t get him instead of these Glasgy chaps who have invaded us.’<sup>175</sup>

This expression of Scottish identity never replaced or denied any regimental identity, which was far more universal, unlike the stated and implicit social discomfort felt by the two individuals quoted here.

#### **4.16 ‘Family’ in the British Army in India: questioning the creation of the ‘martial Scot’**

A wider notion of identity, born out of serving alongside other regiments, would often compliment such an identity at the regimental level. Although a poem after the Tirah Campaign praised the KOSB, and nurtured their regimental pride, the poem in Marr’s diary praised the Scottish brigade. However, despite the singling out of the Gordon Highlanders for their role at Dargai by the press at the time, none of the regiments involved seem to have singled out their own regiment at the expense of others.

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<sup>174</sup> Carstairs, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

<sup>175</sup> Papers of Captain A.D. Greenhill-Gardyne, served in Gordon Highlanders in India from 1895-6 and 1909-10. Cambridge South Asian Archive, Centre of South Asian Studies, University of Cambridge. Volume XIV, entries for February 26th, 24th, March 13th, June 18th and April 6th.

Individual accounts of the time were quick to counter any notion that a single group of soldiers won the day. That opposes the eulogisation of a single soldier, Piper George Findlater. Although Mackenzie (of the Gordon Highlanders) wrote a retrospect of the campaign that occasionally seems flippant in its tone, his account of events at Dargai is more sombre. He emphasised that:

Now there was a splendid push of tartan mixed with Sikhs, Ghoorkas, Dorsets, & Derbys. & the fire from above gradually slackening finally died away, and scrambling up the precipitous cliff our boys cheers told those below that the place was won. Now the sad business of counting the cost begun.<sup>176</sup>

Furthermore, another soldier present at the time, Corporal T. Esslemont of the Gordons, was scathing of his criticism of the Press' handling of events at Dargai. He wrote:

20th October 1897 ... There has afterwards been a deal of bad feeling shown by correspondents to newspapers since this fight [Dargai], against the Gordons. If some of the accredited correspondents on the spot did let his imagination run riot, and make the Evening Papers at home believe that the Gordons did everything and all others do nothing: That was no fault of theirs. Everyone there did his level best, in Derby. Dorset, Sikh and Gurkha regiments and everyone here knows it.<sup>177</sup>

Whilst Findlater's actions merited the VC, and the Gordons did much to take the heights of Dargai, the accounts show that they were not the only protagonists. A misrepresentation in journals and papers of the day is given further weight by Esslemont insisting that Findlater '... continued to play upon the pipes "The Haughs of Cromdale" or at least that is the tune he says he played but the Press got it, that it was "The Cock of

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<sup>176</sup> Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, p. xi.

<sup>177</sup> Corporal T. Esslemont, 1st Gordon Highlanders, *A Personal account of the Tirah Campaign from 1st Aug 1897 to 7th April 1898*, PB 625, Gordon Highlanders Regimental Archives, p. 51.

the North”’.<sup>178</sup> The fact that ‘The Cock of the North’ was the Regimental March of the Gordon Highlanders meant that this invention fitted well, and it is a mistake replicated in accounts of Dargai.<sup>179</sup>

#### **4.17 Scots and regimental loyalty in the Indian Army**

For many, if not most Scots in the Indian Army, their focus was on the identity of the regiment and its people, and this supplanted an expression of Scottish identity. Randolph Gordon believed completely in the competence of his regiment compared to the inadequacies of others, not only when commanding other troops. Writing in 1897, his regiment did not need the help of others to scout, and would not have run out of whisky.<sup>180</sup> Just as some Scots were motivated into joining the Indian Army because of family connections, for some Scots the regiment was family. Peter Rattray joined the regiment that his grandfather had raised in 1856. He also mentioned that:

This regiment happened to be called Rattray Sikhs because my grandfather raised it but it could quite easily be called Macleod Sikhs or something like that because ... the majority of officers were Scottish officers before the War ... a lot of them were of Scottish descent and had ... come in father and son into the Regiment.<sup>181</sup>

Within regimental identity there could also be markers of Scottish identity. Alistair Howman related how the first thing that his father did on founding the Assam Regiment was to send for bagpipes.<sup>182</sup> In one sense the preponderance of pipe bands in regiments of the Indian Army makes this as much an Indian Army affiliation as a

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<sup>178</sup> Esslemont, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

<sup>179</sup> See William M. Paul, *History of the Scottish Regiments*, (Glasgow, 1964), p. 134 for an example of the repetition of this invention.

<sup>180</sup> Gordon, *op. cit.*, pp. 21 and 3-4.

<sup>181</sup> Rattray, pp. 3 and 24.

<sup>182</sup> A. Howman, *op. cit.*, p 9.

Scottish one, but in a personal sense it was an expression of Scottish identity. However, for many other Scots in the Indian Army, their Scottish identity was never to the forefront. This is especially common with ECOs, since recruitment during the War had taken them from their home environment, often trained them in various areas of Britain, and led to mixing with comrades from all parts of the British Isles. For J.P Rutherford, whilst there was a fellow Scot in the Mess, ‘we were all in it together’, so intra-British identities were secondary.<sup>183</sup> Equally Ronnie Paul was glad to meet the adjutant in his Mountain battery, who happened to be a Scot, when he arrived, but there was no clannish grouping.<sup>184</sup> The same was also true for Archie Black, and for Ronnie Guild there was an ‘affinity’ with other Scots, but little beyond a point of conversation.<sup>185</sup> For others, their length of service and ties with their men exceeded their Scottish identity. Roy Rutherford recalls how there:

... wasn’t the Scottish aspect at all ... [how family ties were his initial impulse to go to India] ... The Scots aspect quite honestly didn’t come into it and never really intruded into it ... They’d [fellow Scots who had been in 1/16 Punjab Regiment] been expatriated for so long serving in various parts of the Far East that it wasn’t the Scottish aspect it was the relationship. Officers who shared my experience of being in an Indian battalion and who related to the men in a way which we all related to them ... there was really a very close relationship.<sup>186</sup>

The closeness of officers and men was a loyalty of the most immediate scale, and beyond this loyalty a sense of unity within the regiment was forged. This was all the more extensive and successful because some officers were sent to regiments they had not chosen when they were given their three preferences before being commissioned. However, as their ties with the ranks developed, and they were imbued with regimental identity, a bond to their regiment soon developed.<sup>187</sup> This belief in the regiment was especially strong. John Masters recalled how:

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<sup>183</sup> J.P. Rutherford, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>184</sup> Paul, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5 and 13-14.

<sup>185</sup> Black, *op. cit.*, p. 10 and Guild, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

<sup>186</sup> R. Rutherford, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

<sup>187</sup> R. Rutherford, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

I soon came to believe with a passion worthy of a religion that there was no regiment on earth like it. [4th Prince of Wales' Own Gurkha Rifles] ... As for the rest of the Indian Army - well, the Guides weren't bad, but even they were not what they used to be in the old days, when they had a Gurkha company. The British Army, lock, stock, and barrel was useless. But we - we were wonderful. We had fought from France to China.<sup>188</sup>

A part of this identity was that standards must be maintained. Just as General Westmacott's address in a KOSB history would inspire and motivate the new recruit to keep up the standards, the same was true in an Indian Army regiment. Roy Rutherford recalls his first sight of an Indian Army officer:

... there on the dock was a captain in the Rajputana Rifles whose name was Roy Birkett, he was immaculately turned out, creased shorts, beautifully turned out. We'd been on a troopship for ten weeks and the kit that we had was archaic, it had been issued, I would imagine, to Kitchener's Army when he was relieving Khartoum.<sup>189</sup>

#### **4.18 The sting of Partition (see Figure 11)**

So many remember the division of their Indian regiments or battalions in 1947 with such sadness, in the most part, because of the closeness of officers and men in the Indian Army. This sadness cannot be dismissed out of hand, as simple nostalgia. Although these officers might be accused of attaching more emotion to the event than was present at the time, this sadness is itself an understandable reaction to the severing of a relationship than enabled these officers to serve as they did. Of course as with all

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<sup>188</sup> Masters, *Bugles and a Tiger*, p. 98.

