FROM KASHMIR TO KABUL

OMAR KHAN

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The
Photographs of
John Burke and William Baker
1860–1900

Prestel
Munich • Berlin • London • New York

Mapin Publishing
Ahmedabad

First published in India
in 2002 by
Mapin Publishing
in association with
Prestel Verlag
Munich, Berlin, London, New York

Mapin Publishing Pvt. Ltd.
Ahmedabad 380013 India
Tel: 91-79-755 1833/755 1793 • Fax: 79-755 0955
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www.mapinpub.com

Prestel Verlag
Mandlstrasse 26
D-80802 Munich, Germany
Tel: 89-381 7090 • Fax: 89-381 70935
www.prestel.de

4 Bloomsbury Place
London WC1A2QA
Tel: 020-7323 5004 • Fax: 020-7636 8004

175 Fifth Avenue, Suite 402
New York, NY 10010
Tel: 212-995-2720 • Fax: 212-995-2733
www.prestel.com

ISBN: 81-85822-92-1 (Mapin)
ISBN: 1-890206-36-9 (Grantha)
ISBN: 3-7913-2786-0 (Prestel)
LC: 2001098409

Edited by Christina Sullivan Sarabhai
Designed by Mapin Design Studio
Processed by Reproscan, Mumbai
Printed by Tien Wah Press, Singapore

Note to Reader:

The photograph titles—given by the original photographer, the owner of the album in which the photograph was found or the publication in which the photograph was published—have been maintained exactly as they were written at the time. Untitled photographs have been given a descriptive title by the author, using modern spelling.

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For my Father

Acknowledgements

This book was made possible by numerous individuals around the world who helped piece together dispersed photographs and scraps of information. Special thanks go to F. S. Aijazuddin. After I wrote a small article on Samuel Bourne for a Lahore newspaper, he showed up at our doorstep in Islamabad and demanded to know why I wasn't putting my research into a book. Many years later, here is the answer.

Scholars and staff members at a number of museums and private collections around the world have been very helpful. These include Pat Kattenhorn and John Falconer at the India Office Library and Records, Gordon Baldwin and Jackie Burns at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Sophie Gordon at the Ebrahim Alkazi Collection, Ken and Jenny Jacobson, Violet Hamilton at the Michael Wilson Center for Photography, Naushad Ali Khan and Lt. Col. Ian McCulloch. John Falconer and Gordon Baldwin read early versions of the manuscript and made valuable suggestions. Brij Bhushan Sharma and Clark Worswick provided important advice and encouragement in the publication process.

Church records throughout Pakistan have proved of great benefit. Many thanks go to Sardar Masih at Holy Trinity Church and Father Edward at the Church of the Seven Sorrows in Murree; Rev. Immanuel Lorraine at Christ Church and Father Rehmat at St. Joseph's Cathedral in Rawalpindi; Father Len Steger at St. Michael's Church and Padre Albert John at St. John's Church in Peshawar; Father Yusuf Dominique at the Roman Catholic Academy in Lahore; and Father Taylor in Islamabad. Thanks are also due to Sister Marie Bernard and Sister Berchmans at the Convent of Jesus and Mary and Sister Mary at the Presentation Convent in Murree; Sister Cecelia at St. Joseph's Convent in Quetta; and Rev. K. L. Bashiruddin at St. Luke's Church in Abbottabad.

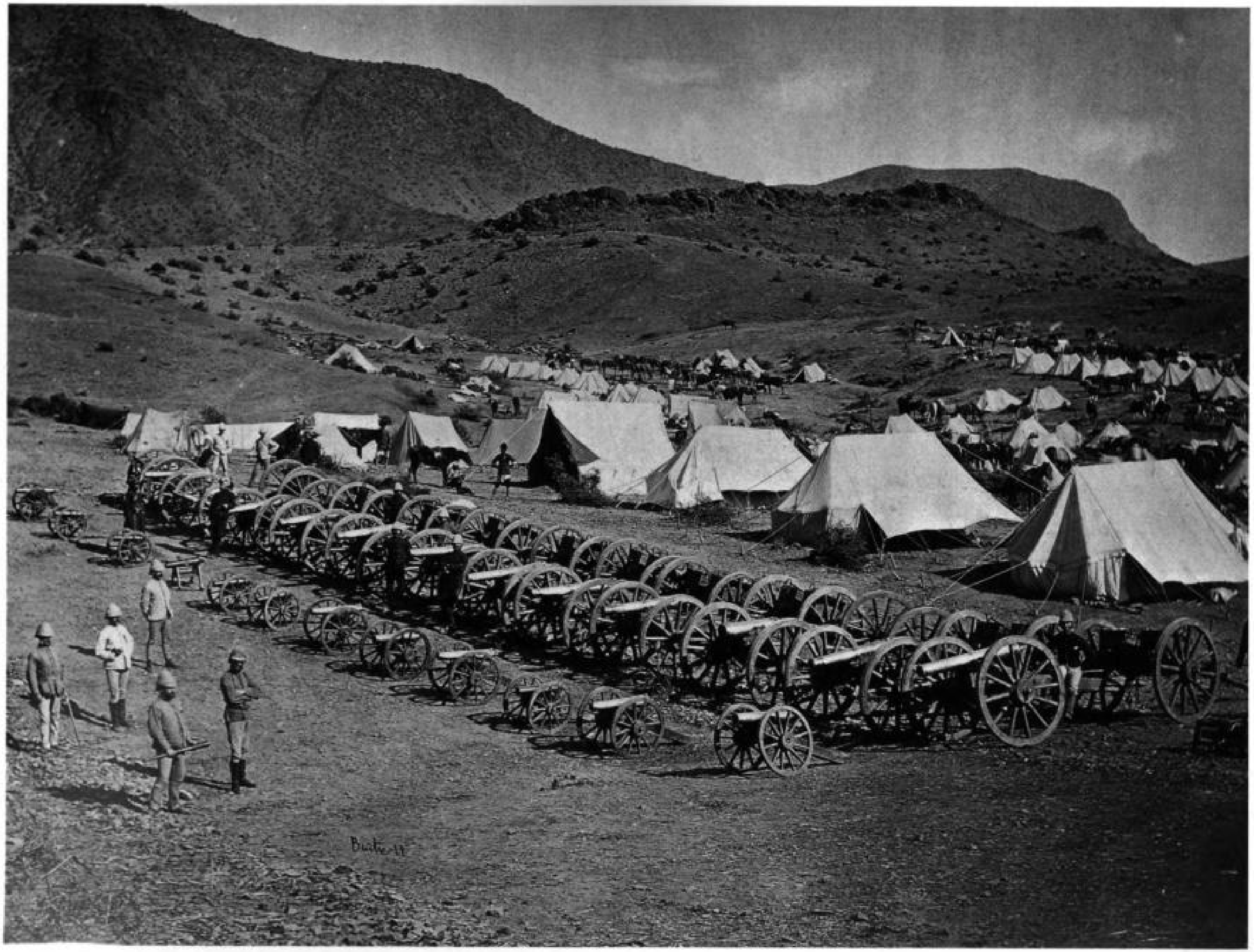
The late Dorothy Watkins, John Burke's grand-daughter, provided a memorable interview in London shortly before she died. Her son Alan Colquhoun and another relative, Sister Bernadette Waring in Australia, have also been most helpful with information and photographs.

Thanks are also due to The British Council in Islamabad—particularly Mrs. Aftab Ahmed and Les Phillips—which provided me with a grant to do research in London. Much of the newspaper research was done at the National Archives of Pakistan in Islamabad, with thanks to Director-General Atique Zafar Sheikh and Newspapers in-charge Sheikh Ramzan Ahmad.

Others who were helpful in the course of researching this book include Dr. William Trousdale, Minoo Bhandara, Robin Volkers, Sister Imelda Warrington, Dr. Charles Amjad Ali, Dr. Mary Briganza, Helen Findlay, Dr. Akbar Khan, Dr. Abdur Rahman, Mr. and Mrs. Minocher, Prof. Mohammad Asif Malik, Latif Kashmiri, Shahbaz, Sue Farrington, Theon Wilkinson and Rukmini Ramani. Tine Ahmed-Ras introduced me to Murree as a young boy and sparked an interest that has continued until this day. I express my appreciation also to Farooq Qaiser, who supported my pursuit of John Burke from the start and helped with interviews in Murree. Sajid Munir, Aijaz Syed, Asif Qazi and Naseem Hussain accompanied me on many drives and fact-finding missions to Murree.

Many thanks are due to my publisher, Bipin Shah, at Mapin Publishing, for having had the vision to publish this volume, and to Christina Sullivan Sarabhai and Paulomi Shah for their tireless efforts to edit and design the book. I am also grateful to Iram Nawaz for having edited an early version of the book.

I am also deeply indebted to my mother and father—Thera and Munir Ahmad Khan—for having supported this project in so many ways over the years. My sisters, Sorayya and Ayesha, were most insightful during the process of writing the text. Finally, this book would not have been possible without my family—Kamini, Natasha and Yasmeena—having tolerated the enormous amount of time I spent away from them to complete this task without losing confidence that I would, indeed, one day, complete it.



Preface

Throughout the history of human wars, the war chronicler has found himself in the rearguard action, at best no better than a straggler. Any record we have today of battles fought, whether won or lost, has been culled from the belated, inevitably subjective recollections of the survivors—tinctured by victory or by defeat. To a great extent, the 19th century changed all that, for during that unusually turbulent period, which began with the Napoleonic Wars and ended with the Boer War, hardly a continent, it seemed, escaped being the site of some conflict or a theatre of war or the scene of a grand assemblage or an imperial durbar.

Gradually, as the art of war became more and more mechanical, so did the artillery of the war illustrator. One of the most prolific, if not famous, was William Simpson, a skilled British watercolourist whose sketches from the battlefields of the Crimea brought home to his compatriots the haunting, crowded images of a distant war. At the time, as equipment to reproduce Simpson's sketches had yet to be invented, they were converted into woodcut engravings and then used as illustrations in London based news journals. By the time such equipment did come into use, the newer art of photography had replaced the war illustrator's brush, making it possible for many a soldier in the field to develop a latent talent for photography.

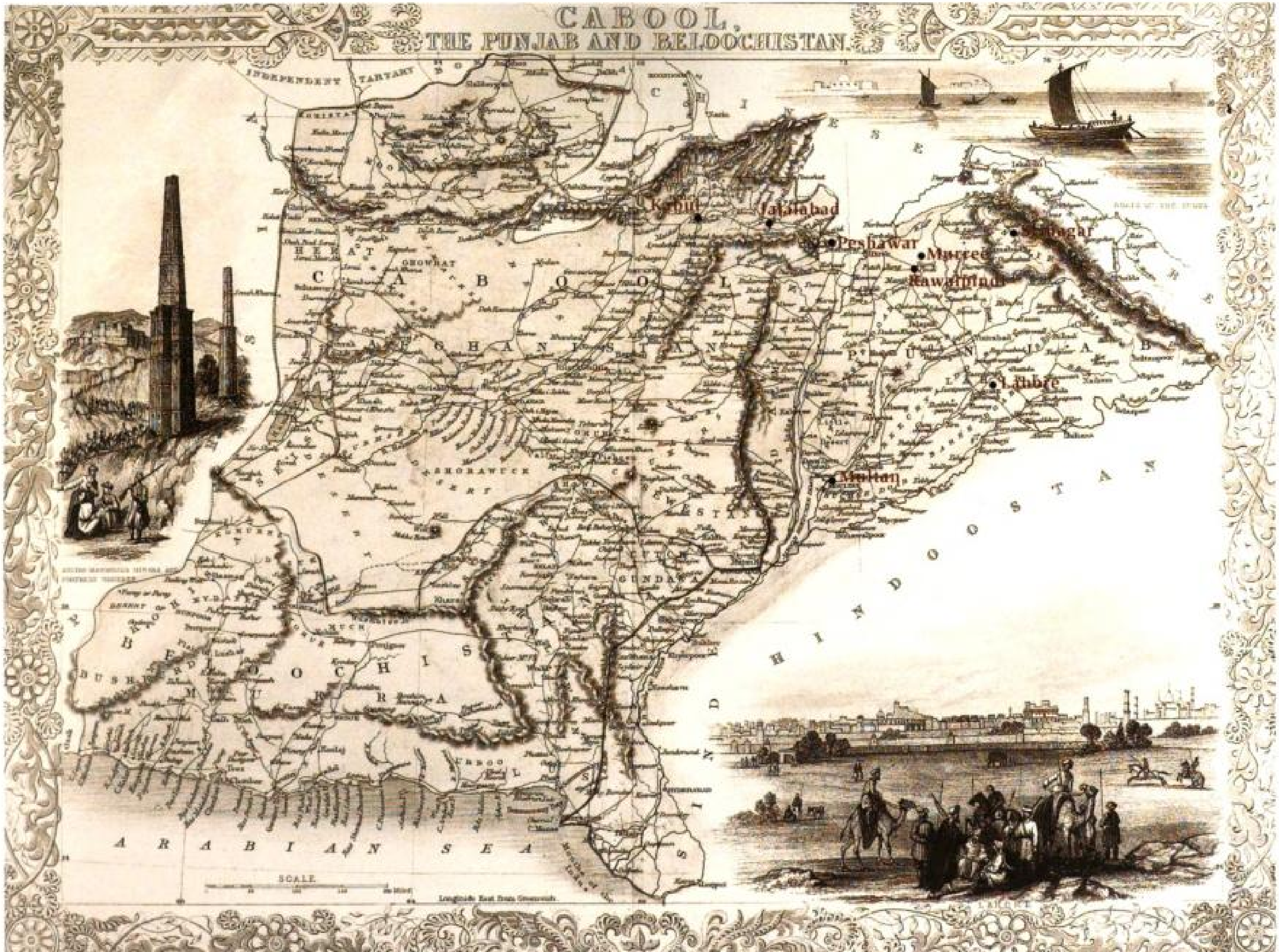
The first such soldier-cum-photographer to work in northern British India was Dr. John McCosh, who in 1848 took among other images some precious calotypes of Lahore's monuments. Many other photographers followed but perhaps the most significant of them were two British army soldiers—William Baker and his partner John Burke. William Baker arrived in India in 1850 and opted out of military service nine years later, advertising himself in his civilian persona in Peshawar as a "Photographist." His intrepidness was tempered by an awareness that while art might be able to imitate life, it could not support it; therefore, he felt the need to conduct a parallel business as a "Commission & House Agent." In later years, Baker would make Burke full partner in the firm. It is perhaps an indication of the growing reputation of both photographers that when Burke branched out on his own in 1873 he described himself as "Photo Artiste" and advertised his firm as "Late Baker & Burke."

John Burke had joined the fledgling W. Baker & Co. after a brief stint in the army. Over the years, Baker and Burke combined their efforts, using the trapezium of Peshawar, Murree, Lahore and Multan as the area of their presence. By the mid-1860s, they were competing against such established firms as Bourne & Shepherd. Burke in particular assisted H. H. Cole of the nascent Archaeological Survey of India to document pictorially many of the ancient and deteriorating monuments. As their expertise increased, their repertoire also expanded and they were able to offer clients an increasingly wide range of subjects in their 1872 photographic catalogue, now regarded as a high watermark of their professional careers.

In 1885 John Burke opened a branch of J. Burke & Co. in Lahore and it was there that he died on May 27 of the last year of the 19th century. He was buried in the Catholic cemetery near Taxali Gate. Today, there is no trace of either the massive Taxali Gate or John Burke's tombstone.

In a sense, he no longer needs one. Mr. Omar Khan's meticulously researched reconstruction of his life and career and that of his senior partner William Baker is the most apposite monument to their skill, talent and enterprise. The photographs they took provide us today with a precious pictorial chronicle of the areas and the cities that lie between Kashmir and Kabul—two flashpoints once again—imbuing this brilliantly structured and invaluable book with an added, timely relevance.

F. S. Aijazuddin
Lahore



Map of North West India and Afghanistan 1895, Tallis/Rapkin

Introduction

John Burke and William Baker, who rank among the earliest war, news and landscape photographers in the Indian subcontinent, are among the finest forgotten photographers of the British Raj, pioneers whose work has almost been lost under the shifting sands of history.

In 1861 retired Sergeant William Baker of the 87th Regiment became one of the first commercial photographers in Peshawar and in the North-West Frontier, the area between British India and what was at the time Afghanistan (modern day Pakistan). There he partnered with John Burke, a teenage assistant apothecary from the Royal Artillery, whose units provided firepower to British infantry and cavalry regiments throughout the world. (Artillery remained largely in British hands in India.) Over the next decades they became the first photographers to work in large areas of northern British India and the independent feudal realms of Kashmir and Afghanistan.

Although the two men working together were known in the late 1860s and early 1870s under the firm name "Baker & Burke," the order of their names has been reversed in the title of this book. Burke's career was a great deal longer than that of Baker and he clearly became the more important photographer.[1] Baker apparently retired from commercial photography by 1873; John Burke went on to become an ethnological and archaeological photographer well before these terms came into vogue. Unlike many European photographers in India who worked for a decade or two on more limited subject matters, Burke's career spanned 40 years of varied output in the most turbulent sector of the Raj. His career also corresponds to the transformation of photography from a fancy hobby into a mass medium.

Burke and Baker are not well known today for many reasons. The history of photography in general during the 19th century has not been extensively researched. The history of British Indian photography is particularly obscure, especially in far-flung areas of the Raj that are today part of Pakistan. The colonial culture that spawned the work has all but died out, leaving no one to directly inherit the photographs. Unlike Samuel Bourne, who was the best known 19th century British Indian photographer, Burke and Baker did not leave behind written narratives for scholars to seize upon. Much of their work was tied to their times and the events that defined them.

Who, today, for example, remembers the bloody Ambela Campaigns of 1863, one of the first conflicts to be photographed anywhere in the world—by William Baker? Who remembers the Panjdeh incident in the spring of 1885, which almost led to a European world war? This war was prevented by a last minute durbar, or meeting, in Rawalpindi between the amir of Afghanistan and the viceroy of India—photographed by John Burke. Indeed, photographs aside, modern historians have hardly researched or written about the entire history of the Raj in the Punjab and the North-West Frontier in the latter part of the 19th century. Without an understanding of the context, a full appreciation of the photographs cannot be expected.

Whatever reasons explain the obscurity of Burke and Baker today, one of them cannot be a lack of high-quality photographs, judged on aesthetic dimensions. The rich composition of their images is immediately apparent. In their time, they won many of the top photography awards in competitions throughout British India. They were worthy contenders with and in many ways similar to the most well-known studio in the Raj, Bourne & Shepherd of Simla and Calcutta. One of the first modern collections of Raj photography, Clark Worswick and Ainsless Embree's *The Last Empire: Photography in British India, 1855–1911*, includes more photographs taken by Burke and Baker (both as individual photographers and as a firm), attributed or not, than those of any of their contemporaries. The same can be said for Field-Marshal Auchinleck's illustrated *The Army in India, 1850–1914*.

The chemicals and procedures they used have aged better than those of many others. Today, Burke and Baker photographs command high prices at auctions, even if the purchasers are oblivious to the stories behind the photographs. Few people, if any, know that Burke's photographs were often featured as engravings in the mass market London weeklies like the *Graphic* and its larger competitor the *Illustrated London News*, greatly extending the reach and role of his images. No other British Indian photographer was as widely published in these pioneering weeklies and precursors to today's news magazines.

However, the reasons for the continuing significance of these photographs go beyond the aesthetic and historical value or their collectable nature. Who else sought out subjects like the *Central Asian dealers, Group: escaped Turkish prisoners from Russia, The wealthy Hindus of Kabul* or the *Kabulee Police Group*?[2] Who else framed an old Sikh soldier with a warmth that reaches out a century later?[3] His portraits of the vanquished Afghan rulers look like anything but representations of the then most despised enemies of the British Empire. Compared to other European photographers, Burke also took more significant photographs of local inhabitants. His selections of people—labourers, slaves, beggars, musicians, boatmen, schoolboys and messengers—rarely appear in other photographers' catalogues.

This may have to do with John Burke and William Baker being Irish and Catholics. In a highly stratified Raj, they were members of the lowest white caste and were therefore in proximity to the full spectrum of local society. Their position on the periphery seems to have informed their photographs and helps give them resonance more than a century later. The contemporary audience for Burke's photographs may be far broader than he ever imagined, consisting less of the descendants of colonists than the descendants of those once colonized.

The Historical Context

By the time John Burke and William Baker began photographing, British involvement in the Indian subcontinent was over 250 years old. The charter for the East India Company to exclusively exploit trade privileges between Britain and India had been assigned in 1600. Over the next century, trading outposts were established in Calcutta on the east, Madras on the south and Bombay on the west coast of India. The company had the right to "acquire territory, coin money, command fortresses and troops, form alliances, make war and peace and exercise both civil and criminal jurisdiction,"[4] all in pursuit of ensuring its directors and investors in London a profitable rate of return on their shares. The company's army drove out other European colonists, especially the French, and acquired ever greater authority over feudal realms and areas belonging to the decaying Mughal empire, which had been greatly consolidated by Emperor Akbar in the 16th century but then gradually broken up by wars and revolts.

The end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century saw further consolidation of British rule over South India with the defeat of Tipu Sultan in Mysore, victory over the Marathas in central India, subjugation of the Rajputs to the west in Rajasthan and containment of the Mughal Empire in the north to the point where the last Mughal emperor was "a helpless pensioner of the Company and its virtual prisoner."[5]

The British government began to step in and assert authority over political, economic and military affairs. The India Act of 1784 created a board of commissioners for India. Early in the 19th century, British Parliament in London undertook further steps that weakened the East India Company's trade and commercial monopolies in India. Highly autonomous provinces were ruled by a central administration under the governor-general in Calcutta (the headquarters shifted to Simla during the summer), who could place and remove provincial officials, declare war, levy taxes and create all-India rules and policies.

The structure of the British army in India followed the East India Company's division of the subcontinent into the three presidencies of Bengal, Bombay and Madras. During the 18th century, each of these armies developed along similar lines, with three kinds of troops: native Indian troops; British "Crown" troops that were part of the British army but subsidised in India by the East India Company; and European regiments of the British army. Although each presidency's army was largely autonomous, the Bengal Army was the largest and its commander-in-chief served loosely as commander-in-chief of all three armies. By 1805, the strength of all three armies was about 150,000 men and the ratio of British to Indian troops was about 1:5.

The British next turned their attention to the north-west—to Sindh (an area to the south of the Punjab and bordering Afghanistan), the Punjab and parts of Afghanistan. Sindh was easily conquered and did not pose major problems for the British during the rest of the 19th century.

The occupation of Peshawar and subsequent expansion westward into Afghanistan, however, were part of the "Great Game," as the colliding British and Russian struggles for influence over Afghanistan and Central Asia during the 19th century are termed. The British were convinced that czarist Russia meant to invade India from Afghanistan and snatch away part of their Empire. Thus they tried to extend their control over Afghanistan and turn it into a buffer state, while the Russians conquered one Central Asian Muslim territory after another until they were right on the border of Afghanistan. Numerous British military campaigns in this area from 1838 through the Third Afghan War in 1919 were governed by the concept of the Great Game. The earliest, the First Afghan War, remained a thorn in British consciousness and it would take 40 years before they had an opportunity to mend the score—during the Second Afghan War (1878–80). The photography of this war was one of the highlights of John Burke's career (chapter 5). These campaigns over a span of 80 years brought many so-called tribal areas and independent feudal states into the realm of the British Empire and slowly carved out the borders between modern Pakistan and Afghanistan.

Three wars led to incorporation into the British Raj of the areas where Burke and Baker spent their photographic careers: the First Afghan War (1838–42), the First Sikh War (1845–46) and the Second Sikh War (1848–49). All three cast long shadows and influenced the events that would unfold before their cameras.

The First Afghan War was the first proxy war with czarist Russia and the opening bell for the Great Game. In the 1820s the Russians had extended their influence over Persia, which bordered the western part of Afghanistan. The British, fearing that their position in India would be undermined, improved their relationship with local rulers. They focussed on the ruler of a powerful Sikh kingdom in the Punjab and Kashmir, Ranjit Singh, the ruler of Afghanistan, Dost Mohammed, as well as the rulers of Sindh. But Dost Mohammed did not take kindly to overtures with his sworn enemy Ranjit Singh. He started developing a relationship with Russia and later refused British demands to revoke it and expel the Russian emissary. This led the British to hatch a plot with Ranjit Singh to invade Afghanistan and put on the throne a friendlier Afghan ruler, Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk.

The British Army of the Indus, some 21,000 men constituted specially for this war, marched through Sindh, took Kandahar in southern Afghanistan and then took Kabul. By August 1839 the British had put Shah Shuja on the throne. Dost Mohammed was captured and sent into exile in India. Shah Shuja, however, emerged as an unsteady ruler and the British were forced to stay in Kabul in order to keep him in power. It proved very expensive and difficult to maintain the occupying force. In 1841 Afghan soldiers in Kabul revolted, murdered the British ambassador and forced the remaining British troops to sign a humiliating surrender. As they withdrew, they were harassed by Afghan factions loyal to Dost Mohammed, until all but one were killed or taken hostage. The British would take revenge the next year and reoccupy Kabul but only to put Dost Mohammed back on the throne and redeem their honour after the loss of 20,000 men and almost £20 million. The British were never able to shake the sense of having been soundly defeated in Afghanistan. It undermined the image of their invincible march across most of India. Afghanistan would always represent the limits of British power.

While the British were extending their control over India, Ranjit Singh was proving himself to be a remarkable chieftain. Through a series of conquests, treaties and clever alliances, he had cobbled together, out of independent principalities, a formidable centralised kingdom in the Punjab with a powerful Sikh army, even though its functionaries came from all religions. In 1819 his forces had invaded the section of Afghanistan known as the Peshawar Valley. After having ruled it as a fiefdom for four years, followed by more than a decade of dispute with the Afghans, he annexed the area in 1834 and kept the British at bay even as he befriended them.

But his death in 1839 led to a nightmare of intrigue and wars of successions among his heirs, greatly weakening Sikh power and creating opportunities for the British to ally themselves with different contenders for the Sikh throne. When in 1845 a Sikh army crossed the Sutlej River, in defiance of a treaty with the British, the latter did not hesitate to declare war. A seesaw series of battles in the eastern Punjab ensued, known as the First Sikh War, where both sides exhibited tremendous fighting ability. The Sikh armies were on the brink of victory at one point but then collapsed on February 10 at Subraon. The British moved in with a humiliating treaty that did not directly annex the Punjab but invested its Lahore resident with tremendous power over a minor son of Ranjit Singh, Dulip Singh, who was made the titular ruler. The Sikh army was partially disarmed.

But the situation was too unstable. Conflicts between Sikh officials and British officers proliferated: "the constant interference of the British Resident in the minutest details of administration and the reforms initiated by him had resulted in a great deal of discontent, both overt and covert."[6] The Second Sikh War was sparked when Dewan Mulraj, the powerful governor of Multan to the south of Lahore, refused to recognise Dulip Singh's authority and murdered a British representative. British forces moved towards Multan against regrouped Sikh forces. Once again, the Sikh armies came close to winning battles but were finally defeated at the battle of Gujrat, a district in the Punjab, in February 1849. On March 29, any semblance of an independent Punjab came to an end and the province officially became part of the Raj. The incorporation of the Punjab meant that no large populated area of India remained outside British control. Hundreds of feudal states existed, whose rulers managed their own internal affairs with little interference, but they all owed allegiance to the British Crown.

Kashmir, which had once been part of Ranjit Singh's dominions, and the southern district of Jammu, however, did not end up under British control but became an independent state under a maharajah. Another result of the Sikh wars was that Peshawar and a large tract around the west of the Indus River, which had once been part of

Afghanistan, did come under British control. Though formally part of the Punjab Province, it was generally known as the North-West Frontier, or Frontier (with Afghanistan), a more lawless, violent and tribal area that later in the 20th century officially became known as the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) of British India.

Eight years later in 1857, what the British called the "Mutiny" began when Indian soldiers in the army rose in revolt against the British, their anger fuelled by rumours that cow and pig fat—anathema to Hindu and Muslim soldiers, respectively—had been used to grease rifle cartridges. It is also often called the "Sepoy Rebellion" after the sepoys, or soldiers, who sparked and led it, but a far deeper sense of grievance at foreign rule, religion and practices was also involved. The uprising began in Meerut, a cantonment near Delhi, when troops mutinied against their British officers and marched towards Delhi. Similar uprising spread across northern British India, which many outside the army joined. In cities like Lucknow and Delhi, where the feeble Mughal emperor was made a figurative head of the revolt, the British were displaced. Initially, the uprising spread so fast that it seemed as if the British could be driven out of the largest colony in the world. But many factors led to a bloody reassertion of British rule in 1858, including the fact that the rebels had poor organisation, technology and luck. On the other side, astounding bravery by British officers and the mercenary troops from the Punjab and Frontier who fought with them sealed the fate of the uprising. The Mughal emperor, an important symbol, was sent into exile and Delhi was sacked.

Following their victory, the British also reorganised their rule. The East India Company was dissolved in favour of Queen Victoria's imperial rule. The army and political structure were reorganised under the Crown. The British Raj had officially begun. At this time, the ratio of British to Indian troops was increased to between 1:2 and 1:3. The Bengal Army regiments were reorganised along ethnic and religious lines with "the most favoured recruits being from the Punjab or the North-West Frontier; Sikhs, Dogras, Jats and Pathans."[7]

The Pathans, or Pushtuns, are a group of some 60 tribes who claim a common historical ancestor, Quais, and speak a variant of the same Indo-European language, Pushtu. Up to 15 and 10 million Pathans, respectively, live in what is today Pakistan and Afghanistan. They are largely agriculturalist and many belong to semi-nomadic groups. Pathans have historically been known as fierce fighters and followers of *pukhtunwali, a* code of honour which demands indomitable loyalty towards friends and relentless pursuit of enemies. During the Raj, they were both the most obdurate foes of the British and among their closest allies.

The sheer scale of the rebellion, and the massacres of British civilians in a few areas, did nonetheless instill a sense of vulnerability among the British, which took the rest of the 19th century to slowly dissolve. The social and psychological distance between the British and their subjects seemed to deepen, even as British control over the subcontinent and its inhabitants increased. It was with the memory of the rebellion fresh in their minds, and in the minds of customers, that Burke and Baker began their photographic careers. British rule in the areas they were to photograph—the Punjab and the North-West Frontier—was barely a decade old. The medium they worked with was almost as young.

Early Photography in North-west British India

Photography came to British India just after the invention of the salt paper print process in Europe in 1839. A lithograph based on a photograph was published in Calcutta in 1840; the first surviving commercial photographer can be dated to 1844.[8] One of the first Indian photographers was Nawab Ahmed Ali Khan of Lucknow, who took photographs of British families and their children in 1845 (many of whom were killed during the rebellion). John McCosh, a British doctor attached to the troops fighting the Second Sikh War, took the first known photographs of the western Raj; much of this area is today part of Pakistan. These salt prints include shots of Lahore as well as Multan and its defeated master, Dewan Mulraj.[9] They are the earliest photographs taken in connection with a war anywhere in the world.

By the mid-1850s the major British mercantile centres of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay had established photographic societies. Numerous British as well as local Parsee, Christian, Hindu and Muslim photographers took great interest in this rapidly changing and expensive hobby.[10] Very few prints from those times survive in good condition. British army officers, often documenting sites of historical interest, produced much of the work that does survive. The ancient ruins of Thatta in Sindh, for example, were photographed by two officers from Bombay in 1857.[11] Much of the earliest photography of places in India was archaeological.

Nearly all photographers were still experimenting with chemicals, formats and bulky cameras. In one important way, however, the subcontinent was perfect for the emerging technology of photography. Plentiful sunshine, unlike in rain-stricken Britain and Northern Europe, helped compensate for the long exposure time required by early photographic chemicals to absorb an impression. In 1855 the introductory address to the newly launched *Journal of the Photographic Society of Bombay* compared the level of photography in the colony to that in the British "homeland":

> *The "Pencil of the Sun," as this exquisitely beautiful Art is poetically termed, has gradually tracked its course over a large portion of the vast plains of India, drawing within the circle of its seductive influence all with whom it has come into contact; and that influence, though necessarily confined within narrower limits, is probably not less marked at this moment among our Island community than it is in London.*[12]

The war of 1857 was widely reported in the British press and helped sell the first illustrated papers in London and around the world. The *Graphic* and the *Illustrated London News* readily published engravings based on photographs taken in the field. Bahadur Shah Zafar, the last Mughal emperor, was photographed in captivity smoking a hookah. Italian photographer Felice Beato hurriedly travelled to Lucknow to record the ruins of the city soon after its fall in March 1858.[13]

The growth of commercial photography throughout the world in the 1860s was made possible by the invention of albumen positive paper prints a decade earlier, which all but replaced the salt print process. Based on a mixture containing egg-whites, multiple albumen prints could be reproduced cheaply from an original glass plate negative. High-quality copies were economically feasible for the first time.

Producing the negative, however, was still akin to alchemy. The slightest error in handling the plate or mixing the chemicals would ruin the exposure. A glass plate first had to be coated with a chemical mixture, usually including the explosive material collodion.[14] The plate was then inserted into a light-tight frame and slipped into a box camera on a tripod. An exposure lasting 30 seconds or more was made by removing the cap from the lens. Before the collodion dried, the exposed glass plate negative had to be developed on the spot in a tent fitted as a darkroom. Hence, photographers tended to travel with large support crews and, in India, pack animals. The albumen prints could be made later in a studio, which was usually equipped with a retractable roof or opening to control the natural light that was passed through the negative to expose a paper positive. Each positive had to be processed individually. Few shortcuts were available in early photography.

Albumen was the leading photographic print material from 1855 until 1895. The egg-white layer allowed light sensitive silver chemicals to form an image on it of much higher density and contrast and with greater consistency than had been possible before.[15] Prints themselves were very thin and usually attached to a thicker cardboard material or album page to keep them flat. The yellowish tone of albumen prints and their tendency towards fading led to constant inventions of other print and chemical processes throughout the 19th century. By the 1880s a number of these had acquired significant market share but it was not until the development of more inexpensive machine coated papers during the same decade that albumen print photography went into decline. Even though Burke would work with many of these alternatives, the majority of his prints, and the prints in this book, were originally made on albumen paper.

The success of early commercial photographers depended on a combination of many qualities: the knowledge and practice of chemistry, aesthetic taste, access to customers, marketing and organisational skills and factors like the presence of competitors. Although John Burke and William Baker were among the first commercial photographers in the areas where they began working, they faced a number of competitors over time. The success of some, like Samuel Bourne, indirectly helped them by legitimising photography through the widespread popularity of his photographs and the methods he used to market them. Others, like James Craddock, provided steady competition in the markets that first Baker and later Burke served.

The Great Game

The Great Game provided the backdrop to John Burke's photographic career in particular. If any one person could be considered the "photographer of the Great Game," it would have to be Burke. He accompanied most of the British military campaigns in the vicinity of Afghanistan from the 1860s until 1897. He is best known for his set of albums of photographs taken during the Second Afghan War (1878–80), the defining struggle of the Great Game. (His work before and after that war has not been recognised in the limited photographic history of the period.) These albums are generally known collectively as his Afghan War album and were assembled from a catalogue that was published in two major parts as the war progressed. He photographed nearly all the major durbars with rulers of Afghanistan that led to uneasy peace treaties. Most of the Great Game's major and minor British, Afghan and Pathan players passed before his camera. This photographic record of a

19th-century colonial encounter is unusual, the world over, for its completeness.

The context within which the Great Game unfolded is worth keeping in mind when looking at Burke's photographs, for a parallel exists between the two. The Great Game was an imaginative, shadowy construct—a psychological drama of disguise and identity, full of supposition and suspicion. Its ambiguities are masterfully revealed in fiction like the novel *Kim* by Rudyard Kipling. Things were not necessarily what they seemed to be; it was not always clear to whose side different characters were loyal. Burke's photographs too contain numerous contradictions and ambiguities, often subverting established conventions of the time. It is for good reason that Kipling, who like Burke lived in Lahore during the 1880s, once called Burke's photographs "as fine as we have ever seen."[16]

Photograph Titles, Attributions, Numbers, Places and Dates

In the captions to the photographs featured in this book, unless the title of the photograph appears in quotes or brackets, then it is the one that John Burke or William Baker originally gave it, for example, *The Scind Valley above Gugangir* or *Slaves from Kafiristan*. If the original title was not recorded on the photograph, which is often the case as Burke and Baker rarely inscribed titles on photographs, then it has typically been taken from the printed catalogues of their work. The two principal catalogues used to identify titles are Baker & Burke's catalogue, Photographic Views in India, published in 1872, and John Burke's Afghan War catalogue, published in 1879 and 1880.[17]

Titles of photographs have also been identified from numbered lists published as series and advertised in flyers or newspapers, such as *Photographs of the Amir Shere Ali Khan and Suite* or *Photographs of the Lahore Durbar 1886*. For images that were published in books or publications, the titles are those that were given by the publications.

When a title appears in quotes, this indicates that the photograph was part of an album and the caption appears exactly as penned under the photograph by the owner of the album, e.g., "Bazaar in Murree after the Great Fire," rather than the original title given by the photographer. In all these cases, the original spelling has been maintained—names and places written precisely as they were penned at the time. However, if no quotes appear around a title, and it is in brackets, then it is a descriptive title given by the author using modern spelling.

Correctly attributing photographs that are over one century old can be difficult. Fortunately, the two men signed their own photographs from the very beginning. Most of the photographs in this book were visibly signed as "W. Baker," "J. Burke" or simply "Burke." "Signing" a photograph meant scratching a name and number on a glass plate before printing the paper positive. Often, photographers did not do this unless prints were selling well enough to make it into a catalogue or series, which could be years after a photograph was taken.

When the photograph was not visibly signed by either man—commissioned photographs were seldom signed—it can often be attributed on the basis of other evidence: the backdrop or studio furniture; the unique frame of a print (Burke was especially fond of rounded-top corners); the size and texture of a certain print compared to signed ones; or its location in an album.

In these cases the following names appear below the photograph title: William Baker; John Burke; or William Baker or John Burke. Nevertheless, at times one cannot be absolutely sure. Whenever any doubt exists about an attribution, a question mark has been placed after the attribution. If serious doubt exists, then this is discussed in the legend.

Some photographs are signed Baker & Burke. This seemed to have happened between 1867 and 1872, as the firm once known as W. Baker & Co. evolved into Baker & Burke, the joint firm the two men operated together for a brief period. In this case if no further evidence exists to identify the individual photographer, then the photograph has been attributed as it was signed, since either man could have taken the photograph.

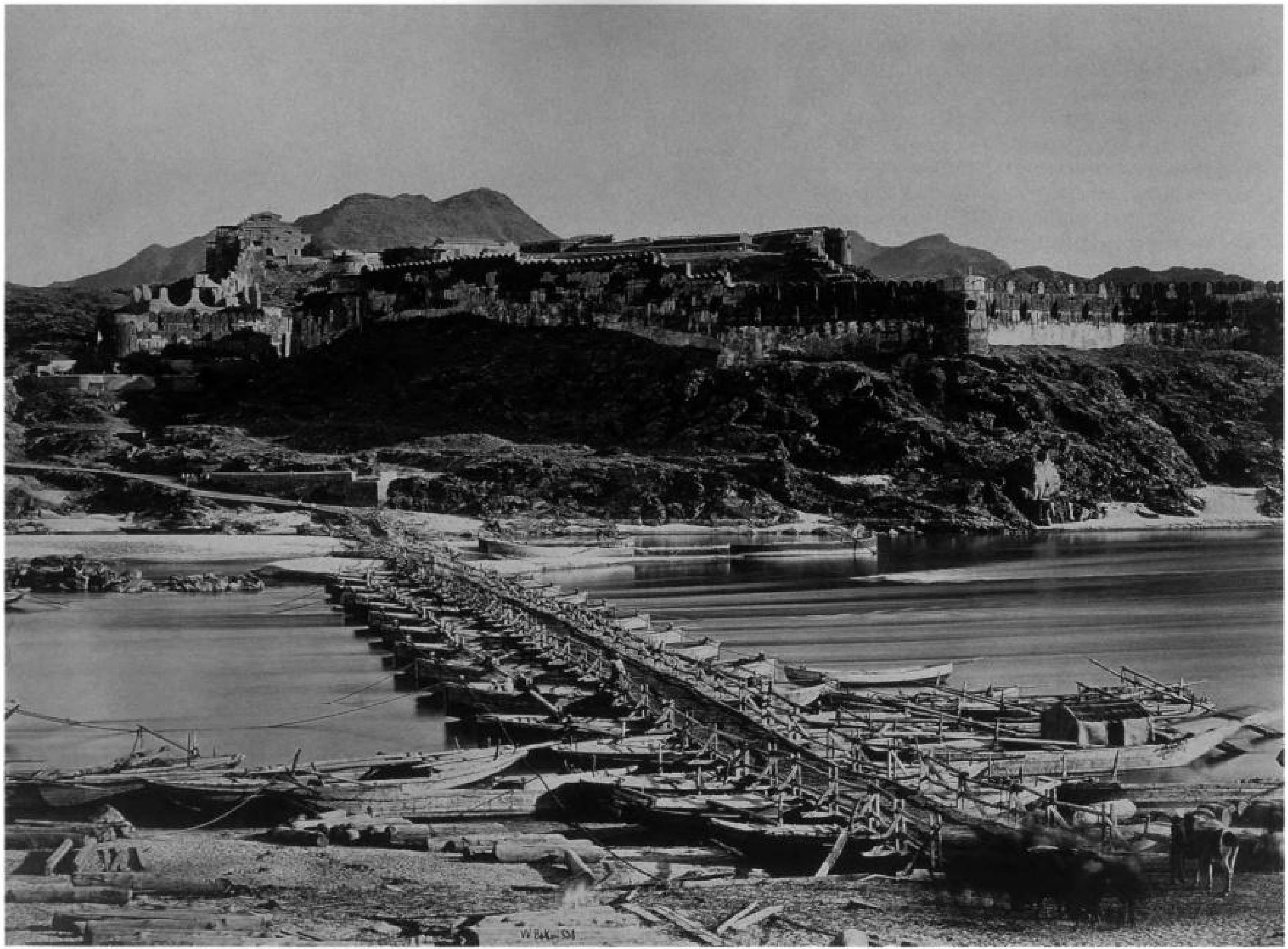
This brings us to another issue: distinguishing between photographers and the firms that carried their names. Photographs like *cartes de visite*, visiting cards, and cabinet cards—small, usually portrait photographs mounted on hardboard—were not signed by either man but carry the emblem or name of the studio, branding the photograph at the time it was taken. In this case the photograph has been attributed to the studio rather than to an individual photographer: W. Baker & Co. (1861–67), Baker & Burke (1867–72) or J. Burke & Co. (1873–1900). Photographs with only the studio name associated with them are harder to attribute directly to Burke or Baker as photographer. *Cartes de visite* or cabinet cards, for example, could have been made by one of the many other photographers in their employ. Prominent people or occasions, on the other hand, are more likely to have been photographed by Burke or Baker themselves. Nonetheless, such photographs have been attributed according to the firm name as given on the *carte de visite* or cabinet card.