<sup>189</sup> R. Rutherford, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

**Figure 11**

**The sting of Partition**



'... and then the time came when they had to split ... ah, now this is a very sad photograph, these are the Sikhs in the back of a three tonner, on their way down, it was a very sad day'. (Major FFR, p. 3)

such memories, they are not universal. Some left the Indian Army quite happily, and once again it is important to consider the youth of some ECOs. Gerald Elliot is aware of the potential distortion of nostalgia:

You tend to see these things through rose tinted spectacles, and I enjoyed myself there, but I got fed up with all the requirements of army discipline, and having a tiresome C.O. and this sort of thing, because that was all part of it.<sup>190</sup>

Ronnie Guild was keen to return home:

... one was very excited, longing to get home ... at that age it was a long time to be away. It would be a long, welcome, at any age, but you know, it was a monastic, I'm not saying one was craved about wanting to meet the girls again, but I mean it was a, one wanted just to get home and get stuck into one's studies apart from anything else.<sup>191</sup>

Having something to return to in Britain was initially a comfort for those leaving the services. Roy Rutherford had passed the regular commission board, but his career move to the British Army did not turn out as he hoped:

The Battalion wanted me back as adjutant but at that time I felt that my future had to begin elsewhere, so ... in retrospect, I very much regret not staying with the Battalion till the bitter end.

Having served through the Burma campaigns and in South-East Asia, Rutherford had formed an understandably close link with his men. It was something that was not present in the British Army, where 'soldiers were very different, discipline was not, it wasn't as good', as the compelling force of *izzat* was not present.<sup>192</sup> Even a safe career elsewhere did not temper feelings of uncertainty for Douglas Howse:

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<sup>190</sup> Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>191</sup> Guild, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

<sup>192</sup> Roy Rutherford, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

... we came to the question of Partition, and with all that it entailed, and finally of course I boarded on a troopship in Bombay to sail finally home. My feelings were mixed and I remember going up on deck and leaning over the rail when we were actually leaving ... India ... for the last time and as they threw off the ropes and so forth we drifted gradually away from the dockside, I realised that a definite part of my life had come to a sudden halt and I was convinced in my own mind that whatever the future held that portion would probably turn out to be the happiest portion of my whole career whatever it was going to be. I had been fortunate to be selected for transfer to the British service so one could say one had continuity of employment, but it was an unknown factor and one is naturally a little bit apprehensive of what the future holds.

Howse recalled that in the Mess 'We were very sad because it meant a complete break up of everything we had known.'<sup>193</sup> Alistair Howman recounted his sense as a boy that many felt a sadness and incomprehension at the prospect of Partition, and a powerlessness at its seeming inevitability.<sup>194</sup> The closeness of the link between officers and men is especially clear in the regrets of those who were sent on leave before Partition, only to find themselves subsequently unable to return. J.P. Rutherford was demobbed and it was not deemed viable to send him back '... and I was very upset about it because I never really said goodbye to any of them.'<sup>195</sup> Colin Moodie felt:

... great sadness, great regret, I mean your dining out of the Regiment and farewell given to you by the troops and the VCO's and you know, all the, is all very traumatic, it's all very sad, cause I mean by that time you'd built up a tremendous bond between your soldiers and yourself.<sup>196</sup>

For some Indian soldiers there were feelings of disbelief. The Indians serving with Douglas Howse in the 9th Jats:

... particularly in the senior ranks thought that we, the British, were deserting them, the Indians ... for no reason whatsoever and it was extremely difficult to try

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<sup>193</sup> Howse, *op. cit.*, pp. 15 and 11.

<sup>194</sup> Major A. Howman, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

<sup>195</sup> J.P. Rutherford, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

<sup>196</sup> Moodie, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

and get it over to them that the decision was not ours in the Regiment but their own politicians with the British government way back at Whitehall ... and I had on three occasions to line out three battalions, three different occasions, and I put the Muslims on the left, the Hindus on the right and having made a farewell speech I said gave the order, 'Hindus stand fast, remainder left turn', the Muslims turned to the left, formed into a column of rout and marched to the station and were then on a train to West Pakistan and we were left with the remnants of three battalions, but I don't think they, the Indian warrant officers really forgave us for what they saw as betraying them by handing over government to the *babu logh*.<sup>197</sup>

For some officers, like Archie Black, events caused an angry reaction. He remembered how the Indians of his wireless troop:

... were appalled ... I mean the troop had to be split up ... they just hated [it].. and also the Indian officers hated it because we were all such good friends. There was no preparation for this, it was just thrown at us all of a sudden ... I felt very upset about it, that's why I got so angry with old Mountbatten.<sup>198</sup>

For some, like Willie Brown, such anger led them to take events into their own hands. For most of these officers, their links from the past were not severed entirely. Many retained an active interest in their regiment through regimental associations, and visits to independent Pakistan. This again reflects the bond that existed during their service. Similarly the bonds between regiments bound by the mutual dependence and camaraderie of active service led to many regimental affiliations.

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<sup>197</sup> Howse, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>198</sup> Black, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

#### **4.19 Regimental identity in the Pakistan Army: overcoming the dichotomy of the past in the present**

For Indian soldiers the ties to the *paltan*, or regiment were especially close. *Izzat* was paramount here, and was an exceptionally strong motivation during active service. Reginald Savory described its role for the Sikhs he fought with in World War One:

They didn't care a damn, really, about the Germans or anybody else. They fought for the honour of their regiment. They just fought because they were the 14th Sikhs and in their opinion they were the finest regiment in the world, and they weren't going to turn their backs on anything.<sup>199</sup>

A major in the FFR recalls how:

At regimental level fathers, sons and uncles through successive generations joined the same regiment and their loyalty was primarily to that regiment (the 'paltan' as it was traditionally called). It was not primarily to defend India or to fight fascism.<sup>200</sup>

Regimental identity is still especially strong in the army in post-Independence Pakistan. Despite the obvious break from British colonial rule, the identity of a regiment is something that is seen as very much linked to the colonial period, and it is fostered by the same means as in colonial times. Lieutenant-General Mujib ur Rahman described how:

Actually the loyalty to the Battalion is something which has come to us through history. I think is that *esprit de corps* and the pride in your regiment which urges you on and which really encourages you to give your best

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<sup>199</sup> Savory, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

<sup>200</sup> Correspondence from Major FFR, 1st July 1998.

performance to keep up the name of the regiment. This I think is a tremendous contribution by the British ... the regimental traditions.<sup>201</sup>

Both Major Zulfiqar Khianni and Major Tahir Akhtar Minhas emphasised the importance of regimental tradition, which was emphasised throughout their training. Major Zulfiqar Khianni described how:

... knowing the history is a must for the officers, as a young officer if he don't know the history then they said there is no difference between your unit and any unit that has been raised now, so this is we have been made to learn and made to contact our senior officers.<sup>202</sup>