The numbers following the name of the photographer (for example, #839) indicate a reference number in a catalogue or specific series. In this book, all numbered references are to the Baker & Burke 1872 catalogue, unless indicated otherwise in parentheses. Following this, when known, the modern place name is given.

The date given to photographs refers to when the original glass plate negative was shot, whereas the paper prints from a negative were often made many years later. The dates of negatives can often be deduced from the events they depict, notes by owners, adjacent photographs in albums or other evidence. If the exact date cannot be identified, then a range of dates has been given.

Medal of the Bengal Photographic Society, circa 1867
The Alkazi Collection of Photography

Firm monograms of W. Baker & Co., Baker & Burke and J. Burke & Co., which were often branded on the back of *cartes de visite* and cabinet cards



1. Bridge of boats and Fort *William Baker #557, Attock, NWFP, circa 1863, By permission of The British Library*

CHAPTER 1

Peshawar and the North-West Frontier

The bridge over the Indus River at Attock is the gateway to the North-West Frontier from the Punjab. This thin row of boats on the Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to Kabul was a vital artery for British forces during their invasion of the area and later campaigns in Afghanistan (Alexander the Great used a similar bridge in 328 B.C.E.). The sprawling fort on the Punjab side was built by the Mughal Emperor Akbar in 1581 to support his own wars in Afghanistan.

Fifty miles from here, the Grand Trunk Road reaches Peshawar, the most important city in the North-West Frontier. Peshawar lies 12 miles from the Khyber Pass, the border crossing to Afghanistan. Peshawar, or Frontier Town, was Emperor Akbar's translation of the original name, Parashawara, which was probably derived from an ancient ruler or family of rulers known as Paras. The city came under direct British rule simultaneously with the establishment of the Punjab Province in April 1849, following the Second Sikh War.

The province was divided into 10 administrative divisions, each of which was under a commissioner. A division referred to a collection of districts and was often given the name of the major district. Typically, an assistant commissioner led a small district and a deputy commissioner a major district. Peshawar Division encompassed six districts: Hazara, Peshawar, Kohat, Bannu, Dera Ismail Khan and Dera Ghazi Khan.

The first deputy commissioner appointed to Peshawar District commanded great authority; nonetheless, he formally reported to the president of the Punjab Board of Administration in its capital, Lahore, 276 miles away. He in turn reported to the highest authority, the governor-general, in the capital of the Raj, Calcutta.

Even though Peshawar then was officially part of the Punjab Province, this formal association quickly weakened and, practically, it was treated as an autonomous region. Across the Indus River and surrounded on three sides by unconquered tribal territories, Peshawar was the nucleus around which the British would painstakingly build, through military campaigns spanning the rest of the 19th century, the collection of districts to the west of the Indus and bordering Afghanistan that became the NWFP.[1]

In 1860 Peshawar District's population of about 500,000 persons was made up chiefly of Pathans: Khattak, Yusufzai, Mohammadzai and Mohmand tribes. The city of Peshawar contained Hindu, Sikh and other non-Pathan populations. Most Pathans lived in the rich agricultural valleys around the city where they grew maize, wheat and barley. The people were poor, but as the British soon found out, not afraid to look their conquerors in the eye. Peshawar was also an unhealthy and dangerous outpost for the Europeans. Cholera and theft were constant companions. The death rate among troops in the early days could approach 20 per cent a year.

During the First War of Independence, or Mutiny, in 1857, discontent arose in Peshawar as well. Many sepoys were hung. Sometimes entire battalions were executed. A favoured British retribution was blowing the disaffected from cannons. This excerpt from the Punjab Mutiny Report describes events in the city on May 27, 1857:

> *At the appointed hour the troops paraded under arms, the two European regiments (Her Majesty's 70th and 87th) and the artillery taking up positions at the two ends of the cantonment, within sight of the parades, ready to enforce obedience if necessary, yet not so close as to provoke resistance. The sepoys were completely taken aback; they were allowed no time to consult; and isolated from each other, no regiment was willing to commit itself. The whole laid down their arms; and it is said, as the muskets and sabers were hurried into carts, here and there the spurs and swords of English officers fell sympathizingly on the pile.*[2]

Bridge of boats and Fort (photograph 1) was taken by William Baker in 1863 during the Ambela Campaigns (photograph 9). John Burke included the same scene in his 1879 Afghan War catalogue (#E); almost nothing had changed. Indeed, that year the *Graphic* in London used an engraving from Baker's 1863 photograph to illustrate scenes from the Second Afghan War.[3] In 1883 a fortified railway bridge replaced the pontoon bridge. The location continues to have great strategic importance today. Next to the bridge flows a pipeline that carries natural gas to the people of the NWFP. Attock Fort belongs to the Pakistani Army and is a frequent rest stop for Pakistani politicians on their way out of power.

2 Peshawar Fort and surroundings from Jail
William Baker or John Burke, Peshawar, NWFP, 1860–64
Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

In the shadow of Peshawar Fort, disarming the sepoys, must have been 23-year-old Sgt. William Henry Baker of the 87th Regiment of Foot, the Royal Irish Fusiliers. Baker had enlisted in the regiment at Chatham, England, in 1849 at the height of the potato famine in Ireland. He arrived in Calcutta the following year. In May 1853 he was promoted to corporal and in 1856 to sergeant, surprisingly quick promotions by the standards of the day. The 87th Regiment came to Peshawar in January 1856 by way of Rawalpindi, the British cantonment at the base of the Murree and Margalla hills. Rawalpindi was also the name of a major district. On February 16, Baker married "14 yr., 6 months"-old Fanny Russell at St. Michael's Catholic Church in Peshawar.[1] These were still the days of the East India Company, and troops travelled with a train of women and civilians. Three months later, Indian troops rose up against British rule and for Sergeant Baker the Mutiny began.

The British managed to clamp down quickly on the city. The Punjab and the North-West Frontier actually contributed the bulk of the troops that recaptured Delhi for the British. Still, in August 1857 the 51st Native Infantry revolted. The 87th countered outside the city, catching and executing nearly 200 men later that month. William Baker is shown as being in the hospital then; he returned to active duty in September.[2] A year later, on August 27, 1859, Baker committed himself to a new 11-year term with the army. Eight months later, his regiment was reassigned to China. Baker chose instead to be discharged from the army after paying a fee of £5 and foregoing his pension.[3] The 27-year-old former sergeant became, instead, the proprietor of W. Baker & Co., "House and Commission Agent, and Photographist."

Perhaps photography was not viable as a sole enterprise: W. Baker & Co. would continue to combine it with other businesses throughout the firm's existence. In Peshawar during the 1860s, the firm was a major auctioneer, offering everything from condemned government stores[4] to personal goods.[5] Much of its business entailed selling the effects of the soldiers who perished fighting the many diseases, particularly cholera, that ravaged the troops. This advertisement appeared in the *Lahore Chronicle* on October 26, 1861: "Peshawar Notice—Three houses on the Mall, in Cantonments No 113, 114 and 116 belonging to the estate of the late Mrs. M. Richamond will be sold by public auction on Friday, the 2nd of November 1861. Sale to commence at 8 o'clock a.m. Terms cash. W. Baker (agent)." The firm also opened branch offices in Murree and Rawalpindi in the early 1860s.

In early Baker advertisements he describes himself as a "Photographist." The use of this abandoned term underlines the novelty of the profession. Photography was a hobby in the army, usually among officers who could afford the high cost of imported chemicals and apparatus; a camera could cost many times a subaltern's annual salary. Newspaper notices speak of a frequent trade in equipment among army officers.[6]

This photograph of the fort is one of the earliest ever taken of Peshawar and may even predate 1860–61 (one album dates this and photograph 3 to 1857).[7] It is likely that Baker started taking photographs while still in the army. The shot was probably taken by Baker, but Burke includes it in his Afghan War album (#F). It is safe to assume that had Baker started his business by January 1861, his first photographs would date from at least 1860, if not earlier.

This early photograph shows how the language of the new medium was developing. The composition—the tree and the use of the figures to create diagonal lines—dramatically enhances depth of field. The men carefully placed along the road also add to the information being conveyed by the shot. The road is a portion of the Grand Trunk Road. Today, the foreground area is one of the busiest traffic intersections in Peshawar.

Peshawur

W. Baker & Co.

Commission & House Agent

PHOTOGRAPHIST.

(2875) (336)

Lahore Chronicle, January 8, 1861

2

3 **General View from above 3rd B.C. Mess looking towards the Church**
Baker & Burke #819, Peshawar, NWFP, 1860–64
By permission of The British Library

This single shot is an early print of the left panel of a three-part photographic panorama of the British cantonment in Peshawar. It is also a popular early single shot of the city.

The centre of attention is St. John's Church. Its foundation stone was laid on March 23, 1852, and the building was completed in 1860. An Anglican Church was one of the first grand buildings to be raised in a cantonment. Here Protestant army officers and leading civil officials came to pray. Photographs of churches in a cantonment or hill-station were very popular among the British, no doubt in part for religious reasons. They also so starkly confirmed British identity in and the conquest of India.

The organisation of space is typical of cantonments in colonial India in that it reveals the social structure of the Europeans in the Raj. On the left is a portion of the more simple Roman Catholic St. Michael's Church, consecrated in 1851 and used by Irish soldiers like Baker. Roman Catholics were second-class citizens in mid-19th century Britain. Catholic churches were typically located in the outer part of the cantonment, closer to "native" society. A whole class of people, Anglo-Indians, resulted from the interaction of mostly Irish Catholic men and local women during the Raj.

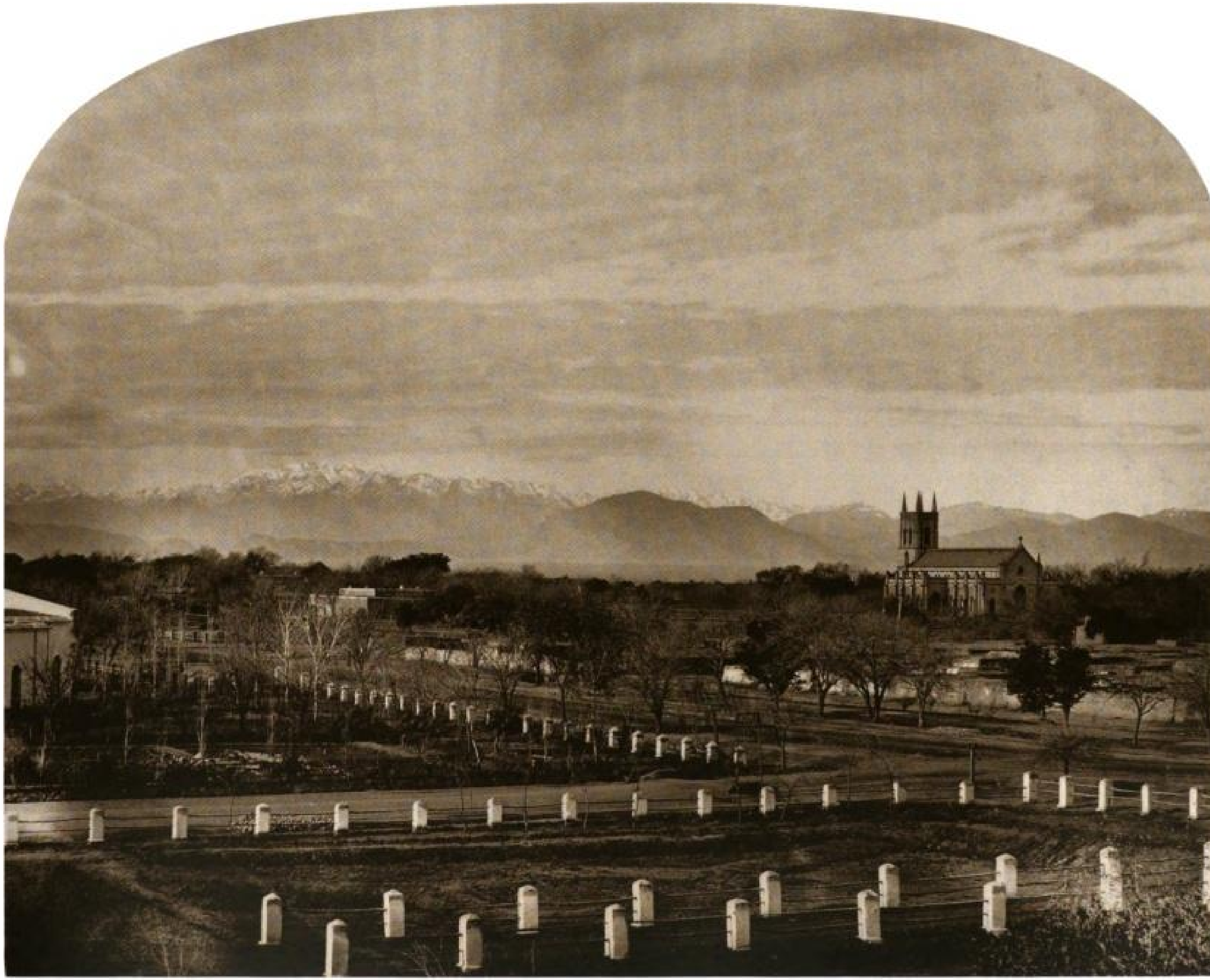
The records at St. Michael's Church hold the first mention of John Burke in Peshawar. On January 16, 1861, he and Margaret Russell were married in the building. Baker and his wife, Fanny Russell, signed as witnesses. It is quite possible that the two women were sisters. Burke's occupation is listed as apothecary with the Royal Artillery. An apothecary was a medical chemist, which indicates that Burke had important skills for an early photographer. Ten months after the marriage, on November 4, John and Margaret Burke's first son, William Henry, was baptised at the church. By then, John Burke had left the army and joined W. Baker & Co. From all the evidence, he was principally employed as a photographer, though he is described in the baptism entry as a merchant.

How did John Burke get to Peshawar? He was probably younger than the 20 years stated in the marriage entry; later evidence suggests that he was born in 1843, making him 18 years old in 1861.[1] A late surviving relative recalled that John Burke was said to have been in India since before 1857, when he would have been around 14 years old.[2] It is reasonable to suppose that he had come to India as a boy and that his father, John Burke, died while in the army. At least three men named John Burke were buried in Peshawar or nearby cantonments before 1860 but none can be conclusively linked to the apothecary. He may even have been in the care of a relative. In the Mutiny Medal Roll of the 87th Regiment of Foot, right after Baker's name, appears that of one Michael Burke, deceased on May 28, 1860.[3]

The first of many unusual, in that they are corrected, church record entries in the lives of William Baker and John Burke is dated July 29, 1863. William Baker, a widower, remarried at the age of 30 at St. Michael's Church. The new bride was Elizabeth Parkhouse. Her age is not given. On February 26, 1864, a second entry states that they were married again and lists Elizabeth's age as 15 years, suggesting that she was underage at the time of the first marriage record. John Burke was the witness. Fifteen months later, on December 30, 1864, William and Elizabeth Baker's daughter Harriet Anne was baptised. She was the first of two daughters to die soon after birth in Peshawar.[4] William and Elizabeth Baker and John and Margaret Burke appear individually as witnesses to other marriages held at St. John's Church in the 1860s and 1870s, suggesting that their friendships crossed many segments of society.

It is not clear whether Baker or Burke took this photograph. Versions printed later were signed "819 Baker & Burke 818," the numbers referring to their catalogue (the second number refers to the middle shot of the panorama). On the basis of the number, it may be surmised that the photograph was taken as early as 1861, if not soon after St. John's Church was completed. W. G. Doyle & Co., the watchmakers whose sign appears near the middle of the photograph, had been in Peshawar since 1857.[5] The earlier the photograph, the more likely it is to have been taken by Baker, who signed most of the early photographs of Peshawar and other Frontier areas.

On the other hand, the rounded-top corners are typical of John Burke's photographs throughout his career. However, Burke could have modified a Baker photograph years later. Burke incorporated this photograph into his 1879 Afghan War catalogue under the title *General View of Peshawar, looking towards Khyber* (#G). At this early stage in their careers, it is also possible that the two men worked together closely, one of them shooting and the other printing photographs at different times.



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4 **"D. C. MacNabb's house. Peshawar"**
William Baker or John Burke?, Peshawar, NWFP, 1865–67
By permission of The British Library

Sir Donald Campbell MacNabb (1832–1913) was deputy commissioner in Peshawar from March 1865 until July 1867 (he is shown in photograph 13). He was one of the longest serving deputy commissioners in Peshawar and the first civilian to hold this post; a civilian would not serve again for a decade. The deputy commissioner was close to an absolute despot in his district. According to the *Gazetteer of the Peshawar District*, "Mr. (now Sir D.) MacNabb also acquired his reputation as a wise and experienced frontier officer in this district, of which he acquired a grasp which enabled him as Commissioner to deal so successfully with the reports of the Regular Settlement in 1868–1873."[1] Settlements allocated land and agricultural revenue to local feudal landlords who paid taxes to the British. MacNabb had served the previous decade in Rawalpindi and later became commissioner for both Peshawar and Rawalpindi divisions in the Punjab.

British society was dominated by the army, whose officers occupied most civil posts. The deputy commissioner of Peshawar was in charge of much of what constitutes the North-West Frontier, with the assistant commissioners of neighbouring districts—Mardan, Charsadda, Swabi and Nowshera—reporting to him. His purview spanned 2,000 miles of territory, almost half of which was cultivated. Over half a million people lived within his jurisdiction, 90 per cent of which were Muslims, 5 per cent were Hindus and perhaps 1 per cent each were Sikhs and Christians. Less than 0.5 per cent were Parsees but they ran many larger commercial establishments. Between 1868 and 1881 the population of the city of Peshawar increased by 2,000 persons to 77,000. Most of this was still concentrated in the old city, which remained a hub of trade between India and Central Asia. Gold worth Rs. 10 million flowed into Peshawar from Bokhara in Central Asia annually and the deputy commissioner could only extract his cut.

The new British cantonment with its 20,000 residents, mainly troops, was some distance from the old city. Neither a wall nor natural barriers surrounded it. The large houses had wide spaces between them. British civilians could live in the cantonment or outside it. However, safety was a big issue, especially in places like Peshawar. Everyone needed a *chaukidar*, guard, possibly with connections, to deter potential thieves. Tensions could run high. For example, a unique competitor to W. Baker the photographer was Rev. Isodore Loewenthal of the American Presbyterian Mission. He sold 10-by-12-in photographic prints of Attock, Murree and Peshawar through the newspapers.[2] Unfortunately, he became legendary when his own *chaukidar* accidentally shot him to death on the night of April 27, 1864, as he was prowling through his own garden. "Well done! Thou good and faithful servant!" the Peshawar chaplain added as a note, hopefully in jest, to the death record.[3]

A growing economic base supported merchants like W. Baker & Co. and the emergence of commercial photographers. By 1866 the firm had become the government's preferred auctioneers, selling "condemned stores, . . . [consisting] of accoutrements, harness, bamboos, packing . . . at 7 a.m. on the 25th instant."[4] Another time, they auctioned a "valuable collection of books."[5] In 1867 the firm was described in *Thacker's Indian Directory*—the annual register of commercial establishments and individuals in the Raj, which was listed by city—as "House and Commission Agent for Indian Carrying Co. and Punjab New Dak Co. Ltd." W. Baker & Co. represented these companies that served outlying British garrisons and hill-stations in the transportation of people, mail and baggage.[6] Baker was clearly not reluctant about pursuing new business opportunities.

Baker's wife, Elizabeth, is described in church records as a merchant; although she would have been young, she must have run one or more of his businesses. Elizabeth Baker also bore two sons: William John on August 18, 1866, and Charlie Frederick Parkhouse on February 7, 1868. John Burke witnessed both baptisms, the former at St. Patrick's Church in Rawalpindi and the latter at St. Michael's Church in Peshawar. In 1869, for the first time, two separate listings appear in *Thacker's Indian Directory* for W. Baker & Co., Photographers, and Baker & Co., General Merchants, suggesting that Baker may have run the former business and Elizabeth the latter.

The thick thatched roof on MacNabb's house was meant to help keep it cool during the hot, dry summers. Standing next to the bamboo blinds on the verandah, which is a word of Anglo-Indian origin, are the *punkawallahs*. They pulled the *punkahs*, huge fans, that kept the residents inside cool.

4

5 "Frontier Eleven at Peshawur 1865"
William Baker or John Burke?, Peshawar, NWFP, 1865–66
By permission of The British Library

One of the more interesting surviving albums from the period belonged to Henry Pelham Close, the scholarly looking man with a book in the front row of this photograph of the Frontier cricket group. Close was with the British army in India from 1851 until 1888, eventually serving as commandant of the Fourth Punjab Infantry. He was recognised for his actions during the Mahsud–Waziri Expedition of 1860, one of the first of many post-1857 campaigns to subdue Frontier tribes that refused to recognise British rule. He was wounded and "mentioned in dispatches"—a high military distinction—during the Ambela Campaigns of 1863 (photograph 9). However, an investigation was initiated on October 26 of that year when he was accused of sounding the advance without proper authority. He was acquitted when he showed that he was merely repeating Brig. Gen. Sir Neville Chamberlain's bugle calls. Close would serve with distinction in a number of future battles and wars on the Frontier before retiring as a colonel with the Bombay Staff Corps in 1888.