These traditions, as with the colonial Indian Army and the British Army, played a role in inspiring the new recruit. Major Khianni and Major Tahir Akhtar Minhas' battalion, 13 Punjab, is known as the *Nishan-i-Haider*, the Pakistani equivalent of the Victoria Cross, because three soldiers from the regiment had been awarded this medal. This reputation was further enhanced by a TV movie made about one of those who received this honour, Major Tufail.<sup>203</sup> Other regiments of the Pakistan Army represent such history visually, and especially martially, at their Regimental depots in Abbotabad (Figure 12). For Mujib ur Rahman:

... the history the past deeds ... spur you on and they are a sort of a touchstone for you to keep up, to get standards, and in doing indeed start to do better. I think it's a tremendous thing and it is, you find a very ordinary soldier when he comes to a particular regiment that thing is instilled and, you know, gets motivated with that, and he becomes a different person altogether a different personality ... that kind of trust has been reposed in you, you've got to come up to that standard, you inherit a particular tradition. It is very important for the army very important to

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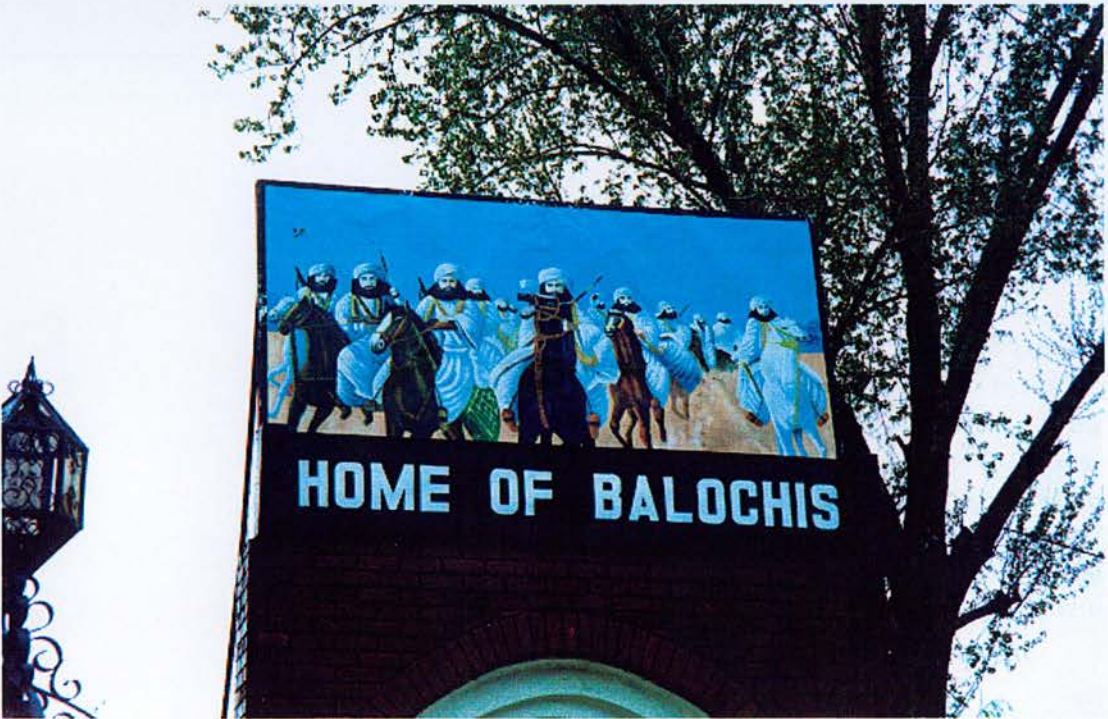
<sup>201</sup> Lieutenant-General Mujib ur Rahman Khan, Commissioned in 1951, served in 3/16 Punjab Regiment, then 1/16 Punjab Regiment, which he commanded for two years before moving to the Staff. SA1998.40, (this interview was also with Colonel Raja Ali Mohammed), p. 2.

<sup>202</sup> Major Khianni and Major Tahir Akhtar Minhas, SA1998.40, pp. 1-4. Both served in 13 Punjab Regiment (ex 1/16) during the 1970s.

<sup>203</sup> Tahir Akhtar Minhas and Zulfiqar Khianni, p. 6.

**Figure 12**

**Regimental identity in the Pakistan Army**



Visual representations of regimental identity outside the regimental depots of the Punjab Frontier Force Regiment ('Piffers') and the Baluch Regiment, Abbotabad, North-West Frontier Province, Pakistan.

carry forward the traditions, good traditions and keep up the name of the Regiment.<sup>204</sup>

Again, this tradition continued through subsequent decades. To Zulfiqar Khianni:

... if we had nothing to consider of the past one can you know make new standards ... but once we know that you know that this is the standard that ... our people in the past have kept ... we have to keep the flag high ... we will not ... let down our past here because that is our main strength ... [and how they tell new recruits] that the pride that we take and ... that we pass on to you is because of the history that we have.<sup>205</sup>

This rationale mirrors that of British officers who were also motivated to keep up the standards of their regiment or service. It incorporates the dictates of *izzat*, where the individual is duty and honour bound. It also serves as a bridge between the two periods, and overcomes the paradox that officers in the postcolonial Pakistan army perceived, given their pride in a colonial heritage. Mujib ur Rahman clearly noted this paradox when a sister battalion of the Sherwood Foresters presented his regiment with one of their regimental momentos from the 1857 'Mutiny', and also when he was stationed near Kohat, where:

... there is a monument there saying that these were the forty people who were who laid down their lives in overcoming the insurgency here. Now I as a Pakistani who belong to this area I am I was proud of the people who fought to throw out the forces from that, so I got upset, who should I honour? Well my respect is for both, those who did their duty and those who fought for the cause of their country ... you had to treat the event as it is, it is a historical fact that British conquered us and ruled. It is also a historical fact and a reality that given a chance you wouldn't like to extend this rule for one more day, ... so in the, in the Pakistan Army we would like to keep traditions of discipline, of hard work, of punctuality, but we would like to then see our own culture in our own heritage so that there is a healthy blend between the two.

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<sup>204</sup> Mujib ur Rahman Khan, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

Mujib ur Rahman continued, describing how independence did not cause a wholesale rejection of British traditions in the army, but embodied this fusion.<sup>206</sup>

One of the most striking continuations into postcolonial times is of the bond between officers and their men. Mujib ur Rahman constantly emphasises this relationship, and how this closeness meant that he knew everything about his men, and could trust them completely.<sup>207</sup> Tahir Akhtar Minhas emphasises this same closeness:

I always have a faith that behind these achievement ... the relation of officers and the troops is the key there ... what we have found with our set up in our groups and especially in our [boy ? ] battalion the relation of our officers and troops was so strong that any position given to our Battalion and our group was achieved ... through this relations ... [how officers participated] in each and every event with the troops that developed the relations and the understanding between ... the officers' class and the troops and it was mandatory for every one of the officers ... the officers always used to lead the troops in the event and the troops they used to follow the officers and that was the kind of strong elements which persist always in the group<sup>208</sup>

Zulfiqar Khianni further stressed how in 1/16 Punjab there was little distance between officers and men, and how there was a tradition amongst the officers to invite the junior commissioned officers to their Mess for dinner at Eid. The junior officers would also reciprocate by inviting their superior officers to a meal.<sup>209</sup> For Zulfiqar Khianni, such a pastoral role means that:

... actually we're not a unit we are a family ... Major Tahir is sitting in front of me I know his ... younger brothers where they are serving, what his elder brother is doing, what are his businesses, and similarly he knows about my parents he has met my father ... So this is how we are keeping it not only a unit affair, a group affair, we keep on making it a family affair, so we you know pass whether my son

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<sup>205</sup> Zulfiqar Khianni, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

<sup>206</sup> Mujib ur Rahman Khan, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>207</sup> Mujib ur Rahman Khan describes several instances of this relationship, pp. 6-10.