Close was himself an amateur photographer, yet many photographs in his albums reveal characteristics of the work of Baker or Burke, who probably took photographs in the hire of Close. Some are very similar to photographs later signed by Baker and incorporated into Baker & Burke's catalogue.[1]

Cricket was invented in the rural areas of 16th-century Britain. It became popular in the latter half of the 18th century and the Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) was opened in 1788. In 1813 the first match was played at Lloyds, the home of cricket, and the English County Championships began in 1873. The sport quickly followed the British to the subcontinent; it has long survived them. Once the privilege of the colonial elite, it is now the national sport in India and Pakistan, as popular today in villages around Peshawar as in the centre of the old city.

5

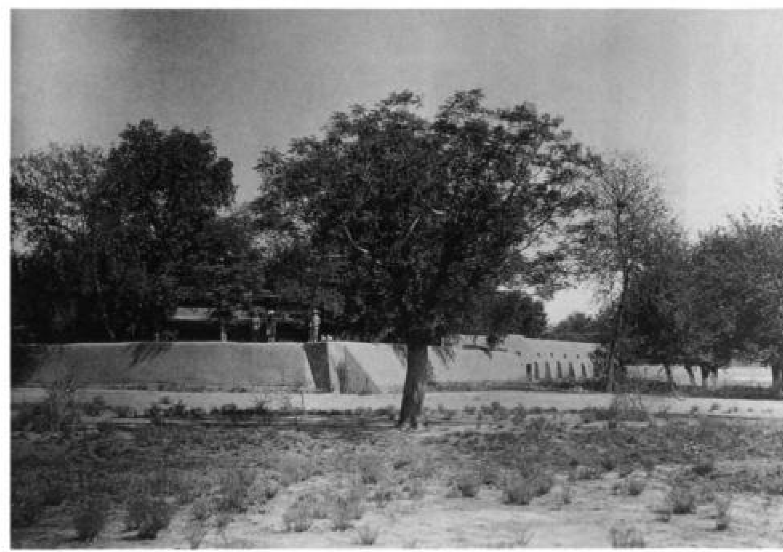
6 "Fyzoollah Khan, late Subadar 1st Punjab Infantry"
John Burke?, Peshawar?, NWFP, 1861–66
By permission of The British Library

Fyzoollah Khan was an army *subedar*, native officer, who served with Close. The native officers commanded their own battalions but remained under the authority of British commanding officers. They had different corresponding names for their ranks. This portrait and another in Close's album—the angles, the soft oval frame and the sharp focus on the face—suggest Burke was the photographer. Close's own photographs are often out of focus or have not been preserved as well as the larger format images in his album.

6

7 "Mardan. The Fort. Guides HQ"
John Burke #28 (unidentified series), Mardan, NWFP, 1864–79?
The Alkazi Collection of Photography

A very important military relationship for Baker and Burke dates to the 1860s, if not earlier. The Queen's Own Guides was originally raised in Peshawar in 1846 by Harry "Joe" Lumsden. Early recruits were primarily from the surrounding Yusufzai, Khattak and Mohammadzai tribes. Originally meant to exclude Sikhs, it later included them, as well as Gurkhas, Pathans and even Kaffirs. Gurkha regiments were established in the British army during the mid-19th century specifically for these Nepalese recruits who were known for their military prowess. "Kaffirs" are non-Muslims of obscure origins—some say descendants of Alexander



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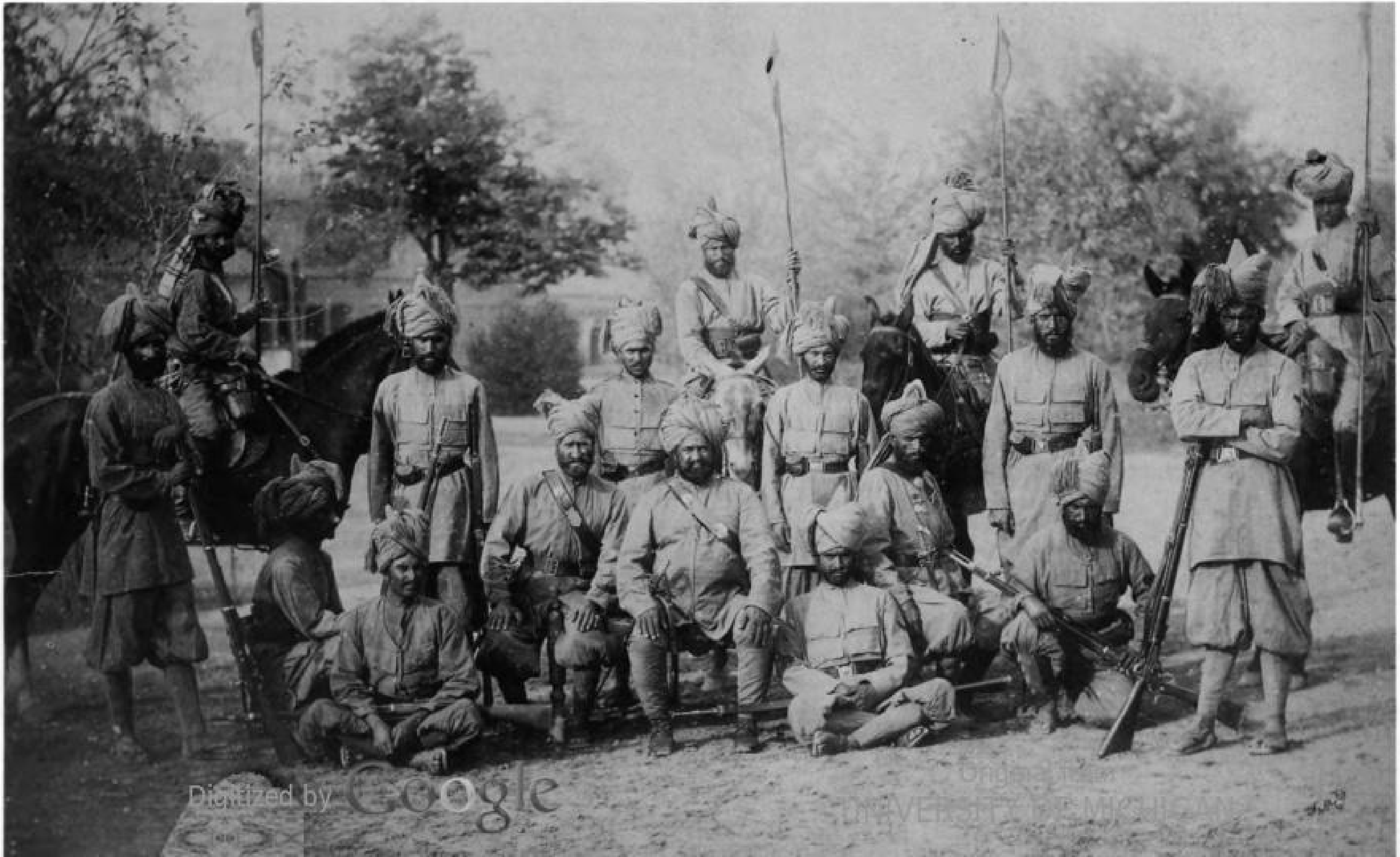
the Great's troops—now restricted to two remote valleys but who were once prevalent on the borders between British India and Afghanistan (photograph 79). The irregular Guides grew into one of the most decorated army units during the Raj, serving with great distinction in the Afghan Wars and many Frontier conflicts.

The Guides' Fort shown here was built in the shape of a five-pointed star in Mardan, often also called Hoti Mardan, 40 miles from Peshawar. Corps headquarters was shifted to Mardan in 1851 and the fort completed in 1854. During the war of 1857, the Guides marched 600 miles from Mardan to Delhi in 22 days during Ramadan in the heat of summer.[1] They went into action one hour after arrival. One of their heroes, Lt. Quintin Battye, fell that day on the ridge in Delhi, the first of many Battye brothers with the Guides to fall in the line of duty (photograph 64).

The Guides developed a reputation for doing things their own way, from selecting khaki uniforms that blended with their surroundings to investing extensive authority in local officers who brought their own men and arms with them. John Burke would later serve as official photographer to the Guides, visiting Mardan often over the course of four decades.

8 **"Guides Cavalry and Infantry 1/4/1870"**
William Baker, NWFP, April 1, 1870
By permission of The British Library



9 Stonehenge, Kutar Sung, near Nawakilla
William Baker #518, Mardan, NWFP, 1863
Courtesy of the Director, National Army Museum, London

The first known war photographed by Baker was called the Ambela Campaigns, named after the Ambela Pass, located on the road from Mardan into Swat State, which traverses Buner District. The campaigns refer to British battles in Mardan, Swabi and Mohmand districts—the bloodiest of 30 little-remembered conflicts that formed the borders of today's NWFP. Nearly 9,000 troops were involved in a mission to crush a group of "Hindustani Fanatics" who had taken refuge in Swat State since 1858 and refused to surrender.[1] In the ensuing operations the British suffered almost 1,000 casualties—the highest British losses in a tribal conflict until 1897.

Hindustan, a colloquial vernacular word, means land of the Hindus. Hindustani fanatic was a term assigned by the British to describe local people who fought against their rule.

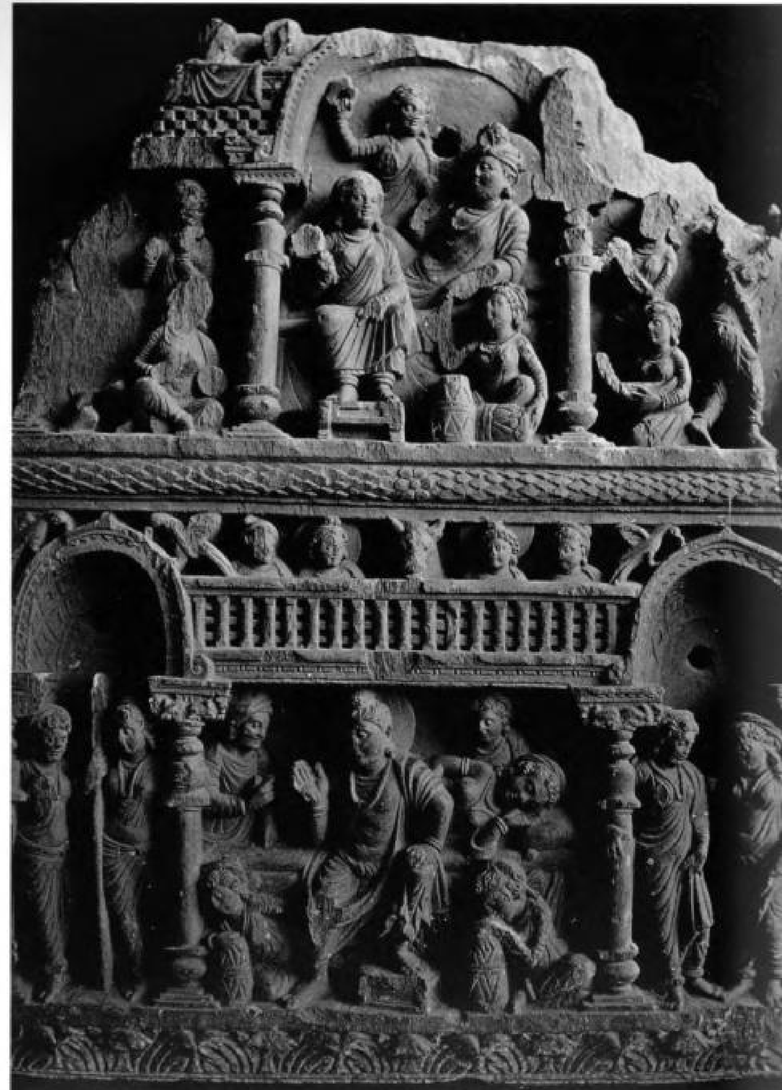
As part of his Ambela series (photograph 1), Baker took this shot of a place then known to the British as "Yusufzaie Stonehenge." It recalls the similar mysterious collection of prehistoric stones in England. The place is known today as Asota Megaliths, after a nearby village. Some of the stones have disappeared. According to legend, the slabs represent men turned to stone by God for having violated women at the spot. Archaeologists date the stones to the first century B.C.E., the little known Megalithic period when similar structures were built around the subcontinent.[2]

10 "Buddhist Objects"
John Burke?, NWFP, 1862–68
By permission of The British Library

Both Baker and Burke photographed archaeological discoveries in the Frontier from the start of their careers. Burke was attached at various times during the 1860s to the Archaeological Survey of India's branch office in Peshawar. The Archaeological Survey's task at this time was simply recording the presence of artifacts and collecting information on them.

This Buddha is an example of Gandharan Buddhist art dating roughly to 300 B.C.E. The Buddha had, three centuries earlier, founded one of the world's great religions whose adherents built an empire that at one time covered the entire Indian subcontinent. The Peshawar Valley was the hub of Gandharan art. Its fabulous sculptures blended classical Greek influences—by way of the Bactrian kingdom in Afghanistan founded by remnants of Alexander the Great's armies—and local traditions to create unique representational depictions of events in the Buddha's life.

Burke's relationship with the Archaeologial Survey must have given him the rights to sell the photographs he took for them. The Baker & Burke catalogue offered "Photographs of Antiquities in the Punjab." Burke was probably attached in a quasi-official way to the pioneering surveys made in the region by General Cunningham, the first director-general of the Archaeological Survey of India in the 1860s.



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11 **"Picnic at Takht-i-Bahi. Mardan"**
John Burke, Mardan, NWFP, 1866
By permission of The British Library

The British led a violent large-scale campaign of occupation. For a century, villages were razed to the ground and men executed, yet mixed together with this destructive force was a genuine interest in the inhabitants of the subcontinent. Some colonists became excavators of this past in ways that make their work today seem like a belated apology.

One example was Dr. Henry Walter Bellew (photograph 13), assistant surgeon of the Corps of Guides in Mardan. An accomplished scholar with "a faculty for learning languages,"[1] he wrote a number of important works on Afghan culture, linguistics and ethnology. During the Ambela Campaigns, he wrote *A General Report on the Yusufzais*. In the foreword, signed in Mardan on March 18, 1864, Bellew notes:

> *In September, however, disturbances having broken out on the frontier, the Corps of Guides moved out on service, and I was for the time being prevented from completing the work; but on conclusion of the war, and the return of the regiment to quarters on the 11th January, I at once resumed my original work.*[2]

Bellew pieced together the history of the region from local and historical sources. He provides a wealth of lineage information and details of the deaths at the Guides' Hospital, which he helped to establish in Mardan. He also participated in the renewed interest in the historical Buddhist substratum in the North-West Frontier and Afghanistan, which entailed the reinvestigation of huge silent monuments that dominated the countryside but were long devoid of worshippers.

A dozen miles from the Guides' Fort in Mardan are the monastery, assembly court and 38 stupas at Takht-i-Bahi. High on a hill, on one side they look toward the Peshawar plain and on the other toward the Malakand Pass and Swat Valley. They date to 100 C.E. and were abandoned after 500–600 years. One of the biggest Buddhist monasteries in the western subcontinent, it once housed statues of the Buddha that stood over 30 ft high. Tiny cells where monks lived and meditated formed much of the structure along with high vaulted underground chambers, kitchens, chapels, a large assembly hall and water tank. Houses up to three storeys high dot the surrounding hillsides. Bellew's book on the Yusufzai goes into so much detail on Takht-i-Bahi that one suspects he spent much time there:

> *One can imagine them [the monks] issuing from their chambers, crossing the intervening space to the gateway of the temple, traversing its passage, and ascending the steps into the courtyard of the temple; here, at the threshold, making their obeisance to the assembly of the gods; and then, ascending the platform, walking round its top repeating prayers and obeisances and sacrificing incense or offerings to each individually, and then retiring for meditation to the solemn and dark silence of their subterranean cells.*[3]

This photograph by John Burke shows Bellew and friends wandering among the ruins during a picnic. This series, from Bellew's own albums, was probably taken while Burke worked with the Archaeological Survey of India's office in Peshawar. He could have been here on official assignment or accompanying Bellew personally or commercially. Although Burke seems to have been a more extensive early archaeological photographer (photographs 48–50), Baker did not fall far behind. The great Buddhist Emperor Asoka (d. circa. 262 B.C.E.) carved edicts in stone all around India, which the British rediscovered. Baker photographed an early one of these not far from Mardan and called it *Buddhist Inscribed Rock at Shabazgurh*[4] after the village where it was found. Bellew, though he could not read it, transcribed every word.

Bellew later served as civil surgeon of Peshawar and was the interpreter during the durbar in 1869 between the British and the Afghan Amir Shere Ali in Amballa, Punjab (photographs 58–59). He also served as chief political officer—mediator between state and tribal authority—in Kabul during the Second Afghan War. He summarised his vast knowledge of Afghanistan in another important treatise, *The Races of Afghanistan*, and also wrote two books: *Afghanistan and the Afghans* and *Journal of a Political Mission to Afghanistan*.

One of Bellew's strengths was recording history through the oral narratives of the people around him. For example, he noted that the word *bahai* in Takht-i-Bahi means a tiny seasonal spring. He writes:

> *A curious tradition is current amongst the people of the country in connection with this "Bahai," to the effect that it communicates with the Indus by some underground channel, and that its waters are similarly affected with those of the "father of rivers." That is to say, when the Indus is clear and calm, so is the Bahai; when the Indus becomes flooded, and flows a stream of turbulent muddy waters, the Bahai is agitated by a whirlpool, and overflows its brim. It is even added that large timbers are sometimes found whirling in its eddy, and are thrown out on the plain!*[5]

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12 "Bazaar. Peshawur"

William Baker, Peshawar, NWFP, 1870
By permission of The British Library

In the spring of 1870, Lord Mayo, viceroy of India during 1869–72, visited Peshawar and the Frontier. This visit called for a special photographic series. In Baker & Burke's catalogue one whole page offered eight "Groups illustrative of Lord Mayo's late visit to Peshawur."

Also taken during the visit was this early photograph of the Peshawar bazaar. Like the group shots with Lord Mayo at Jamrud (photograph 13), they would have required serious organisational efforts on the part of the photographer. People in the foreground would have had to have been kept still for many seconds to permit a sharp image. Horses, however, could not be controlled and left most of the ghostly blurs on the image.

When imperial rule began in 1858, the viceroy was designated as the Crown's representative in India and he also assumed the title of governor-general, which had been the head of the East India Company in India. The chain of command became the commander-in-chief to the viceroy and governor-general to the secretary of state for India in London, who reported to the prime minister and Parliament.

Richard Southwell Bourke, Sixth Earl of Mayo, was born in Ireland in 1822 and educated at Trinity College in Dublin. He served as chief secretary for Ireland in 1852, 1858 and 1866 and became viceroy of India on January 12, 1869. He seems to have been a very popular figure: "Lord Mayo's personality, his great presence, his genial and dignified bearing, impressed all who came into contact with him," concluded the *Dictionary of Indian Biography* in a rare statement of personal praise. His policies in India included decentralising finances and strengthening the public works, irrigation, railway and forestry departments. He opened a school to educate Indian heirs to feudal thrones. In foreign policy he helped calm the situation with Afghanistan through his meeting with the Afghan ruler in Amballa (photograph 59)[1].