<sup>208</sup> Tahir Akhtar Minhas, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.

<sup>209</sup> Zulfiqar Khianni, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

comes down with the army ... he still knows Thirteen Punjab, and if you go and ask who you are he will say I am a Thirteen Punjabi.<sup>210</sup>

This notion of family extends further to the 16 Group (Punjab Regiment). Tahir Akhtar Minhas recalls how in competitions ‘... between the groups ... we used to raise slogans up for all Sixteens so that the new generation coming should know the history through slogans and know that we are part of Sixteen Groups’.<sup>211</sup>

#### **4.20 Links to the past in the present**

The process of creating the military Scot, with its emphasis on the dominance of the Scot over the Indian ‘other’, itself created regimental, military lore. Ironically, that process, in turn, formed a part of the regimental, military lore of that Indian ‘other’ as part of the heritage of contemporary regiments of the Pakistan Army.

Feelings of mutual esteem between the Indian and British armies from active service were common. Ormsby wrote of how events at Dargai:

... begun the strong feeling of friendship and camaraderie which existed throughout the campaign between ourselves and that splendid regiment, the Kings Own Scottish Borderers ... Our men said that they were a “pukka paltan” and they were good enough to return the compliment. We had mutual confidence in each other, and what the moral value of that is, in a campaign such as that we were now to go through, only those who have experienced it can tell.<sup>212</sup>

Almost fifty years later, Alexander Bain found the same affinity with Gurkhas when serving with them in the KOSB in Burma, when ‘... I had a great regard for them, in fact I’m very much involved with them at the moment fundraising for the welfare trust

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<sup>210</sup> Zulfiqar Khianni, pp. 7-8.

<sup>211</sup> Tahir Akhtar Minhas, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

<sup>212</sup> Ormsby, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

to support ... the wartime ones who get no pension'. Bain further noted how medical officers from the KOSB had been out to Nepal to help these veterans.<sup>213</sup> Other regiments had also been linked during the nineteenth century. 1896 saw the presentation of the silver statuette of a piper from the 26th Baluchistan Regiment to the 1st Gordon Highlanders (Figure 13). For both the Royal Highland Fusiliers (RHF) and the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, regimental affiliations were formed after they fought alongside Indian regiments during World War Two. The RHF (then the 2nd Highland Light Infantry or 2nd HLI), and the 4th/10th Baluch Regiment were both in 10th Indian Brigade, fighting in Eritrea, Abyssinia, Egypt, Iraq, Cyprus and the Middle East from 1940 onwards. An account of the affiliation of 1962 recorded how:

In a year and a half of campaigning throughout the Middle East an exceptionally strong liaison was built up between the two Battalions. This fellowship was not only confined to the Officers but existed right through the ranks. Confidence was built up between the two regiments because of the mutual admiration of their fighting qualities and stamina.<sup>214</sup>

This contact influenced some individuals in the HLI. H.W. 'Jock' Price served with the 2nd HLI in Abyssinia and Eritrea, and then applied for a commission in the Indian Army, and was transferred to 7/10th Baluch Regiment.<sup>215</sup> The 2nd HLI had previously been brigaded with the 5th Baluch on the North-West Frontier in 1935, which further linked them.<sup>216</sup> In 1965 a liaison visit was made by Lieutenant-Colonel Cartwright of the RHF to the Baluch Regimental Centre in Abbotabad from which:

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<sup>213</sup> Bain, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

<sup>214</sup> *Royal Highland Fusiliers Journal*, June 1966, p. 67, courtesy of the Regimental Secretary, RHF.

<sup>215</sup> Correspondence with Mr. Clifford Martin, 7/10th Baluch, of 8th and 28th August 1998.

<sup>216</sup> *Royal Highland Fusiliers Journal*, June 1966, p. 67, courtesy of the Regimental Secretary, RHF.

**Figure 13**

**Regimental links and affiliations**

**The Baluchistan Piper**



Presented to the 1st Gordon Highlanders by the 26th Baluch Regiment in 1896  
Photo courtesy of Lieutenant-Colonel R.H. Cumming,  
Regimental Headquarters, The Highlanders, Inverness.

The main impression that will remain with me is the strong Regimental system in the Pakistan Army, and the similarities between our allied Regiments. There was an intense loyalty to the Regiment, a sense of belonging, in the family tradition, and a pride of service that is enviable.<sup>217</sup>

The Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders and the 1st FFR are also affiliated. Both fought together in 19 Infantry Brigade in Italy (as 1st Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders and 6th/13th FFR respectively) at Mont Cerere in 1944. Alistair Howman represented the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders in 1994 at the 1st FFR Centenary celebrations, and found that 'It was a splendid occasion and we can be very proud to have such an association with such a very fine and professional Battalion.'<sup>218</sup> Major F. 'Bob' Wilcox fought at Mont Cerere with the 6th/13th FFR, and recalls how an association developed between the two battalions, with the exchange of regimental silver. In 1996, he further attended 'a small but very moving ceremony' at the commemoration of a monument in Italy to the 8th Indian Division and their role at Mont Cerere (Figure 14).<sup>219</sup>

For many, the link is a personal one, and the need to return common. Some ECOs found that on return to Britain life as a civilian temporarily obscured their former links. For Mr. Robinson 'I had a lot of exams ahead of me, I'd got to find a job on civvie street', and so ties from his days in the Indian Signals were only recently re-established, and the same was true for Duncan Henderson.<sup>220</sup> Ronnie Paul did not perceive his links as vital but still meets with his circle of Indian Army friends, and

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<sup>217</sup> Lieutenant-Colonel I.G.S Cartwright, MBE, in *Royal Highland Fusiliers Journal*, June 1966, p. 71, courtesy of Captain T.C. Rochford, ex Baluch Regiment.

<sup>218</sup> Major A.C.R. Howman, *The Thin Red Line* (Regimental Journal of The Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders), Spring 1994, p. 32.

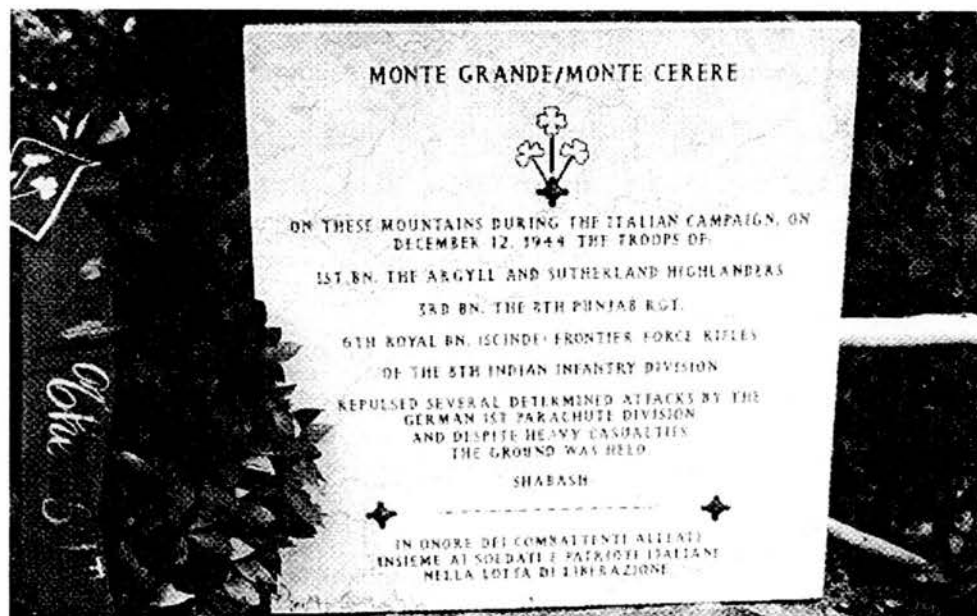
<sup>219</sup> Correspondence with Major F 'Bob' Wilcox, 6<sup>th</sup>/13<sup>th</sup> Frontier Force Rifles, 4th July 1998.

<sup>220</sup> Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 17 and Henderson, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

## Figure 14

### Regimental links and affiliations

#### Mont Cerere commemoration stone, Mont Cerere, Italy



‘Shabash’ [ed. *śābās*] loosely translates as ‘Well done’

Photo courtesy of Major F ‘Bob’ Wilcox

returned to Pakistan.<sup>221</sup> Colin Moodie had always wanted to go to India, and after Army service there found that:

... India ... is a place that gets to you, you've got India in your blood, you never get rid of it, I mean I look back on my days in India with a great deal of affection. I met some tremendously good friends in that part of the world, not many of them are alive now unfortunately, and it's just been part of my life, one which I highly value.<sup>222</sup>

Archie Black went on to work for *Alcan*, and subsequently became Chairman of Indian Aluminium. The first time he returned to India was a highly emotional occasion. Black used his knowledge of Urdu (which meant that he was intelligible in Hindi), to address the Board of Directors, who knew nothing of his time in the Indian Signals, '... and the gasp, the absolute gasp it was really quite an experience, very emotional'.<sup>223</sup> Roy Rutherford found his return to the Punjab Regiment equally emotional, and felt privileged, since although his companions (other former officers in the Punjab Regiment) and he were 'an incidental part of something very much bigger [a regimental reunion]', he found himself moved into a VIP Mess, and taken to see his Regiment, and '... when I was back there it made an enormous impression on me. It all came flooding back again.'<sup>224</sup> Whilst some personnel from the services are reluctant to return, fearing disillusionment, those that return are similarly treated.<sup>225</sup> Margaret Brown returned, a little fearfully, in 1988, and '... since then I've been back four times, and each time gets better and better'.<sup>226</sup> Such trips, though, are by no means simply self-indulgent nostalgia. Margaret Brown received a posthumous award for Willie Brown's actions in 1947, and

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<sup>221</sup> Paul, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 and 26-27.

<sup>222</sup> Moodie, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>223</sup> Black, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16. Hindi and Urdu are mutually intelligible to a significant extent, although both languages use a different script.

<sup>224</sup> Roy Rutherford, *op. cit.*, pp. 23 and 26. Roy Rutherford gives a full account of these visits from pp. 22-26 which whilst too extensive to quote here clearly shows their importance to such retired officers.

<sup>225</sup> A reluctance to return is expressed by Willie Brown *op. cit.*, (p. 7) for these reasons.

<sup>226</sup> Margaret Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 15. Since the interview Mrs. Brown has returned to Pakistan again. concerning the publication of Willie Brown's diary.

in general those involved on the Pakistani side see the maintenance of such links as crucial to the maintenance of their regiment's contemporary identity. Mujib ur Rahman emphasised how:

... these are the things that ... revive your traditions ... we have I mean amazing people like Roy Rutherford who come all the way from England (*sic*) in this age taking all the trouble in that state of health and all that just to talk about the Regiment, just to meet with the people ... it's a tremendous contribution, and when talking about Roy in particular ... I found that when you meet someone ... and you talk about old times the whole, that thing comes back to you and you really identify the strong bond ... we carry forward those traditions because there is otherwise a gap ... I take my hat off to people particularly people like Roy Rutherford and other British officers who come out ... incurring all that expense and discomfort in this stage of their life when they're old to participate here, what a spirit they have which really you know motivates them to come here, it's something very tremendous, and this is a ... fading generation, we still have some people left and so long as they're there ... they are ... a reservoir of the traditions ... they ... [are] most welcome.<sup>227</sup>

The realities of these Scots' lives in military settings the simplistic characterisation of the 'martial Scot' across the nineteenth and some of the twentieth century. Scots in Scottish regiments coped with the differentiation and prejudice that excluded them, based on class, because of strong regimental identities and the sense of the regimental family, although the characterisation of them never acknowledged such prejudice. Scots in the Indian Army became close to their men, and their culture, whereas if true to type, they ought to have done the opposite. Some Scottish and other BORs also became close to Indians and their culture, in the face of official disapproval.

Realities such as these do not sit easily with an inflexible characterisation of the 'martial Scot' in India as a bastion and manifestation of imperial power. There was, of course, always a gulf between coloniser and colonised, and between commander and commanded. Also these experiences were not exclusive to Scots in the services but were

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<sup>227</sup> Mujib ur Rahman, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

also experienced by other peoples of the British Isles. However, those Scots were cast as martial in a way that the other peoples of the British Isles were not. The paradox between the public portrayal and the private realities of Scottish experiences in the services in colonial Pakistan springs from this. Military links between the UK and post-Independence Pakistan continue this dichotomy. This situation might seem contradictory. It almost seems to be manifested in Colin Moodie's recollection of how a student procession in Lahore, calling for the British to 'Quit India', had a pipe band at its head playing 'Will you no' come back again?'<sup>228</sup> To ignore such realities, though, is to essentialise and ignore aspects of the service experience on both sides of the colonial relationship.

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<sup>228</sup> Moodie, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

## **Conclusion**

Public facade and private reality are often different. This certainly describes the divergence between the created missionary and military Scot and the realities of Scots' actual experiences in missionary and military settings in colonial and post Independence Pakistan. In one sense, this difference is unsurprising. The works that created the missionary and military Scot in a Pakistani setting form part of a larger canon of works proclaiming the coloniser as both omnipotent and benevolent.<sup>1</sup> Such works served the need to bolster belief in colonial rule both amongst a metropolitan population and amongst colonisers, by eulogising the coloniser. In turn, they also demeaned the colonised and their culture.

However, an examination of the differences between the created missionary and military Scot, and the realities of actual Scottish experiences, raises issues that cannot be aligned with the rigid demarcation of coloniser and colonised. In addition, the means used in this thesis to examine that difference question rigid methodological and historiographical approaches and distinctions which assert one approach over another and imply that different methodologies are mutually exclusive. In studying the disparity between the created missionary and military Scot and Scots' actual experiences, patterns and processes of dominance that are usually associated with the subjugation of the colonised are revealed within the colonising 'elite'. Furthermore, this study further reveals a questioning of the values that underlay colonial dominance by some missionary and military Scots.