13 Lord Mayo and Party, at Fort Jumrood

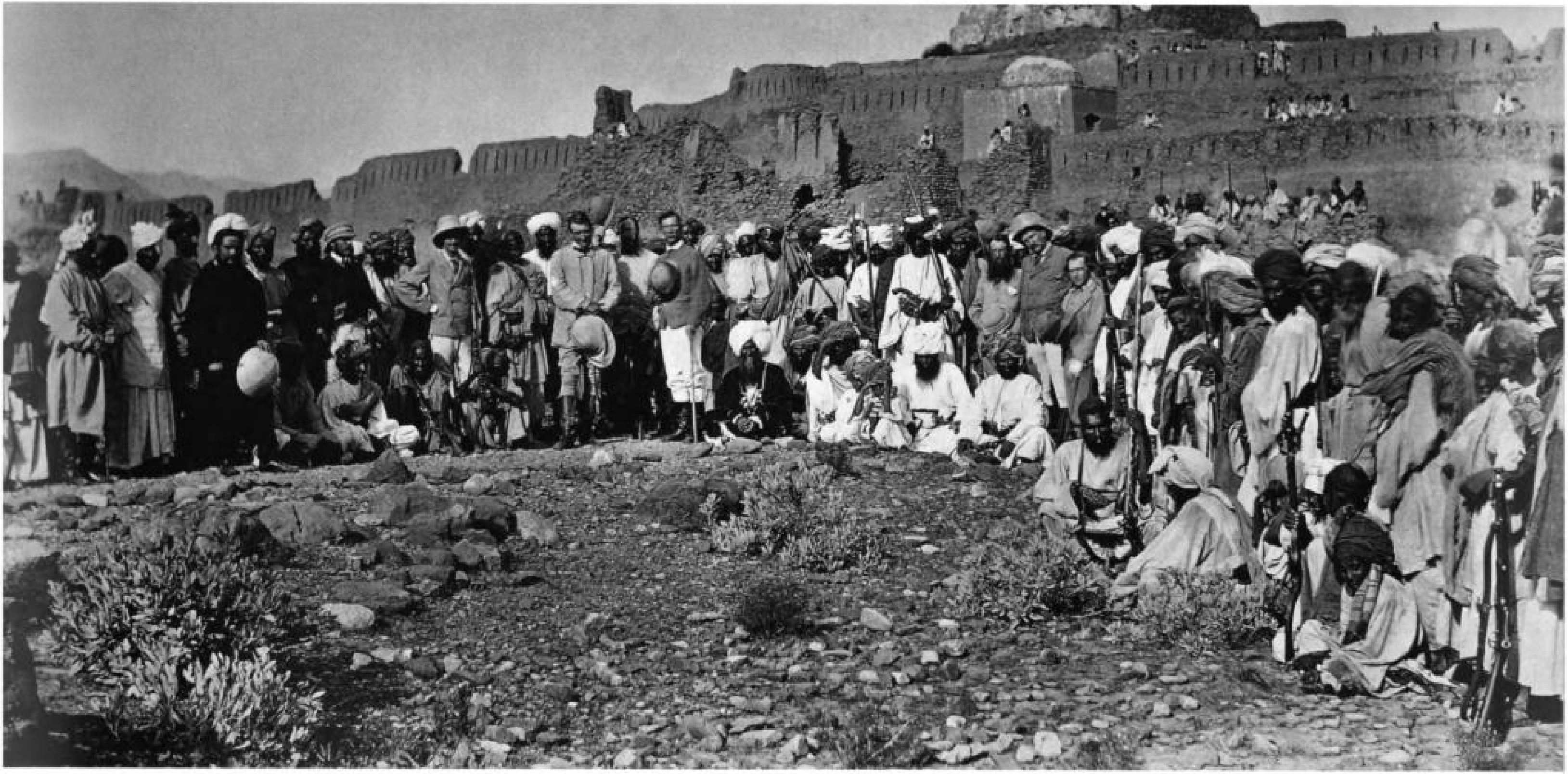
William Baker #4 or #5 (Lord Mayo's Visit series), Peshawar, NWFP, 1870
By permission of The British Library

Lord Mayo is in the centre, wearing the big hat. Dr. Bellew is to his left and seems to have his hand on a gun. Capt. Richard Pollock is wearing a small hat. Deputy Commissioner MacNabb is standing under the dome with his head tilted to the side. Next to him is Mr. Thornton of the Indian Civil Service.

Jamrud Fort was built by the Sikh governor of Peshawar, Hari Singh, in 1836. After the British occupied it, they used it to mount campaigns in the Frontier and Afghanistan and designated it a toll collection point for the Khyber Pass. In 1878 the Khyber Rifles militia was raised to protect British troops on the Frontier and Jamrud Fort became its headquarters.

Lord Mayo survived his visit to Peshawar but a few months later when he was visiting the Andaman Islands, a British penal colony, he was spectacularly assassinated by a Pathan. The convict Shere Ali hid and waited along an island pathway, then ran a great distance, and in a daring knife attack, stabbed Lord Mayo at an isolated spot when he was alone. Shere Ali had been a prized aide to Captain Pollock before he was jailed in a Peshawar murder case debated at length in the British Indian press. A number of writers excused Lord Mayo's murder as an inevitable response to a violation of the Pathan code of honour. Shere Ali had been trying for years to convince the authorities to review his case.

The irony is that Lord Mayo was the most sympathetic of all viceroys to the local Indian population, yet due to his early demise, he held one of the briefest tenures.



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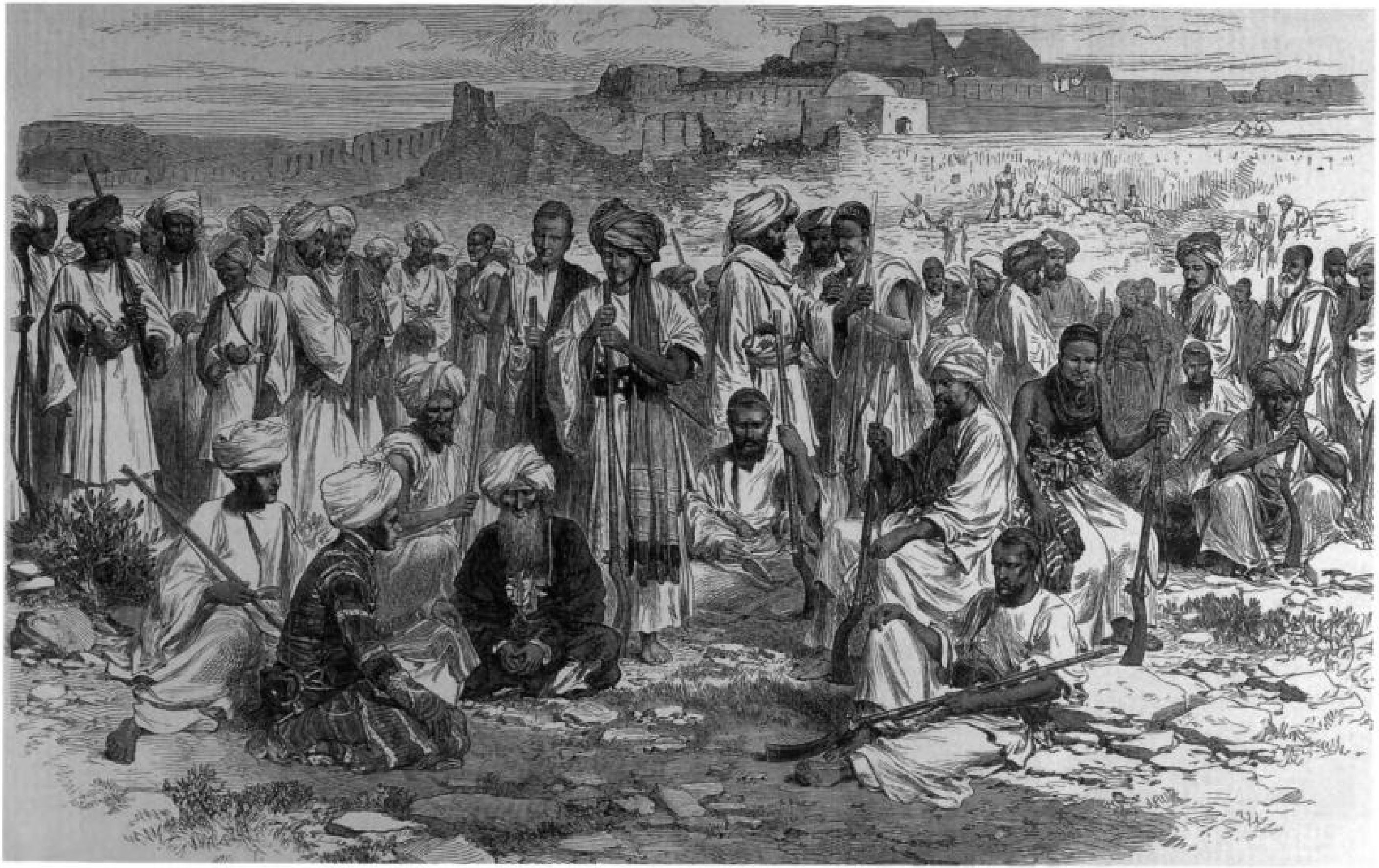

14

14 Wild Afreedees and Khyberees at Peshawur during Lord Mayo's Visit
Wood engraving from a photograph by William Baker, Jamrud Fort, NWFP
Illustrated London News, *June 18, 1870*

In the 1860s a cheap, effective way to mass-produce a photograph had yet to be invented. Photographs that did appear in books had been pasted onto the pages by hand. It was not until the 1890s that the half-tone process became popular and photographs began to appear regularly in print publications.

Until then, engravings, lithographs and etchings were used to mass-produce images. With engravings, a scene was cut into a wooden block by an artist. His job was to make incisions to govern the flow of ink on the paper print that was struck from the block. The more varied the incisions in both direction and depth, the more areas of shadow and light could be represented, and the richer the resulting product. The effect was much the same as dots per inch is to printers today. The more dots per inch, the more exact and three dimensional an image appears.

The illustrated weeklies embraced photography as a source for images. Photographs from India were regularly appearing as engravings in British and American weeklies by 1857. To emphasise their authenticity, engravings were touted as having been made from photographs. John Burke's photographs of temples in Kashmir were published as engravings in the *Illustrated London News* on March 15, 1870 (photograph 49). Three months later, this engraving from a photograph by Baker was published. It had probably been taken the same day as the photograph with Lord Mayo. In the words of the *Illustrated London News:*

> *We now present another Illustration, from a photograph by Mr. Baker, of Peshawur, which represents some groups of wild Afreedees and Khyberees, natives of the neighbouring hill country, who had flocked into the town, perhaps to share the festivities and admire the grand shows, or perhaps in hope of gain. They employed themselves by shooting at a mark to exhibit their skill, and some officers of the Viceregal suite entered into competition with them, beating them easily, as might be expected, with more scientific practice in the use of a superior weapon. The people of the Khyber Pass, which begins at the Kadam Caves, only ten miles from Peshawur, and extends above thirty miles through the mountains to the plain of Jellalabad, are a bold and active race of highlanders, fond of predatory warfare. It will be remembered that they inflicted terrible losses upon the British army in its hurried retreat from Cabool, nearly thirty years ago.*[1]

According to the assistant commissioner of Peshawar in the early 1870s, G. R. Elsmie, who officiated as magistrate for the district, his principal work was criminal murder cases: "I believe that one hundred murders have been reported in this district (Peshawur) alone, this year. The people, though well disposed towards us, are very lawless, and they have blood-feuds which last for generations." [2] Elsmie, who was a great admirer of Bellew —"a first-rate man in every way, and with all his attainments and knowledge charms me by his modesty"—[3] later penned a book himself, which he called *Crime and Criminals in the Peshawar Division*[4] and dedicated to Sir Donald MacNabb. There he calculated that Peshawar accounted for 3 per cent of the Punjab's population and over one-third of all murders.[5] The main cause for murder, according to him, were conflicts around women's honour or dishonour and disputes about water and land.

Sir Robert Baden-Powell, who later founded the Boy Scouts, also served extensively on the Frontier. In his book *Memories of India*[6] he wrote:

> *I remember sitting on the ramparts of Fort Jamrud, at the entrance to the Khyber Pass, on a calm and peaceful evening. Suddenly the crack of a rifle echoed round the neighbouring cliffs, followed by another and another.*
>
> *"What is up?" I inquired in some excitement.*
>
> *"Oh, it is only that the women from that village over there are going down to the stream to get water. The other village is firing at them: they do it almost every day. You see, there is a longstanding feud between them. They have been at it for years."*
>
> *"It was characteristic of the country that these villages, only about a mile or two apart, though both were under British protection, were always banging away at each other. Sunk paths had been dug by both to their respective water supplies for the protection of water-carriers, and their daily work was constantly carried out under fire.*
>
> *Fort Jamrud stood by like a policeman, watching but not interfering unless they actually broke the law.*[7]

15. The Mall and Forest, From Fir Hill, looking South *John Burke #936, Murree, Punjab, 1861–63, Michael Wilson Collection*

CHAPTER 2

THE MOVE TO MURREE

The sanitarium of Murree lies . . . at an elevation of 7,517 feet above sea level and contains a standing population of 1,768 inhabitants, which is, however, enormously increased during the season by the influx of visitors and their attendant servants, and shop-keepers. It is the most accessible hillstation in the Punjab, being distant from Rawalpindi only a five hours journey by tonga dak. Magnificent views are obtained in the spring of the snow crowned mountains of Kashmir; and the gorgeous sunset and cloud effects seen daily during the rains.[1]

From the very first days of British rule in Peshawar, the troops were looking for another location to escape the heat, disease and dangers of the Frontier capital. Murree seemed like the perfect choice. Nearly 200 miles away, high on a hillside spur at the edge of the Himalayas, the "sanitarium," as it was first known, was founded in 1851 to restore the health of troops in Peshawar. The name *Murree* apparently comes from the word *marhi*, a place at a high altitude, in a local dialect.[2] By 1858 Baker's 87th Regiment was regularly sending its men to Murree to convalesce. By then, a branch office of the Simla Bank had opened on the Mall, the winding road connecting the two edges of the hill-station, as these elevated retreats were called by the British throughout India. The south side of the Mall overlooked the plains and Rawalpindi and 5 miles to the north it faced the mountains of Kashmir. The military built camps along the Mall. Missionaries captured the choicest hilltops to build schools and churches. The most important person in the district was the assistant commissioner, whose job was to mediate between the many interested parties, from the army to merchants to local villagers who lived on the hillsides. One commissioner wrote in April 1863:

Sir Robert [Montgomery, lieutenant-governor of the Punjab] took frequent opportunities during our visit to Government House to lecture me on the duties of Assistant Commissioner of Murree. He takes great interest in the station, and is very anxious that the European proprietors and residents should dwell peaceably together and not fight with the Assistant. The appointment requires a good deal of "firmness and tact," says Sir R. So I trust I shall not be found wanting; but, from all accounts, there are a good many conflicting elements to reconcile.[3]

It is still said that the East India Company bought the land that comprised Murree for Rs. 50 from a local rajah. The rajah, who could not tolerate what he considered to be lack of modesty on the part of the foreign invader, gave half the money back to the British officer and requested him to buy enough cloth to cover the face and legs of his wife.

During the war of 1857, the British garrison in Murree was attacked on the night of September 2. Numerous British women were concentrated at the hill-station when about 300 men, largely drawn from the local Dhund tribe, gathered. Hakim Khan, an attendant to the wife of Sir Henry Lawrence, the first British head of the Punjab Board of Administration, warned the British of an impending attack. This allowed Assistant Commissioner Lt. Quintin Battye to organise a surprise counter-attack. Mr. Thornton, the commissioner of Rawalpindi Division (photograph 13), was able to arrive with reinforcements from Rawalpindi. In the ensuing battles, 11 villages around Murree were destroyed and 15 men were hung.

The following decade brought boom years to Murree. Officers and bureaucrats built rambling Victorian mansions on hillsides culled from forests. Murree became the summer headquarters of the Punjab government in Lahore for five months each year, offering bands, theatre and sport to its residents. The prizewinning Murree Brewery opened. Local affairs were controlled by a handful of civil officials, officers from the Bengal Staff Corps, church associates and merchants; many of them would intermarry. William Baker was one of the founding fathers of Murree and he served on its municipal committee. John Burke would become one of its most prominent, popular and one day notorious citizens.

16 **General View from Pindee point**
John Burke #431, Murree, Punjab, 1861–64
Ken and Jenny Jacobson Collection

Baker opened his Peshawar business and the branch office in Murree during the same year. The Murree office is actually shown in this photograph, a shot of the general view of Murree offered in Baker & Burke's catalogue. The signs read "W. Baker & Co., Commission Agent, Auctioneer, Wine and General Merchant" and "W. Baker & Co. Agent, Murree Brewery." The third small sign after the firm's name is illegible, though one of the words could be "Photographist." The building was located on the Mall, 2 miles from the main bazaar area.

The firm's numbering scheme (see chapter 4) and other evidence indicate that this photograph was probably taken in 1861. It is an early signed photograph by John Burke, part of a series taken in Murree during the winter. Many of the firm's early photographs of Murree in the summer are signed by Baker; those taken during the winter tend to be signed by Burke. Burke might have been responsible for the firm's initial Murree operations. He may have stayed during one winter, though few Europeans did and British stores were usually closed. Another possibility is that Burke visited Murree late in 1861 from Rawalpindi, 40 miles away. The firm's three branches, and the fact that shots in any location could be signed by either Baker or Burke, suggest that the two men shared duties and travelled regularly between offices.

William Baker was one of the 16 founding members of the Murree Municipal Committee in 1867. Other members included "the Deputy Commissioner as President, Assistant Commissioner in charge of Murree as Vice-President and Secretary, the Officer Commanding the Depot, Civil Surgeon, Medical Officer . . . and four [members] elected by the residents."[1] Baker was, with Mr. F. Long, chemist, one of two merchant members elected to the committee. The others were officials in either the civilian or military apparatus. It was not until a new municipal act was passed for the Punjab in 1885 that the first elected non-European residents of Murree were able to join the committee.

The municipal committee allocated land outside military areas to those who wished to purchase it. Britishers could buy land at Rs. 50 per acre with a minimum of 2 acres; applications for the purchase of land by Indians were regularly turned down. Even as late as 1913, no Indian owned a house in the primary station area.[2] British landowners imported fruits from Europe and planted them on their properties; some, like strawberries, are still grown and sold in the local markets. The committee was also regularly involved in keeping the military from expropriating public land at no cost.

The municipality budget depended on income from taxes levied on timber grown within municipality limits, conservancy (or sanitation, Rs. 1 per 90 days), grass taxes[3] and a 3 per cent tax on house rentals. The municipality also ran four tennis courts:

> *The ground is property of the Municipality, but is used by what is styled "The Murree Lawn-tennis and Badminton club". Any one is entitled to play, on payment of a subscription, particulars regarding which can be obtained from the Honorary Secretary. One evening in the week a military band attends, and refreshments are supplied.*[4]

Opportunities for community affairs were ample. The Murree Dispensary, for example, was funded to the tune of over Rs. 4,000 by donations ranging from Rs. 100 (Lt.-Gov. Sir Donald MacLeod) to Rs. 16 (Reverend Phelps) to Rs. 10 (W. Baker, Esq.).[5]

The municipal land records do not indicate that Baker owned this building, which means he would have rented it for perhaps a few hundred rupees a month. The fact that he had secured a seat on the municipal committee, and that W. Baker & Co. was acting as agent for important companies like Indian Carrying Co., Punjab New Dak Co. and the newly established Murree Brewery, suggests that his was a leading early business in Murree and that he would have been able to afford the rent.

By 1869, if not earlier, the photographic arm of W. Baker & Co. also became the official photographer to the lieutenant-governor of the Punjab. This was surprising considering that the firm did not have an office in Lahore, the capital of the province. Apparently, the firm was able to earn this coveted title based on the work done during the limited period of the lieutenant-governor's annual summer sojourn in Murree. Certainly, the albums of the British elite in the Punjab, many of whom spent time in Murree during the summer, are filled with photographs by Baker and Burke showing that the firm had a solid customer base.

17 **The "Hope", Natural Arch on the Mall, Winter**
John Burke #494, Murree, Punjab, 1861–64
Ken and Jenny Jacobson Collection

This is another early photograph by Burke. Note the carefully signed name—Burke's later signatures were usually simpler and quicker. The Europeans standing in the foreground are probably his family and friends. Various assistants are visible standing next to a camera tripod and a photographer's chest, which carried plates and chemicals. They testify to the extraordinary physical exercise demanded by early photography, even with help from a flock of assistants.

The photograph's title may refer to the fact that here the Mall makes a natural bend. The house was once known as The Hope. It was owned by the Roman Catholic Church and was located across the street from the Catholic chapel, which in the 1870s became the Church of Our Lady of Sorrows. The actual name of the property in the Murree Land Register was Nutwood. It was built by Lieutenant Dawson of His Majesty's Seventh Fusiliers in 1851.[1] Though Burke could not have known it in 1861, towards the end of the next decade his studio would be housed in Nutwood and critical events in his life would unfold there.