The picture that is then left fits with readings of the colonial encounter based more in fluidity, and not within fixed separation of coloniser and colonised. Those divisions existed, were very real, and were bound up in the political and economic inequalities of colonial rule. The thesis in no way attempts to deny or question those wider, ever-present realities. However, underneath those realities, the experiences of missionary

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<sup>1</sup> This canon of colonial histories of India is extensive, and includes histories aimed at a variety of audiences. One of the most prolific authors of such works was Sir William Wilson Hunter. His *Brief History of the Indian Peoples*, for example, was reprinted 22 times after its first publication in 1892. Also see Bernard Cohn, 'Representing Authority in Victorian India', in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, (Cambridge, 1983), p. 179.

and military Scots show the disparities and disjuncture within colonial rule. This contrasts interpretations of the colonial encounter where the boundaries of and relations between colonised and coloniser are firmly drawn.

Of course, as with many stereotypes, there are elements within the stereotype that contain some truth. Some parts of the created missionary and military Scot can be found in the Scottish missionary and military experiences related in this thesis. Self-assuredness, alongside the dismissal of the culture of the other, can be seen in some of those missionary encounters, just as a sense of imperial, self-belief, jingoism and omnipotence is encountered in some military experiences. Yet my analysis has shown that even individuals who may appear superficially to conform to type have, over time, deviated from the stereotype.

### **5.1 Questioning stereotypes: the value of a combined methodology**

Oral history methods, used alongside documentary and written resources, have done much in this thesis to illuminate the complexities and contradictions of missionary and military Scots' cultural encounter in Pakistan, as compared with more essentialist, stereotyped accounts of Scottish experience of the subcontinent. The oral evidence used here has enabled an investigation of individuals' experiences, revealing cultural contact, interaction and change. Oral sources have unearthed missionary attitudes and motivations to a greater degree than archive material, which concentrates more on administration and formal reporting. Scots' motivations in military settings have also been unearthed from these oral sources, which have further shown a closer interaction than between Scots and the Indian troops they served with, as well as a close loyalty and attachment to them. Moreover, oral testimony has crucially disclosed otherwise silent sources. This is one essential strength of the oral history approach - that it empowers the silenced, and as a result expands the historical record, especially when used, as here, in conjunction with documentary and written sources.

Documentary sources have in turn provided vital insights into periods where oral sources are no longer available, have given insights that were absent from some oral sources, as well as corroborating aspects of Scottish missionary and military experiences found in oral sources. For example, the Scottish Foreign Mission Archives informed an understanding of the beginnings and development of the Church of Scotland Punjab mission, and clearly showed the challenges that local cultural resistance raised – an experience that was alluded to in some interviews, but never outlined in detail.<sup>2</sup> Military archives provided diaries which outlined the reality of life in India for Scottish BORs as described by later oral sources, as well as artefacts, which reinforced regimental identity.

This combining of methodologies, then, has revealed a far more fruitful experience for the researcher than some historians' critiques of documentary or oral history methodologies might have predicted. Without this combination, the range of sources used, and the nature of evidence gathered would not have been as rich, both in terms of the qualitative data, and the period covered. By using a combination of methodologies the results have been more revealing than might have been otherwise.

## **5.2 Variant motivations: the catalyst within the contact zone**

This revealing of motivation has been especially useful here when placed within models from colonial discourse theory, which emphasise the fluidity of the colonial encounter. These include Mary Louise Pratt's 'contact zone' and process of 'transculturation', Homi Bhabha's notion of 'hybridity', as well as assertions of variance in the colonial encounter from Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Benita Parry, Sara Suleri and Nicholas Thomas. Motivations have not been examined here to proclaim the benevolence of Scots in missionary and military contexts, as their motivations did not always equate to the effects of their work in Pakistan. However,

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<sup>2</sup> See the interview with Mr. Robbie and Dr. Jean Orr as an example, SA1995.08, pp. 12-13.

when analysed here, they question the singular creations of the missionary and military Scot, by showing that when individual Scots came to the colonial encounter for a range of reasons that were not necessarily imperialistic, they were all the more amenable to alteration within the contact zone. That change, in turn, made them all the more accepting of the crucial role which Indians, and later Pakistanis, played in their work. For many, in the longer term, that process affected these Scots to such an extent that the links with their past remain, and these relationships are still manifested in return visits, whether to mission hospitals, old regiments or workplaces.

Even when there was a common motivation, such as the faith of missionaries, there was still an individual element - the opening for change. Personal faith inspired Scottish missionaries, and their Pakistani catechists. Many talk in terms of the hand of God as *the* rather than *a* causal factor in their lives. However, its manifestation often took divergent forms, so that Bailey and Hutchison argued over their work in the late 1870s, whilst William Young alienated some of his contemporaries between the 1950s and the 1970s by his interpretation of what a Scottish Presbyterian was, and should do. It was this variance that led different missionaries to work, and react, differently in their encounters within the contact zone. That difference is not present in the creation of the missionary Scot.

An analysis of motivations within the services also illustrates the complexities within the colonial encounter, which are absent from the created military Scot. Individuals began their careers in the subcontinent for all kinds of reasons - family connections, the youthful patriotism of the Second World War for many ECOs, as well as practical, financial circumstances which motivated, or forced, individuals to join the services. Material motivations, or patriotism, should not simply be subsumed into the idea of wider colonial exploitation. Both motivations could, and did, make individuals just as likely to be influenced by the culture of the 'other', as to rigidly adhere to their own culture, coupled with a subjugation of the other's culture. Within the services, the complexity of the colonial encounter is

further shown by the subjugation of certain elements within the services, such as the ranks. Clearly, elements of dominance and inequality were not restricted to the coloniser/colonised encounter.

### **5.3 Variant motivations: psychological calm in the contact zone**

These variant motivations detract from the overtly, imperial aims and ethos that the characterisations of the missionary and military Scot suggested. This, in turn, allowed for a process of change, and meant that these Scots, as new arrivals in the subcontinent, were rarely troubled by the uncertainty inside the contact zone. In all, a lack of linguistic, cultural or religious knowledge concerning the subcontinent forced reliance upon Indians - a factor often compounded by the youth of many individuals. Thus young ECOs relied upon VCOs and other Indians in the Indian Army, who were then empowered.

In this situation, the 'psychological crisis' that Benita Parry has described overstates matters.<sup>3</sup> The unsettling effects of a new environment are a human reality, but these individuals were able to maintain a psychological balance through their openness regarding the culture of the other. They did not assimilate into Indian culture entirely, but equally, a rigid physical and cultural distance was not maintained. In mission work and military life, the acquisition of an Indian language did not simply enable colonial rule. Even if official intent was that this made rule easier, for those who learned such languages it tended to enable closer interaction with Indians, which could have the effect of changing the individual to an extent. Furthermore, some of those who were prevented or discouraged from learning language, such as BORs like Ed Brown, did attempt to do so. His preference for the company of IORs and other Indians because of the demeaning attitudes of some of his fellow countrymen was a motivation here, and again illustrates the contradictions within the colonial situation that dismantle the image of the missionary and military

Scot. Language was a facilitator of cultural interaction as much, if not more, as it was a means for colonial rule.

#### **5.4 Indian empowerment: transculturation in action**

Indians' power in the colonial relationship with missionary and military Scots further deconstructs the created missionary and military Scot. Some missionary and military Scots were more malleable in their cultural outlook than was suggested in the creation of the missionary and military Scot, and were never as overtly imperial in outlook as they were meant to be in the same creation of the missionary and military Scot. For them, a more open cultural outlook was not forced.