Since 1911, Nutwood has been home to the Presentation Convent. Nuns still trickle in from Europe and Australia to run an elementary school on the premises for children of Pakistan's elite. One of Burke's distant relatives is a sister of the Presentation Order in New Zealand. She once applied for permission to be assigned here. Her request was denied on the grounds that, as the daughter of an army officer, she was too accustomed to a luxurious colonial lifestyle and would not be able to adjust to the spartan life inside the convent.[2]

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18 **The Bazar [*sic*] and Church, from Barracks**
Baker & Burke #429?, Murree, Punjab, 1865–68
The Alkazi Collection of Photography

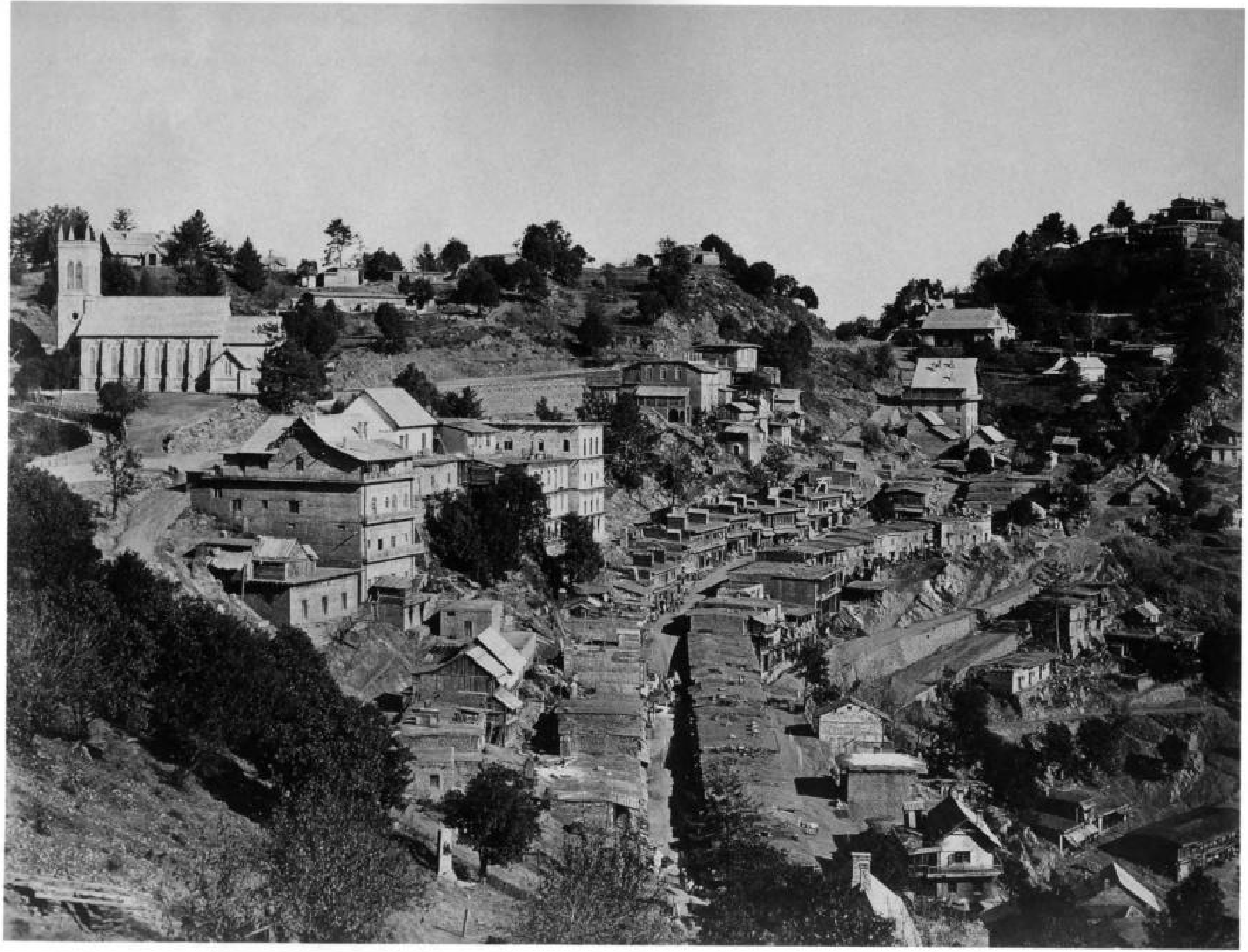
This photograph shows the heart of Murree. Its layout is strikingly similar to other hill-stations, particularly Simla. As in the case of the Peshawar cantonment (photograph 3), spatial organisation mirrors political structure. The Anglican Holy Trinity Church is the crown of the hill-station. Alongside and just beneath it runs the Mall. Across the Mall from the church are the European or Parsee-owned stores; "and beneath, on the steep hill side, is the native *bazaar*."[1] Until 1947 when the subcontinent gained independence from Britain, and India and Pakistan were formed as separate countries, access to the Mall was restricted at various times of the day for non-Europeans.

The bazaar was not laid out on sanitary principles. Outhouses behind the European stores were located just above local stores. The importance of hygiene and drainage was not fully recognised by the slow-moving bureaucracy until later in the century, despite the best efforts of some enlightened officials. Cholera epidemics "visited" Murree in 1868, 1872, 1875, 1877, 1878 and 1879.[2] The fear of disease pervaded the lives of the residents. Murree was safer, cooler and more beautiful than Peshawar but not quite a sanitarium.

The first entry in the church's record book is dated March 3, 1852, by Rev. R. B. Malthy. The first baptism took place on May 27, 1855. A dozen or more marriages were solemnised each season. A major topic of debate within the diocese of Calcutta was whether marriages could take place after 12:00 M., which was held to be against Scripture but more comfortable. After some thought, headquarters decided "that the Clergy need feel no hesitation in continuing the present practice of afternoon marriages, sanctioned by such long usage and justified by the necessities of climate."[3]

A little farther ahead on the Mall, as it turns out of view in the photograph, is where the main post office would be built. Sometime in the 1860s, W. Baker & Co. moved its studio from Pindi Point to a building later known as "Baker's Buildings" right across from the post office. The following decade, John Burke would live and run his own studio from a building called Kinturk, which replaced the structure visible on the far hillside to the left of the Mall at the top of the photograph. It was diagonally across from and looked down on Baker's Buildings.

A number of buildings in the photograph—including the church and the main buildings right across from it—still stand today. Civil issues like deforestation and water supply also remain major concerns 150 years later. One of the first municipal committee rules was to restrict the cutting of wood; similar exhortations are made regularly today. Water has been a problem from the time of Murree's very establishment. Municipal committee income in 1867 of Rs. 11,000 per year was judged insufficient to accept a loan of Rs. 60,000 to construct a new water supply scheme.[4] One was finally built in 1892 but the tens of thousands of people who today arrive daily from the Punjab during the summer have long since exhausted its supplies.



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19 The Retreat, (Winter)

William Baker #495, Murree, Punjab, 1861
The Alkazi Collection of Photography

This photograph shows the Murree Club, known as the Club, the social centre of hill-station life. It was probably taken from the church. *The Club House from the Church* (#445) in the Baker & Burke catalogue may be another smaller version of this photograph. Another view of the Club was taken later in the decade by John Burke (photograph 124.)

20 "Fifty members of the Murree Club 1865"

William Baker or John Burke, Murree, Punjab, 1865
By permission of The British Library

Many of the men who founded Murree, or were among its leading citizens, are in this photograph. Most of the determined looking men were army officers. The cloth backdrop and striped cloth of the foreground are familiar Baker studio props from other photographs. Baker may well be in the photograph, in which case it was probably taken by Burke (who might have been too young—in other words, not prominent enough at the age of 22—to join the Club) or an assistant. Note the hats, which nearly every man wore in those days. Beards and long sideburns were also in high fashion.

Among the men in the picture is E. L. Brathwaite, lieutenant-governor of the Punjab, seated to the left of centre with the white sideburns and stick in his hand. He was apparently fond of croquet, a popular sport at the hill-station; Baker or Burke took a number of photographs of him and friends as they engaged in this pastime at the lieutenant-governor's residence Pinnacle Hill (photograph 23).

One of the seated men next to him might be Col. Frank Powell, retired, of the Bengal Staff Corps, whose family members would become the town's biggest landholders and its first family for a century. His son John Powell, probably also in the photograph, was a member of the municipal committee for 70 years—from 1867 until his death in 1937—and owned three hotels and 24 houses. One of his hotels, the Viewforth Hotel, which overlooked the Mall (roughly opposite of the angle from photograph 18), was once the Junior Murree Club. When John Powell died, thousands were at his funeral.[1] He had returned to England a year earlier but could not bear being away from Murree. He came back to spend his final days at the hill-station.

Asst. Commissioner G. R. Elsmie, House Agent W. H. Holman and George Housden of the Revenue Survey and later of the Survey of India are probably also present. Housden was a Revenue Surveyor, first grade, entitled to a published salary of Rs. 500 per month (servants could be employed for less than Rs. 1 per month). Housden, who was among the first settlers, joined the Revenue Survey in 1847. He soon became a major landlord and was elected to the municipal committee. Deputy Postmaster G. Davies, Assistant-in-Charge W. Green of the Electric Telegraph (connected around 1864), Lt. Col. W. Olpherts, who was the commander of the depot, Rev. J. K. Stuart of the Holy Trinity Church and merchants like S. H. Clarke and W. Rowbury of Rowbury's Hotel are probably present, too. Frederick Volkers, an apothecary in the medical department of the British army who left the service to settle down as meat provisioner in Murree and who ran "The Piggery" as the pork butcher, could be present unless he was not of the right class.[2] Frederick Hopkins, another major landlord who later became chairman of the Holy Trinity Church board and John Burke's future father-in-law (photograph 88), is probably pictured as well.

The Club was critical to the health of any hill-station. Here boredom was finely whittled away with parties, plays, friends, croquet and fine dining. A handsome entrance fee kept those below a certain income level from joining. According to *A Guide to Murree*:

> *This Club is most suitable for bachelors. Members are elected by ballot, the entrance fee being Rs. 100, and the monthly subscription fee Rs. 10, while the member is in Murree. The Club has lately been registered as a Limited Company under the Indian Companies Act. The building contains 30 sets of bedrooms, reading, dining, card and billiard rooms. The Club also has a library replete with books to suit all tastes. Wives of absent members can obtain books as they require them; this is the only library at present in Murree. Members can also obtain oilman's stores, wines, beer and spirits from the Club. Close to the Club is a covered-in racket court, the property of the Club, and open to members only. A great deal of play goes on throughout the season.*[3]

Music frequently entertained the residents at the Club's dance parties. As the guide claims, "Murree is more fortunate than most hill stations in regard to music. Last year there were three bands, all excellent."[4]

21 "The Lawrence Asylum Murree"
Baker & Burke #453?, Murree, Punjab, 1861–64
By permission of The British Library

Sir Henry Montgomery Lawrence (1806–57) was one of the most formidable figures in the early British history of the Punjab. Born in Ceylon in 1806, he joined the Bengal Artillery in 1823 and saw service during the First Afghan War and later during the Sikh wars of the 1840s. During this period, he was already advocating asylums in the hills for the children of deceased European soldiers.[1] He funded them from his own salary. Although Lawrence was the first British resident at Lahore in 1847, and he had been instrumental in defeating the Sikhs during the Second Sikh War, he initially opposed annexation of the Punjab because he thought it would not benefit its people.[2] He was nonetheless appointed the first head of the province as president of the board of administration in April 1849.

Henry Lawrence's principles guided many of the first officials in the province. These combined tremendous firmness, honesty, compassion and an evangelical zeal, which animated many of the early British administrators in the Punjab and the Frontier, including John Nicholson, Harry "Joe" Lumsden (who founded the Guides), James Abbott (of Abbottabad) and Herbert Edwardes (of Edwardes College in Peshawar). Lawrence helped Gulab Singh take over Kashmir (photograph 34). When asked by the maharajah how the British always won their battles, he responded by writing the mystical Latin letters "I.H.S." on a piece of paper; in English they meant "Jesus Saviour of Men."[3] Lawrence helped choose the unique loose uniforms for the Guides; on April 9, 1851, the Punjab Board of Administration drew up the document forming the "Murree Sanitarium Committee," the forerunner to the Murree Municipal Committee. Lawrence's foresight helped prepare the defences of Lucknow in 1857. He himself, however, died there on July 4, two days after being severely wounded in battle. He was conscious long enough to write his own epitaph: "Here lies Henry Lawrence, who tried to do his duty."[4] Lawrence himself wrote a series of books, two of which concern his life as an "adventurer in the Punjab."[5]

The Lawrence Asylum in Murree was founded in 1860 by public subscriptions in memory of Sir Henry. Two more Lawrence Asylums were also built in his honour at hill-stations in Kussolie and Sanawar. "An essential principle of the Institution is to make children do as much as they can for themselves," wrote the *Gazetteer*, as only in this way would they become "independent members of society":[6]

> *The object is to provide for the orphans and other children of soldiers, serving or having served in India, a refuge from the debilitating effects of a tropical climate, and to furnish an asylum wherein a plain, practical education, adapted to the condition of its inmates, may be obtained, and where, by Divine blessing, soldiers' children may be trained to become useful and intelligent members of society, and, above all, consistent Christians.*[7]

The asylums were initially supported by an inadequate government grant and public donations. They also owed their survival to the Catholic missionaries who ran them. As the *Pioneer*, a newspaper in Allahabad, explained:

> *When the future historian comes to sum up the history of the present time, and refers to Christian missions in India . . . he must make allowance for one of the greatest difficulties and drawbacks that ever fell upon a body of moral teachers. We mean that, unless he preaches to natives, as only comparatively a few ministers in India do, he seldom has a congregation of poor people. It is different with the Catholic priest. He, somehow, seems to have a touchstone for getting to the very poorest, but the Protestant clergyman or missionary has a different class of people to deal with. Can it be wondered if his heart sinks within him, and if he says, as Mr. Spurgeon once said—and a better thing he never said—"May the Lord preserve us from respectability"?*[8]

Lawrence Asylum became the biggest of the handful of missionary schools on Murree's hillsides. Despite the asylum's growth, only whites were welcome. An 1871 advertisement specifies that even candidates for a teaching position must be of "pure European heritage only."[9] In the early 1890s almost 100 boys and girls each were studying there. Segregation was slowly relaxed during the 20th century. Since 1947 the students of what is today Lawrence College have been almost exclusively Pakistani. It is one of the country's elite educational institutions; a number of its students are children whose parents are working abroad.

This photograph was taken from Pindi Point; behind the second ridge the hills descend towards the plains of the Punjab. The taller hill on the right side of the spur, with a small building on top, has been shaved off to make room for a flat sports field and cricket ground. The house on the lower hill, the tiny wooden faculty residence known as Briar Cottage, still stands, quite untouched by time.

21

22 **"Punjab. Murree Brewery"**

John Burke?, Murree, Punjab, 1864–76
By permission of The British Library

Just as the Murree Club provided for the social health of the hill-station, the Murree Brewery provided for its economic health. Established in 1860 with capital of Rs. 200,000, the main building in the foreground was completed the following year. The building above it was completed by 1870. The man standing next to the tree may be E. Dyer, the general manager in the early 1860s, or W. Whymper, the long-time head of the brewery after him.

The Murree Brewery became the largest employer in the area. For many decades it generated much of the regular traffic on the Murree–Rawalpindi Road. A private limited company with shares traded across India, much of its early capital came from retirees. Product was exported throughout the Punjab and northern British India. Its malt and ales were widely respected. In 1867 one of its beers was awarded a silver medal at the World Fair in Brussels, Belgium.

The brewery was actually located in Gora Galli, on the other side of a hill near the Lawrence Asylum and a few miles before Murree proper. Its premises became a community fixture of considerable importance. The assembly room was used for theatre shows and meetings of the municipal committee and the local Freemason lodge, "Stewart." Although Burke was not a Freemason, in the coming years whenever the Freemasons had need of a photograph, they would call for John Burke. Sometimes the request would appear explicitly in the chapter order to commission a photograph.[1]

According to the *Gazetteer*, the brewery took off after the government awarded it a permanent license in 1870 to supply troops in the Murree cantonment. Subscribed capital rose to Rs. 300,000. Production rose to 24,000 barrels a year. "Four Europeans, 16 office staff and Printing Press, and 260 native workmen" were employed.[2] Branches were opened in distant Baluchistan on the south-east border of Afghanistan in 1886 and in Rawalpindi in 1889. Malt was acquired from Hazara and Peshawar districts; hops from Europe, California, Australia and an experimental garden in Kashmir. W. Baker & Co. was one of a number of brewery agents in Murree, Rawalpindi and Peshawar in the early 1860s.

The Murree Brewery Co. continued to flourish. In 1947 the brewery, shown here, was owned by a Hindu family. It was set on fire during communal disturbances that destroyed many Murree properties. Today it remains in ruins. The company shifted its headquarters to Rawalpindi and continues its operations in Quetta, Baluchistan. Due to the prohibition law currently enforced for Muslims in Pakistan, the Parsee-owned firm supplies non-Muslims inside the country and is apparently looking towards overseas opportunities.

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23 **"Murree"**

William Baker #426, Murree, Punjab, 1861–64
By permission of The British Library

About halfway along the Mall lies the property of Durdens, home of the Younghusbands. The caption to this photograph in Clara Emily Younghusband's album reads: "View of Durdens. You enter by a little bridge. A little bridge leads to the cook's house at back."[1] Like most properties in Murree, it was given a name that reminded its owners of their homeland. Among the houses built in the first flush of British conquest were Fairfields, Dovecot, Pinnacle Hill, Strawberry Bank and Spur Cottage. The latter, near Durdens, stands among a thick clump of trees from which several sepoys were hung in 1857. Behind Durdens, the Mall stretches up to Kashmir Point. In the distant trees lies Pinnacle Hill, the lieutenant-governor's residence, also known as Government House. This is now a summer retreat for Pakistan's rulers. Today, the whole area along the Mall toward Kashmir Point is forested.

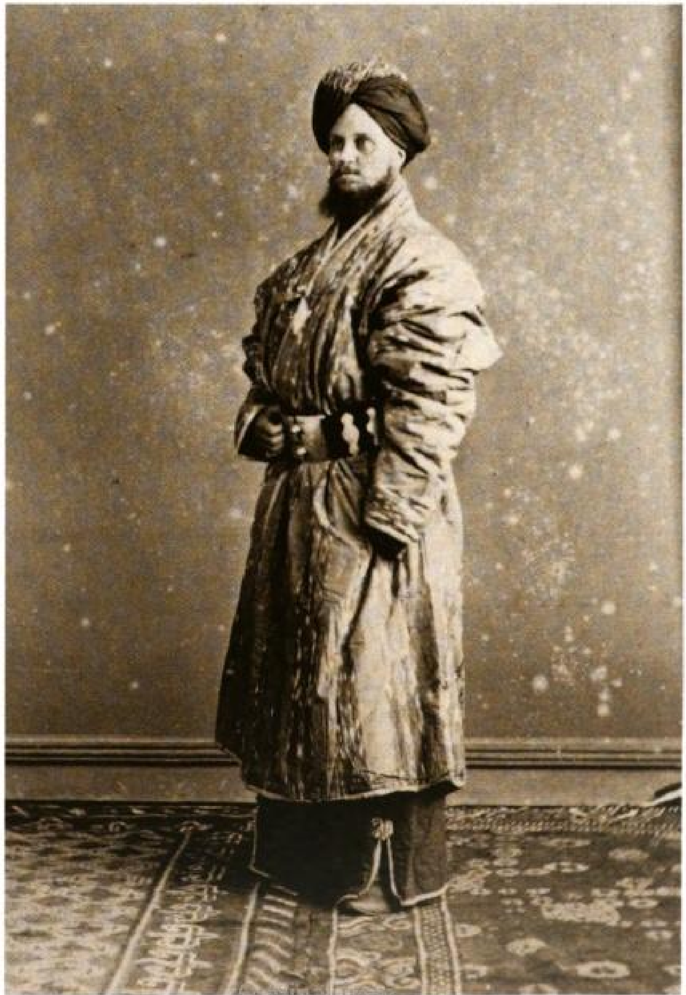
In the 19th century the Mall itself was a clay and mud trail that could be difficult to travel on. In the words of the *Gazetteer*:

> *The houses of the European visitors are scattered along both sides of the Murree ridge from Pindi point to Kashmir point, but are most frequent upon the wooded or north-west slopes of the hill. They are connected by broad and easy roads. . . . In rainy weather, however, these roads like the cart road from Rawalpindi, become muddy and slippery to a degree that renders locomotion extremely difficult. The clayey soil retains the moisture, and the roads, once thoroughly cut up, require several days of dry weather before they resume their ordinary appearance. The climate of Murree is said to be very well adapted to the British constitution.*[2]

23

24 "Clara in Yarkhand Costume Sept. 1869"
W. Baker & Co., Murree, Punjab, September 1869
By permission of The British Library

25 "Robert in Yarkhand Costume Sept. 1869"
W. Baker & Co., Murree, Punjab, September 1869
By permission of The British Library



26 **"Group taken September 1869 on return from the first Yarkhand Journey"**

W. Baker & Co., Murree, Punjab, September 1869
By permission of The British Library

This is one of the most interesting pictures from the Great Game, yet it has been missed by historians of this long conflict between czarist Russia and imperial Britain. It shows Robert Shaw, one of the first Great Game heroes, just after having returned from his first trip to Yarkhand in Central Asia. The trip, begun in 1868, made him the first European to penetrate that unknown land and return alive to tell about it. He is shown in the disguise in which he travelled and with the men who accompanied him.

Robert Shaw was a strange man. He was educated at Trinity College in Cambridge but was unable to get a commission in the army. Instead, he went to India as a tea-planter—first to Kangra in the Punjab before settling in Darjeeling. He believed that a great untapped tea market lay across the Karakoram and Himalayan ranges in "Chinese Turkestan," where no white man had ever been. In the fall of 1868, defying his own government, which did not want to irritate its neighbours just yet, Shaw, laden with gifts and in disguise, disappeared into the mountain passes north-west of Murree.

After many adventures and near disasters, he reached Yarkhand and announced himself as an Englishman. The local ruler, Yakub Beg, who knew nothing of England, imprisoned him in a palace. For months Shaw was trapped, not knowing if he would be released or killed. Then he was invited to Kashgar, where he had a memorable meeting with Yakub Beg: "I advanced alone, and when I drew near he half rose to his knees and held out both hands to me."[1] The meeting, in which both men spoke in broken Farsi, or Persian, was inconclusive and Shaw remained a prisoner. His family received no communication from him for months.

When he finally reappeared on August 20, 1869, it was a source of great publicity in England and he became a celebrated figure. It was a personal joy for his family, including his sister Clara Emily Younghusband (1837–91), a resident of Murree since 1863 (photograph 24). From letters between Clara Emily and Ann, another of Robert's sisters, it is clear that his family had given up hope of ever seeing him again.[2] This photograph is from Clara Emily's personal album. After arriving in Murree, Shaw made his way to Baker's studio and had a number of photographs of himself, Clara Emily and others taken in "oriental disguise" (photographs 24 and 25).