However, for some missionary Scots in certain settings, a new cultural outlook was forced. The colonised could, and did, react strongly to the manifestations of the culture of the colonised that Scottish missionaries presented to them. Here, the process of transculturation is more belligerent than in Pratt's portrayal. The colonised did not merely 'select and invent'<sup>4</sup> from the cultural forms that the coloniser presented to them – they aggressively forced the coloniser to change those cultural forms through their resistance to them. As a result, missionary work was forced to adapt to suit Indian cultural forms, in both colonial and independent Pakistan. For these missionaries, the use of Indian music, custom, and the central role of Indian village workers, all proved crucial in their work. The same process occurred for military authorities, where the religious and cultural needs of IORs and Indian officers were acceded to. The Scots I have studied who served with Indians quickly realised the absolute need both to know and accept the culture of the other, although for most of them this was not forced, but was rather accepted with relish.

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<sup>3</sup> Benita Parry, *Delusions and Discoveries: Studies on India in the British Imagination 1880-1930*, (Harmondsworth, 1972), p. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, (London, 1992), p. 6.

## **5.5 Empowering Indians: consciously turning the tables**

Such willingness by those military Scots to absorb elements of Indian culture meant that this Indian empowerment was not a threat for many. Indeed, many young officers and officials were glad of the support of effective Indian officers and officials beside them. However, for some British officers Indian empowerment on a practical level, and more especially the conscious promotion of Indians, were threats that were feared. Some Indian sources recall how Indianisation was resented by some in the Indian Army, although the same sources, and others, recall those who did not resent, who accepted, or who even encouraged the process of Indian empowerment. The colonial camp was by no means a homogeneous one, just as Indians within colonial Pakistan were not a heterogeneous group.

In military settings, Indians like B.C. Dutt recall those who took a stand against prejudice, just as William Young had done during his army service. In active service, Indian army officers were quite ready to abandon nineteenth-century protocol in the interests of their troops, and ECOs were prepared to object to establishment figures within the *status quo* during the Second World War and after, as Ronnie Guild and Archie Black did. Moreover some, like Willie Brown, took even more radical action alongside those Indians they had served with before independence.

As regards the missionary Scot, there were notable individuals whose actions directly contrast the denigration of the other implied by the created missionary Scot. Isabella McNair and Jean Macdonald never embodied a monolithic religious outlook, and the former encouraged nationalist thought amongst her students. Such divergence was by no means found only during the latter part of colonial rule. During the 1870s and 1880s, Wellesley Bailey was known for his unorthodox views, which contrasted sharply with the dicta of the Church of Scotland mission in the Punjab. In its widest sense, the Church of Scotland mission, and Scottish missionaries in general, promoted independence with calls for the establishment of

an indigenous church from the early twentieth century, and Indians had been pastors of some of the Mission's churches from the 1860s. When the Church of Pakistan began to evolve, William Young was prepared to adapt his deeply held denominational principles, and even to change his denominational ties - a suggestion that caused some opposition. By independence, some Scottish missionaries supported Pakistan with some enthusiasm, and felt a strong loyalty towards it.

### **5.6 Colonising colonisers: Subjugation amongst the colonisers**

This conscious empowering of Indians reversed the dominance of the 'other', which the creation of the military and missionary Scot described. Furthermore, although the creation of the missionary and military Scot intended to assert dominance over the 'other', it actually served, on another level, to dominate those missionary and especially military Scots. This was because images of missionary and military Scots respectively were constructed by others, who had control of that process of construction. Usually, the invention and creation of identity in the colonial encounter is perceived as something that was placed upon the colonised by the colonisers. However, the creation of the missionary and military Scot shows how the same process occurred amongst the colonised.

For some military Scots, this process had ramifications beyond how they were represented and perceived. Their subjection to the same process of martial invention as Indian 'martial races' placed them within one process of domination. Scottish BORs were also subjugated, however, in terms of class-based dominance, which perceived them as inferior and sexually incontinent. Given those attitudes, the inferior conditions that they endured, in both peacetime and active service, were deemed adequate. This class-based dominance was not exclusive to Scottish BORs. All BORs, regardless of nationality, were subjugated through perceptions and treatment. However, Scottish BORs were distinct in being eulogised by authors, but equally dominated, as the colonial martial race, whilst a significant number of those

Scots, as BORs, were simultaneously viewed, and physically treated, as inferior. Such complexities once more undercut the created military Scot.

### **5.7 Resisting subjugation and colonial values:** **colonial dissidents**

This asymmetry of power within the colonising 'elite' did not go unchallenged, indicating yet more complexity and variety in the colonial situation. The maltreatment of BORs, Scots or otherwise, encouraged a level of interaction, based on a feeling of mutual maltreatment, between some BORs and the IORs they served with, as well as with Indian followers in barracks. For some Scottish BORs, their only salve was a pride in, and a resultant stoicism from, their regimental identity. This was not simple acquiescence to their subjugation, though. Some Scots' pride in their regiment was as much one based on camaraderie with their fellow ranks as one based on a regiment's history and battle honours, as George Morrice's photographs in his scrapbook, and the remarks of E. S. Humphries show. For other BORs, the company and companionship of Indians - IORs or otherwise - was not necessarily thought of as resistance, but in its disregard for the separation of ruler and ruled, it incorporated a tacit sense of opposition to the domination imposed upon BORs.

The 'patriarchal' values that 'subjugated' Scotswomen missionaries in the Church of Scotland mission in the Punjab might be equally presented as asserting dominance over them. However, the documentary and oral evidence encountered here does not record any opinions or discussion around these issues by either male or female missionaries, so any conclusions here would be conjecture. The evidence does show Scotswomen involved in mission work that held radical opinions, though, in terms of gender and nationalism, both in the metropole and the mission field. Emily Kinnaird's work with the Y.W.C.A. gave young women opportunities to extend their horizons beyond the domestic sphere in Britain and in India. Both

Kinnaird and Isabella McNair supported nationalism in India, and their work not only challenged the norms of femininity through their example, but was also instrumental in leading other women, across two cultures, to do the same.

### **5.8 Supplanting stereotypes: Scottish experiences of empire, oral histories, and colonial discourse theory**

The Scottish missionary and military experiences encountered in this thesis cannot be forced into the vanguard or victim paradigms that characterise some interpretations of Scottish experiences of empire. Oral histories of the British in India featuring Scottish experiences, which have demarcated rigid camps of coloniser and colonised are similarly at odds with the Scottish missionary and military experiences related here.

The array of experiences studied in this thesis immediately detracts from an analysis that places them inside such binary paradigms. Scottish missionaries and Scottish military men can be shown in several lights. The range of Scottish missionary and military experiences form a spectrum, where, at one end, the self-assured, missionaries or military men denigrated the 'other', secure, for the moment, in their sense of omnipotence. This end of the spectrum is the closest to the created missionary and military Scot. However, there is always a gap here. The instances where Scots' missionary and military experiences edge closer to the created missionary and military Scot do not represent those individuals' permanent states.

Indeed, when several of the Scots in this thesis spent decades in Pakistan, were married there, and raised children there; change and variety were a significant part of their experiences, and make any sense of permanence around outlook or identity unlikely. Mrs M.M. Scott's viewpoints and sense of self, for example, as a single woman going to India in 1937 were different to her viewpoints and sense of self as a mother returning with children to Scotland in 1960. That same difference

across time was part of the experiences of several other Scots whose experiences, across decades, are outlined here.<sup>5</sup> However self-confident some of these Scots were, they never remained unaffected by their interactions with Indian culture. For example, the Very Reverend J.N. Ogilvie portrayed an air of confidence during his *Indian Pilgrimage*, and was sharp in his dismissal of Indians' hopes of independence. However, he was affected, and in fact unsettled by the encounter, as he recorded the 'startling changes' that nationalism represented, and noted, with relief, that 'One is glad to record that the episode remained unique of its kind throughout our Indian tour.'<sup>6</sup> Equally, even an orientalist military Scot, like General Sir Ian Hamilton, who described the 'Fuzzy-Wuzzies' that he encountered in Bombay in 1873, could still declare how deeply the experience of India affected him.<sup>7</sup>

At the other end of the spectrum were those missionary and military Scots whose experiences do not match the created missionary and military Scot in any way. These include missionaries like Joan MacDonald and Isabella McNair, whose values opposed colonial norms, and missionaries like William Young, who worked towards establishing an indigenous church in a manner that included a redefining of his own religious identity, to include an Episcopalian system of church government.