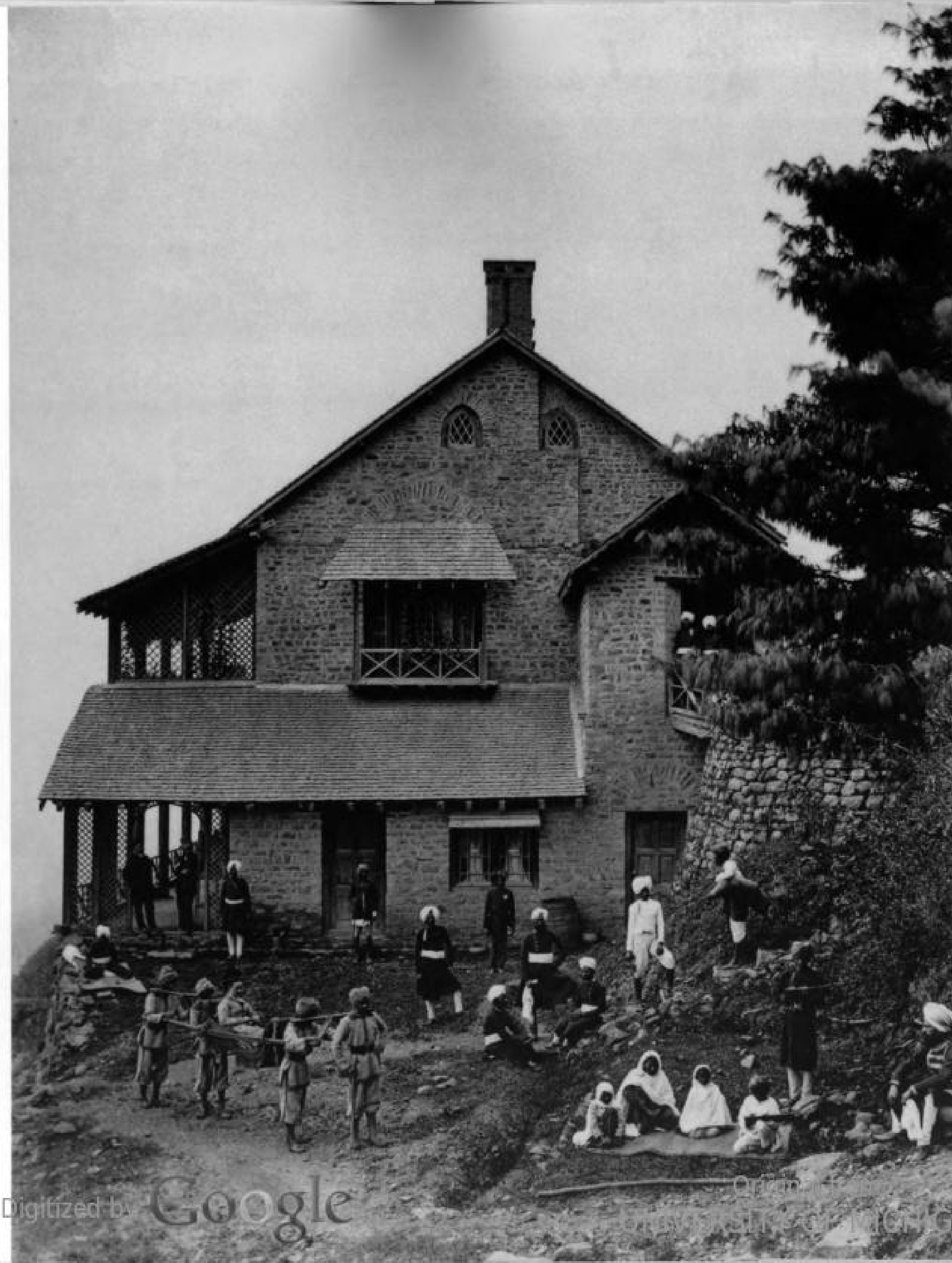
W. Baker & Co. also had a connection to Robert Shaw's great rival, the young and reckless explorer George Hayward. Hayward made his way to Kashgar, uninvited as well, and arrived just two weeks after Robert Shaw, to the latter's great irritation. Hayward was captured; after much negotiation, the final deal that released Shaw spared Hayward as well. Hayward also used W. Baker & Co.'s services on his trips. On May 1, 1870, Hayward wrote to a friend in the army, William Croker, from Murree: "I am uncertain if you are still in Pindi, but if there will you kindly rouse up Baker & Co. about my maps. I have written to him twice and can't get an answer."[3] Hayward must have been referring to maps sold by W. Baker & Co., advertised in the Baker & Burke catalogue as "Hayward's Map of Eastern Turkistan in Eight Pieces" for Rs. 30. In July 1870 Hayward was murdered in Darkot, near Gilgit in the maharajah of Kashmir's dominions.

The geographical and political knowledge Robert Shaw brought back was of great interest to the British; in 1871 he published *Visits to High Tartary, Yarkhand and Kashgar*, the story of his first and a subsequent visit in 1870. He was awarded the Royal Geographical Society's medal the following year. He led another expedition to Yarkhand in 1874 and was photographed on June 25 in Murree two days before he left. Baker or Burke also photographed him when he returned from his last trip on October 18, 1875. Robert Shaw never managed to create a market for his Darjeeling tea but in principle he was correct. Today, a large market for Indian tea does exist in Central Asia.

Shaw died of illness on June 15, 1879, at the age of 39 in Mandalay, upper Burma, where he had been appointed British resident. This and the following photographs (27–28) were part of an album of photographs and memorabilia given to Clara Emily "from her husband and children in loving memory of Robert Barkley Shaw" on August 29, 1879.[4] It includes shots of Government House, the visit of the Prince of Wales to Lahore in 1870, Lord Mayo's visit to Murree, the boys' and girls' sides of Lawrence Asylum, various houses in town and groups of friends. Most of the photographs are by Baker and Burke. Clara Emily later hand wrote her own captions and notes to images in the album, including this one:

> *The Photograph opposite shows the party after their return from what I called Robert's trip to Yarkhand. The old Bishop laughed and said, "No one but a sister would call such a journey a trip."*[5]

26



27

27 **"Durdens—House in Murree where we spent the seasons of 1874 and 1875"**
Baker or Burke, Murree, Punjab, 1864–75
By permission of The British Library

Clara Emily was married to John Younghusband. The son of a major-general, he joined the Bombay Army in 1840 and served in the First Afghan War in 1842 and various campaigns in Sindh and the mountainous Baluchistan later in the same decade. During the 1850s, he was active in various campaigns in the Punjab and later became inspector general of the Punjab Police, which was responsible for maintaining internal law and order. He was one of the most senior officials in the province and was often photographed with Sir Henry Lawrence and lieutenant-governors of the province. One of the photographs in Clara Emily's album shows "Mahomed Suffia, big meat contractor from Peshawar to Delhi," sitting on a carpet in 1864. The caption also says that he was "thought to be behind Wahabi conspiracy. Arrested on John's orders."[1]

Annotated by Clara Emily, this photograph shows the domestic side of a senior official's life and the spectrum of human beings required to keep a home like Durdens running for one of the most prominent early Murree families. Clara Emily is in the *janpan*, comfortable chair, being carried by four men. John is on the left, standing on the verandah with Colonel Miller. In front of them, seated with a white turban, is another fixture of British life in India, the family *darzee*, tailor. Standing to the right of Colonel Miller is Shere Singh, probably John's orderly. To Shere Singh's right, a *dudwala*, cowman, or shepherd, is standing; he would have brought fresh milk to the house everyday. A policeman, probably the house *chaukidar*, is standing under the window. To his left is a *dhobie*, washerman, dressed in white. Next to him, with a goatskin under his arm, is the *bhistee*, water carrier, an important functionary before modern plumbing. Four servants with sashes around their waists are standing in front of the policeman, including the cook, the bearer and two men who were given full names in the caption, Peer Khan and Nubbee Bux. Clara Emily calls the little group in the front right "My little school." An *ayah*, nanny, is kneeling next to the child of the *dhobie* and two orphans who were being looked after by the *dudwala*. They were probably playmates of Clara Emily's children. Standing just behind one of the orphans is a *syce*, grass cutter, with instrument in hand. On the very right is, from his costume, apparently the head *jamadar*, assistant, who oversaw domestic operations.[2] Two men also appear half-hidden behind the trees at the top right entrance to the house. Not shown in this photograph is Clara Emily and John's famous son, Francis Edward (1863–1942), who would have been around 12 years old at the time. He was attending boarding school in England where most boys his age were sent, often spending years apart from their parents.

Francis Edward Younghusband, who "seemed to possess all the virtues required by a romantic hero of those times,"[3] was born in Murree and baptised at Holy Trinity Church on May 31, 1863. He became one of the most celebrated and controversial heroes of the Great Game. He was commissioned at the age of 19 in 1882 and joined the First Dragoon Guards. He carried out a number of intelligence gathering missions beyond British controlled frontiers at a very young age and he was the first European to see the north face of K2, the world's second highest mountain, in Kashmir in 1886. The next year he undertook an arduous seven-month journey from Beijing to India over the Karakoram mountains, which again brought valuable intelligence back to British officials. For this, at the age of 24 he became the youngest ever member of the Royal Geographical Society.

In 1889 Francis Edward led the first incursion into Hunza State, an isolated mountain valley whose inhabitants spoke a unique language. A few years later he became political officer there; soon after he served in a similar capacity in Chitral. During the Chitral war of 1895, he was special correspondent to the *Times* in London. He also met with the Russian explorer and hero Gromchevsky at the Shimshal Pass in one of the more chivalrous twists of the Great Game. He once ran into another Russian explorer high in the Pamirs and was astounded at the fine cuisines and wine his rival had taken with him. Later, however, Younghusband led the bloody, much criticised occupation of Lhasa in Tibet in 1904 under the guidance of the expansionist Viceroy Lord Curzon. This tarnished his reputation. Afterwards, Sir Francis dedicated much of his life to spiritual pursuits. He tried and failed three times to climb Mount Everest and wrote *The Epic of Mount Everest: The Historic Account of Mallory's Expeditions of 1921, 1922 and 1924* among various historical and metaphysical works including *Wonders of the Himalaya* and *The Light of Experience*.

His later writing was a testament to the learned environment from which he came. The Younghusbands were among those colonists who took genuine interest in their surroundings. Like many British officers and civilians, they had been trained to paint. When the family first travelled up the Indus from Karachi in the 1850s, they made

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beautiful watercolour sketches of the river scenes and crumbling tombs they witnessed on the way. Until the invention of photography, painting and drawing were the only ways to remember and convey images of new sights and places. The new medium of photography slowly supplanted these skills and modes of appreciation—literally so, in the case of the Younghusband albums, in which watercolours gave way to photographs as the century progressed.

28 "View of the Bazaar at Murree after the great Fire in May 1875"
John Burke?, Murree, Punjab, May 18, 1875
By permission of The British Library

This dramatic photograph from Clara Emily Younghusband's album shows the rapid growth of Murree over 15 years (compare to photograph 18). It also represents the end of a singular phase of this growth. The Younghusband family probably witnessed the smoke rising from the smouldering fire. The telegram to the *Civil and Military Gazette* on May 18, 1875, was blunt: "The Murree bazaar was burnt down Monday night with immense loss of property."[1] Two years earlier, on Christmas Day in 1873, the bazaar had also been gutted by fire.

This time the lieutenant-governor visited the bazaar "and talked to and sympathised with the sufferers."[2] A relief fund of Rs. 1,500 was raised. The municipal committee provided inexpensive stones and timber for rebuilding and stepped in with clear rules on separating timber well from the mouths of chimneys so as not to start another conflagration.[3]

Another blow to Murree soon followed—this time struck by the Punjab government. It decided in 1876 to shift its summer headquarters to Simla, the summer capital of the Raj where the viceroy and government officials based in Calcutta spent their summers. This made good political sense and signified the Punjab's growing importance in the larger realm. Murree was also thought to be too prone to illness. As Asst. Commissioner E. B. Peacock, the author of *A Guide to Murree*, wrote:

> *The hillstation of Murree has, I am afraid, acquired a bad name, which sticks to it like the proverbial dog. I think I may however safely say that Murree is by no means an unhealthy station. It has been visited on more than one occasion with cholera of a bad type, but on each occasion it was* brought *into the station from the plains. Last year a few fatal cases of typhoid fever took place, but none of the cases* originated *in Murree. Every endeavour is taken to keep the station clean and wholesome, and if house-holders would only take a little interest in the cleanliness of their own compounds and servants' houses, they would confer a great boon both on themselves and the public in general.*[4]

The loss of its designation as summer capital constrained the hill-station's future growth. Peacock confessed: "[Murree] has never flourished since the Government withdrew its patronage."[5] Although a new road between Rawalpindi and Murree was completed in 1873, a long-planned railway track—championed by the manager of the brewery—was scrapped.

Civil servants like the Younghusbands stopped their regular visits but most of the founding community of British landlords and merchants and their descendants remained in Murree; indeed, the roster of landlords in 1863 and 1883 is virtually identical.[6] The army maintained and expanded its cantonments in nearby areas like Gharial and Kuldannah. The Murree Brewery expanded production. The number of summer residents from Peshawar, Rawalpindi and other cantonments in the Punjab and the Frontier was sufficient to help keep merchants in business. The girls at Lawrence Asylum continued to make the best cakes and biscuits.[7]

Sometime around 1867, and certainly by 1871, the photographic practice of W. Baker & Co. was officially renamed Baker & Burke (also written as Baker and Burke). The two men were signing photographs under this joint name by 1867, instead of using their individual names, although when exactly the firm was commercially renamed is not clear. This testifies to the contribution John Burke made to the photographic practice. Nearly half of William Baker's age when he joined the firm in 1861, Burke had quickly risen to become a full partner in photography.

Baker and Burke continued to maintain their firm's photographic headquarters in Murree. No doubt they had built a substantial client base here and could best serve the same clients with winter branch offices in Peshawar and Rawalpindi. A move to Simla for either photographer would have taken them hundreds of miles farther from these winter cantonments. A number of other photographers were already working in Simla and many of them had branches in large cities like Calcutta and Bombay.

29 Fuzul[,] Begum and Azeezie
John Burke #413, Srinagar, Kashmir, 1862–68
Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien, Austria

30 [Baltistani policeman]
John Burke, Srinagar, Kashmir, 1862–68
Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien, Austria

CHAPTER 3

KASHMIR: THE QUEST FOR GOLD MEDALS

Baker & Burke continued to maintain its headquarters in Murree also partly due to the strategic location on the thin winding road that led north-west to Kashmir. Murree was the nearest and most accessible hill-station in India on the way to Kashmir's snowcapped peaks and lush valleys. These were a continuous source of appeal to Britons searching for a cooler climate and spectacular scenery. Those who were able to risk the long trip, and who were slightly adventurous, could make their way to the very highest mountains and glaciers in the world. In Henry Bellew's words:

> *Between three and four hundred European tourists roam this country [Kashmir] during six months of every year, and as a rule none of them make any provision for their carriage. They are all dependent on the country for their means of carriage within its limits. This necessitates the abstraction [removal] from their homes and fields of something like six thousand men during half the year, in order to carry their camps from place to place; and of the amount of oppression it leads to, few can have any idea. . . . [But] I can state that in no other part of India . . . is the European so promptly and so cheerfully served, and so safely protected, as he is in Kashmir, and nowhere else does he exercise the liberty of the subject as he does in that territory.*[1]

Although Kashmir was outside the British Raj and visited by less than 1,000 Europeans each year during the 1860s, its visual beauty was the best selling consumer photographic subject. The catalogues of firms like Bourne & Shepherd of Calcutta and Simla and Baker & Burke of the Punjab offered more photographs of Kashmir than any other location in India. These firms were responding to the demands of the many people who could not travel there—customers in the hot plains who yearned for images of cool scenery even grander than what they may have remembered of Europe.

These demands fuelled the popularity of photographs of Kashmir, whose landscapes photographers would capture on glass plates and submit to various all-India photographic competitions in the quest to win coveted gold medals. The majority of prizes from 1861 to 1875 were awarded to photographs of Kashmir.[2] Mountain scenery, deep valleys, meandering rivers and ancient temples provided an endless supply of locations to shoot. Clouds and weather patterns only enhanced the photographer's possibilities. Photographs of Kashmir were critical to the aesthetic development of the medium in the subcontinent. Indeed, landscape photography in Kashmir developed to its height a full decade before similar work crystallised, for example, in the western part of the United States.

British accounts of the realm of Kashmir are replete with descriptions of the abject state of the population and the capricious rule it endured under Maharajah Gulab Singh. Aside from its beauty, Kashmir was "a land of catastrophes" in the words of Ernest Neve, who spent decades there as a missionary.[3] Regular famines and cholera epidemics killed tens of thousands of people. A significant portion of the population in the capital, Srinagar, was wiped out by these disasters. Almost the entire population had suffered through a bout of smallpox as children. Many went blind as a result; half of all children died.

However, little of this side of Kashmir was recorded by photographers. Their customers were looking for beauty in mountain scenes. Both Baker and Burke satisfied this market through frequent trips from Murree to different parts of the kingdom. Fortunately, Burke in particular also took many exceptional photographs of Kashmiri people. Unlike most similar early efforts in ethnographic photography, these were neither officially endorsed nor part of a scholar's study but were the fruits of a commercial and artistic photographer's interpretation. For most of the Kashmiris involved, it was the first and only time that they would face a camera and leave behind a visual record of their existence.

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31 **Ruins of the Small Temple at Puttan**
Baker & Burke #1204, Kashmir, 1864–68
Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

The importance of Kashmir in the imagination of the British in India had many roots. The British inherited the long-standing sense in the Indian subcontinent of Kashmir as the embodiment of natural beauty and a cool climate. This dated to ancient Hindu times, around the first century C.E., when the first temples were built and the beginnings of a learned Brahmin tradition were laid, which spread throughout India. At the beginning of the 14th century, the last Hindu ruler lost his throne to his Muslim minister. The Mughal Emperor Akbar conquered Kashmir in 1588 and he and his successors did much to develop the capital, Srinagar, as their summer playground.

The alpine nature of Kashmir was as appealing to heat-crazed Britons as to the Mughals. Kashmir's valleys also fit well with the Victorian fascination for landscapes. Landscape photography was considered the finest form of the new medium, its best claim to art, because it followed in the high-art tradition of landscape painting. An image of ancient ruins within a landscape represented to Victorians the passage of time and invoked a metaphysical dimension—and Kashmir had higher mountains and far older ruins than any place in Europe. Finally, as a state just beyond British control and ruled by a maharajah, Kashmir fed a romantic orientalist appetite.

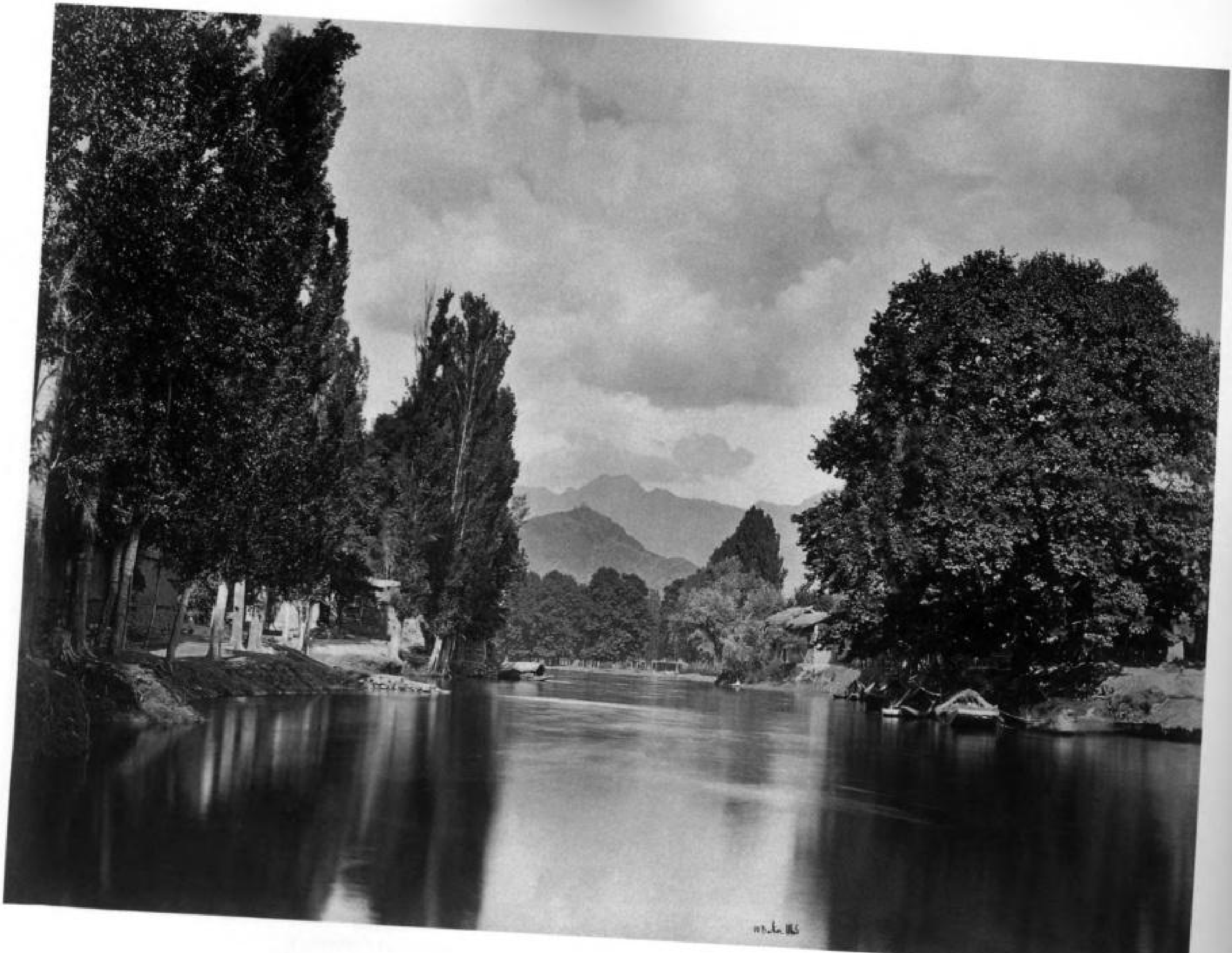
Photography also played a role in the colonial imagination's conquest of Kashmir. Besides William Baker and John Burke, a handful of important photographers were active in the area in the early 1860s, perhaps even earlier than Samuel Bourne, the most famous, who began his work in 1863. They include James Craddock and a number of army officers. These early photographers of Kashmir must have been inspired by early landscape photography in Britain and France but they also created a unique tradition of their own. Few examples existed for them to follow, albumen photography being less than 10 years old.