Many Scots in the missionary and military settings that this thesis draws upon found that their experiences in the contact zone during the colonial and post Independence periods challenged beliefs, values and accepted norms. It is an exaggeration to say that this remade them entirely, although the effects of the process were very real, and very deeply felt. Michael Fry's recent suggestion that Scots' role in empire was an outlet for their search for fulfilment, which they could not seek or attain at home, does not represent that process.<sup>8</sup> The closest match here is the religious faith that missionaries described as a motivation for going to the

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<sup>5</sup> Mrs. M. M. Scott, SA 1997.85 and 86. The same variance across time, and through various rites of passage that occurred in Pakistan, applies to Mrs. A.M. Stewart, SA1997.98; Mr. Margaret Brown, SA1995.47; and Major Colin Moodie, SA 1998.43, for example.

<sup>6</sup> J.N. Ogilvie, D.D., *An Indian Pilgrimage : Travel Notes of a visit to the Indian Fields of the Church of Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1922), pp. 8 and 12-13.

<sup>7</sup> General Sir Ian Hamilton, *Listening for the Drums*, (London, 1944), pp. 21 and 267.

<sup>8</sup> Michael Fry, *The Scottish Empire*, (Edinburgh, 2001), p. viii.

subcontinent, but they did not relate this in terms of seeking fulfilment, and military experiences recounted here do not speak of fulfilment. Whilst the experiences they had, and the change they felt, were positive, fulfilment does not describe that experience. Indeed, the use of one word risks a characterisation, as with the created missionary and military Scot, which this thesis aims to counter.

That change, and the change across the whole spectrum of Scottish missionary and military experiences in colonial and post Independence Pakistan, was in stark contrast to the rigidity of the public representations of missionary and military Scots. For all that those perceptions intended to extol missionary and military Scots, in presenting them in a monochrome light, it merely served to dehumanise, and dominate them. The intention of this thesis - to deconstruct stereotypes based on the available evidence – bears restating. This, it is hoped, serves to recast these missionary and military Scots in a more objective light than stereotyped portrayals have done.

Deconstruction of stereotype is not limited to this focus on Scottish missionary and military experiences. Ideas from colonial discourse theory used in this thesis have done the same, in denying the ‘master - myth that proclaims static lines of demarcation between imperial power and disempowered culture, between colonizer and colonized.’<sup>9</sup> By allowing for complexity, fluidity and variation, rather than asserting neat categorisation and compartmentalising, this thesis incorporates the same approach, and attempts to be truly *postcolonial*.

The fluid, and often contradictory actualities of missionary and military Scots that this thesis presents can only fit in such a theoretical setting. Scottish missionaries’ supposed confidence and omnipotence quickly waned with competition from other denominations, and opposition from local peoples. Yet they also supported and actively worked towards an indigenous church bereft of their influence, and in several cases openly supported the Indian nationalism that objected

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<sup>9</sup> Sara Suleri, *The Rhetoric of English India*, (Chicago and London, 1992), p. 3.

to the ruling elite with which they were identified. The picture of Scottish soldiers' alleged, single-handed subjugation of the subservient 'other' could not be realised in a military infrastructure that depended upon, was built upon, and proactively sought, the collaboration of Indians in the Indian Army. Military Scots in British and Indian Army settings actually interacted with the culture of the 'other', which they supposedly despised, whilst 'fellow' colonisers despised those BORs whom they deemed inferior. In turn, the interaction of Scot and 'other' continued into post Independence Pakistan, where regimental tradition and form from the colonial period was adopted, and adapted, in the regiments of the Pakistan Army.

These rounded pegs, from the actual colonial and post Independence encounters of military and missionary Scots, do not fit the square holes of any historical or analytical stereotype. This thesis has attempted to steer a course away from both the stereotypes of the past, and the stereotypes that cloud the present. It has attempted to incorporate both an understanding that both the historical processes that we study, and that the very analytical frameworks that we use to conduct that study, can be vulnerable to stereotyping. In doing this, the experiences of missionary and military Scots are not presented as monochromatically as they were in the past, but it is hoped that they are portrayed in a more objective and rounded way.

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|              |                                                          |
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## **Interviews, transcripts and correspondence**

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|                                                                          |                |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|
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| Captain Archie Black                                                     | SA1997.95      |
| Mrs. Margaret Brown                                                      | SA1995.47      |
| The Reverend George Fateh Din                                            | SA1998.39      |
| Sir Gerald Elliot                                                        | SA1998.42      |
| Captain Ronnie H. Guild                                                  | SA1998.44      |
| Mr. Duncan Henderson                                                     | SA1997.36 & 37 |
| Linda Hendry                                                             | SA1997.94      |
| Mrs. Andrea Holland                                                      | SA1997.97      |
| Major Alistair Howman,                                                   | SA1997.96      |
| Mrs. C. Howman                                                           | SA1998.37      |
| Lieutenant-General Mujib ur Rahman Khan<br>and Colonel Raja Ali Mohammed | SA1998.40      |
| Mirzada Shah Khan                                                        | SA1998.39      |
| Major Zulfiqar Khianni and<br>Major Tahir Akhtar Minhas                  | SA1998.40      |
| Colonel Khushwaqt -ul-Mulk                                               | SA1998.38      |

|                             |                |
|-----------------------------|----------------|
| Major Frontier Force Rifles | SA1998.41      |
| Major C.M. Moodie           | SA1998.43      |
| Mr. George Morrice M.M.     | SA1997.93      |
| Dr. Dilshad Najmuddin       | SA1998.39      |
| Miss Catherine Nicol        | SA1998.39      |
| Dr. Marie Ogilvie           | SA1996.62      |
| Mr. Robbie and Dr. Jean Orr | SA1995.08      |
| Major R.B. Paul             | SA1997.89 & 90 |
| Mr. J. Robinson             | SA1997.33 & 34 |
| Major J.P. Rutherford       | SA1997.83      |
| Major R. Rutherford         | SA1997.87 & 88 |
| Mrs. A. M. Stewart          | SA1997.98      |

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|                                        |                 |
|----------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Ed Brown                               | Mss. Eur. T. 9  |
| Sir Olaf Caroe                         | Mss. Eur. T. 10 |
| Brigadier F.J. Dillon                  | Mss. Eur. T.25  |
| Mrs. A. Lee                            | Mss. Eur. T. 57 |
| Spike Milligan                         | Mss. Eur. T. 47 |
| Lieutenant-General Sir Reginald Savory | Mss. Eur. T. 58 |

**Interviews conducted by Kim Prior, between 1983 and 1987  
held in the School of Scottish Studies archive**

|                                      |
|--------------------------------------|
| Mrs. Norah Carstairs                 |
| Lieutenant-Colonel Roy Douglas Howse |

Major Peter Rattray

**Other interviews and correspondence**

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