These early photographers faced gruelling logistical struggles in Kashmir, even if they did not have to stand in darkrooms "in a temperature of 145 degrees, the midday heat of India!"[1] Hauling heavy equipment on pack animals across steep mountain passes could be terrifying. On remote treks a photographer's life was in the hands of his assistants. Once a photograph was taken, the glass plate negative had to survive the journey back to a studio. Numerous plates were lost in transit or when animals stumbled down ravines.

A major factor in the development of landscape photography in Kashmir was the British Indian photographic competition. These annual events and prizes helped define conventional and artistic tastes. They took place regularly in the presidency capitals of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. Smaller competitions took place in regional towns. One of the earliest competitions was run by J. Lyell's Photo Depot in Allahabad. Lyell was a photographer and mail order wholesaler to other photographers. Through regular newspaper advertisements, Lyell helped keep far-flung photographers in western British India apprised of the latest developments and costs for chemicals and lenses. Baker was one of the earliest winners of Lyell's competitions.

The leading annual competition, however, was held in Calcutta. The Bengal Photographic Society, known as the Society, was the most important photographers' association in India. Its awards were reported in detail in the widely influential *British Journal of Photography* (*BJP*). The Society's annual competitions were a forum for amateurs from the army and civil departments, commercial photographers, nawabs and maharajahs to compete and comment on the latest aesthetic trends. Discoveries and tips were shared on managing chemicals whose behaviour in the heat of India had never been considered by their European inventors. Entrants also shared the stage with European photographs; masterpieces were on display. "The special feature of this Exhibition is the large number of contributions from Europe," wrote the *BJP* one year.[2] Likewise, photographers based in India used exhibitions in Europe to spread their work. Increased communication during the 19th century and the reproducible nature of the medium made the development of photography an international phenomenon.

Bourne & Shepherd was the overall winner of the Society exhibitions during the 1860s and 1870s. The firm won its first gold medal in 1866 for a series of landscapes of Kashmir. It won again in 1867. That year Baker & Burke won the silver medal for its series of six photographs of Kashmir and in 1868 received its first Viceroy's Gold Medal for the best photograph (photograph 32 and the photograph on page one). Another six landscape shots won the Lieutenant-Governor's Gold Medal for best series (one of these is photograph 33). In 1869 Baker & Burke managed the silver medal at the Bengal Photographic Society (see page 17 for images of the medal and how it appeared on the firm's *cartes de visite*). Baker & Burke snatched the top Society prizes from Bourne & Shepherd more often than any other firm or individual in India. In these showdowns the winning and losing photographs, singles or a part of series, were invariably of Kashmir.



Previous pages, left

32 On the Dhul Canal, with Tukht [throne]
William Baker #1165, Srinagar, Kashmir, 1864–68
The Alkazi Collection of Photography

Previous pages, right

33 The Liddur Valley and River at Gunneshbul
John Burke #1144, Kashmir, 1864–68

34 "Portrait of Maharajah of Kashmir" [Ranbir Singh]
John Burke, Srinagar, Kashmir, 1868–76
The Alkazi Collection of Photography

If an aristocracy of power existed, the tall poppies were cut down years ago, and the people looked to the Maharajah as their direct lord and master.[1]

Kashmir's history over the past centuries has been as tumultuous as that of other areas north-west of the Raj. Maharajah Ranbir Singh's rule from 1857 was part of this story. His father, Gulab Singh, was one of three brothers who rose to prominence during Ranjit Singh's rule in Lahore—the others were the great General Suchet Singh and Dhyan Singh, a key orderly to Ranjit Singh. Gulab Singh became a commander himself and around 1820 took over the Jammu region south of the Vale of Kashmir—a fertile plain valley roughly 80 miles long and 25 miles wide—bringing it under Sikh rule for the first time after 500 years of Muslim rule. Gulab Singh extended his rule by fiefdom to Ladakh in the north and Skardu in the west over the next 20 years.

In 1846, when the British stepped into the Punjab after the First Sikh War, Gulab Singh became a great favourite of British Resident Sir Henry Lawrence. After the Second Sikh War, he executed a series of treaties where he relinquished any claim to the Sikh throne and ceded the Punjab to the British in exchange for the right to rule Kashmir, or "all the hilly or mountainous country, to the eastward of the river Indus and westward of the river Ravee."[2] (Ranjit Singh was initially succeeded by his eldest son, Kharak Singh, who was deposed by court intrigue within four months and then imprisoned and poisoned to death over the next year.) As the new maharajah of Jammu and Kashmir, Gulab Singh also

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paid Rs. 7,500,000 to the British, who nonetheless soon had to help him assert his rule in Srinagar. In return, during the war of 1857, he marched with his troops to relieve the British under siege in Delhi. There he died, on the same day as a large earthquake struck. Ranbir Singh, his son, took over as the new maharajah.

According to British Settlement Commissioner Walter R. Lawrence, who was responsible for assessing annual agricultural land tax that villages and feudal administrators had to pay to the British, Ranbir Singh was "a model Hindu prince, devoted to his religion and to Sanskrit learning, but kind and tolerant to the Musalmans, to whom he allowed the free exercise of their religion."[3] Lawrence continues:

> *He was an enlightened prince, who would have done much toward the development of the valley if he had possessed the stern determination of his father, and could have kept his servants in hand. The latter part of Maharajah Ranbir Singh's life was darkened by the ghastly famine of 1877–79, and by a disease from which he never recovered.*[4]

Ranbir Singh's reign was also marked by an expansion of territory westwards. He brought hitherto independent states like Chilas, Hunza, Nagar and Yasin under his limited rule. Hunza had long paid a formal allegiance to rulers in Chinese Turkestan. In 1864, sensing an opportunity during a period of transition, Ranbir Singh tried to establish a military outpost threatening Chinese Turkestan. When the Chinese objected, he withdrew. The British did not want to provoke trouble by assisting him.

The maharajah was also said to have been a patron of the arts and he was very helpful in funding the construction of Punjab University in Lahore.[5] "Cashmere," as he was often referred to in one word by the British, commanded the highest honours among his princely peers in India, none of whom exceeded him in stature or independence. Yet there is little doubt that many British writers and visitors found Dogra rule, as the rule of Gulab Singh's descendants was named, disquieting, even if it brought long-sought safety to the state. John Nicholson was taken aback by how Gulab Singh would flay political opponents alive.[6] Tourists and visitors returned with so many stories of misrule that Walter Lawrence noted:

> *Much has been written about the abuses which have prevailed in the administration of Kashmir. They were numerous and deplorable, and when I first came to Kashmir in 1889, I found the people sullen, desperate, suspicious. They had been taught for many years that they were serfs without any rights but with many disabilities.*[7]

The famine of 1877–79 was said to have killed over half the residents in the Vale of Kashmir. Ranbir Singh died in 1885, the year another great earthquake struck and killed 3,000 Kashmiris. Reforms did begin, albeit slowly, following his death.

John Burke shot some of the finest portraits of Ranbir Singh. This one could have been taken during his visit in the fall of 1868 (photograph 48); or as a regular visitor to Srinagar, Burke had probably established his own relationship with the maharajah and his officials, many of whom he photographed (photograph 44). European photographers were novel and opened many doors. As an unofficial visitor with a commercial purpose, Burke would also have had to secure the maharajah's permission to travel through his lands. Considering that the maharajah's officials charged visitor fees for travelling and hunting in the state, photographers may well have had to pay in cash or kind.

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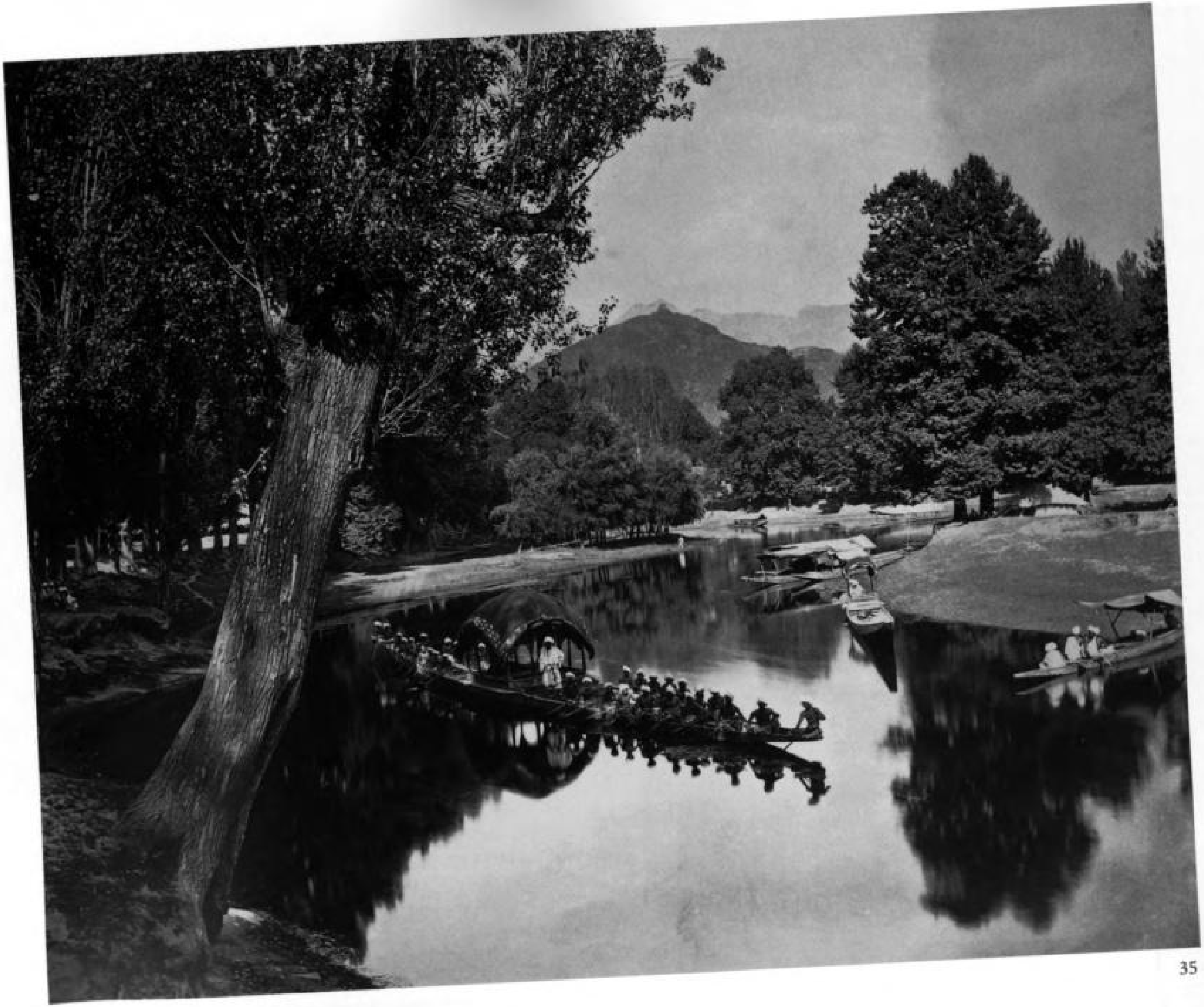
35 Resident's Boat, on the Dhul Canal

Baker & Burke #1215, Srinagar, Kashmir, 1868–72

Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles



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36 Akbar's Bridge on the Lake

Baker & Burke #1225, Srinagar, Kashmir, 1868–72
Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

Srinagar, the "City of the Sun" at an elevation of over 5,000 ft, was the largest town in the Vale of Kashmir and nearly at its centre. It dated back to at least 960 C.E. "In spite of dirt and squalor, it is one of the most picturesque cities in the world," wrote Arthur Neve.[1] A population of about 100,000 people—one-tenth of the maharajah's subjects—lived in about 6 sq miles that consisted of 20,000 tightly packed homes. The structures stood on both banks of the Jhelum River as it made a 4 mile bend on a wide alluvial plain. The Jhelum, one of the five great rivers that gave Punjab its name—*panj-ab*, five rivers—flows through the heart of Srinagar and was the major artery of travel and commerce (photograph 60).

Ornate curved boats, like that of the maharajah or the British resident (photograph 35), plied its waters as did countless smaller craft. On both sides of the river stood palaces, temples, mosques and buildings built of wood and stone during various architectural periods. The houses on the sides of the river and the canals belonged to merchants whose fine silver, needle and papier mâché goods were famous throughout the world.

Kashmiri shawls had become popular in Europe during the early 19th century, especially in France. They were expensive even within Kashmir because of the skilled labour needed to make them. A hefty tax levied on each shawl produced was an important part of the maharajah's annual revenue.[2] However, the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–71 severely curbed their export to Europe. The shawl trade held Srinagar's fortunes hostage to demand and events many thousands of miles away and over which Kashmiris had no influence.

Srinagar was surrounded by snowcapped peaks and gardens built by Mughal emperors. The mountain scenery, sharp light and abundant water were magic to the photographer. The Dhul Canal (photographs 32 and 35) just outside Srinagar was a favourite spot. Bourne wrote:

> *The eye is immediately enchanted by the splendour of the overhanging foliage and its reflections in the placid water. Chunars [plane trees, or* Platanus orientalis*] of immense size stretch forward their giant trunks and arms across the stream, as if trying to kiss their fellows on the opposite bank.*[3]

On his first visit to Kashmir, Bourne studied the light in order to prepare for future photographs.[4] Baker and Burke would have made similar preparations. The ever changing quality of light in Kashmir had to be carefully managed to work for the photographer. Note in this photograph the careful placement of the boat on a dry piece of ground to prevent movement during the exposure.

Akbar's Bridge on Dal Lake was built by the Mughal emperor in the 16th century. Just outside Srinagar, Dal Lake and its marshes supported a network of canals that Akbar and his son Jehanghir used—taking advantage of the abundant water that flowed into the Vale of Kashmir from surrounding glaciers—as the sites for beautiful gardens:

> *Passing up the Nasim Bagh Canal in a small boat, it takes about an hour to travel from the Dal Gate to the lake. The canal passes between small fields and orchards before it cuts through the village of Renawari about one mile from the gate. On the left a temple stands out into the water. Close by is a busy landing place, where much of the lake produce is sold. Then, after passing under a picturesque wooden bridge and continuing through the village, the three-arched stone bridge, called the Naiwaidyar, is seen crossing the canal.*[5]

37 Old Bridge on the Mar Canal

Baker & Burke #1207, Srinagar, Kashmir, 1868–72
Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

The waters of the Jhelum also fed a network of canals inside Srinagar. One of these, the Mar Canal, traversed the poorer parts of town. The bridge on the Mar Canal was home to a number of small stores. It was a favourite European photographic subject, for it reminded the British of Old London Bridge or the similar Ponte Vecchio in Florence, Italy. This bridge was deemed to be truly "picturesque."[1]

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38 Shalimar. The Nautch Bungalow from Garden

Baker & Burke #1211, Srinagar, Kashmir, 1868–72
Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

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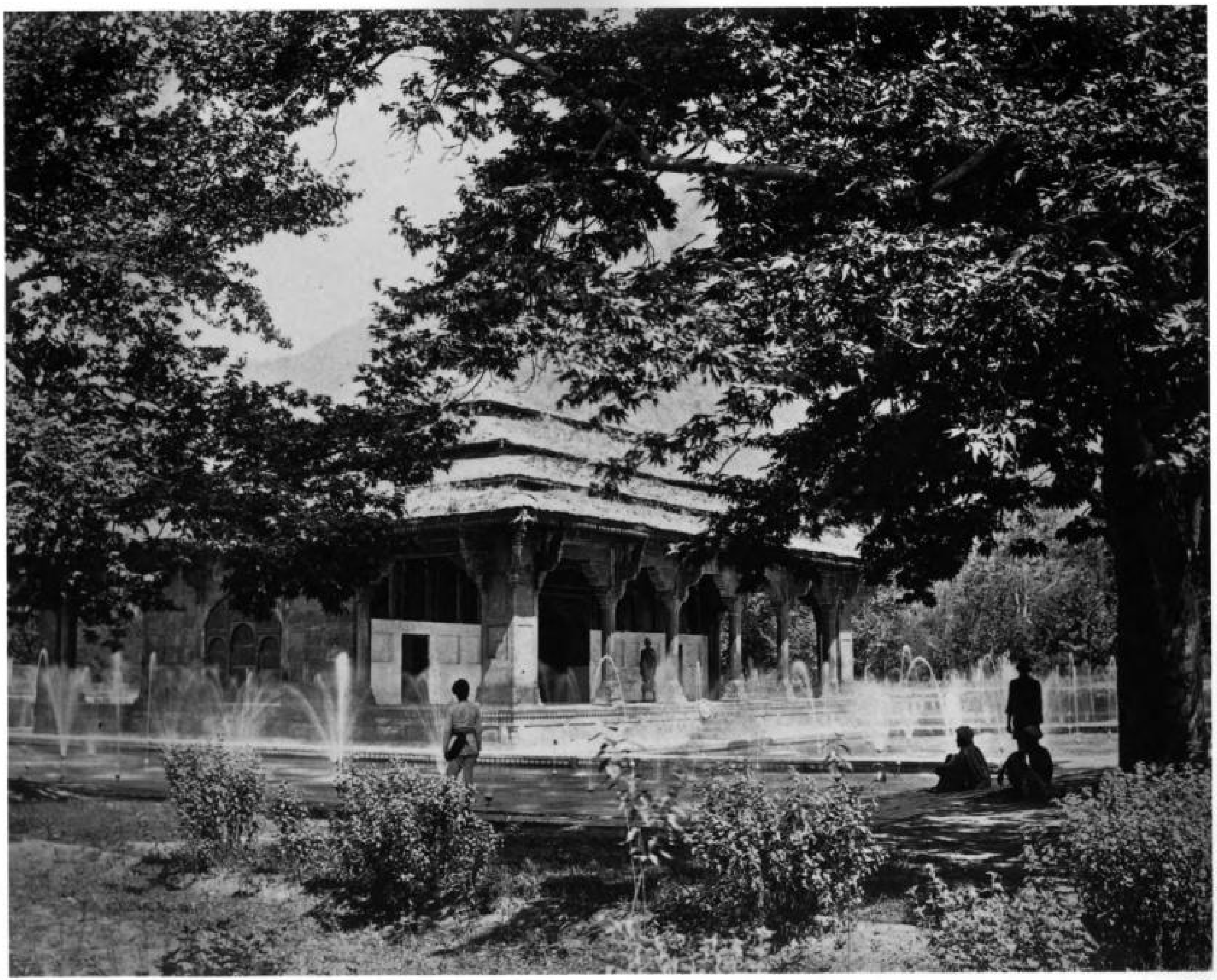

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39 [Nautch woman]

John Burke, carte de visite, *Srinagar, Kashmir, 1862–64*
Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien, Austria

Previous page

40 [Nautch woman]

John Burke, carte de visite, *1862–64 (see also frontispiece)*
Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien, Austria

Emperor Akbar—a contemporary of Queen Elizabeth—built Srinagar's famous Nasim Bagh just above Dal Lake. It derives its name from the breeze that blows through its magnificent plane trees: *nasim* means breeze in Arabic and *bagh* means gardens in Hindi. Somewhat farther up from the lake, Emperor Jehanghir and Empress Nur Jehan built a cool mountain replica of the Shalimar Gardens in Lahore. The name means "Abode of Love." Even the missionary Arthur Neve was impressed; he noted that the place was worthy of Jehanghir's "fair queen":

> *To whose love of scenery and taste the Moghal gardens in Kashmir bear witness. Some years ago the banquet given on the [British] King's Birthday was occasionally at the Shalimar Bagh. The weird scene on such occasions, where the glitter of myriads of lamps illuminated the brilliant dresses and fair faces, and the splash of the fountains, mingled with the songs of the dancers will live long in one's memory.*[1]

One of the main attractions for visitors to Srinagar was the *nautch*, dancer, women, many of whom stayed and worked in the Shalimar Gardens. The bungalow (photograph 38), lit by candles and lanterns, was used for performances and entertaining visitors (the women themselves usually lived in tents). Dancers were among the few groups of women whom Europeans would have been able to easily photograph. Baker & Burke's catalogue includes a large version of the *nautch* bungalow and a handful of smaller 3-by-4-in cabinet cards of dancers. They are numbered in the high 300s and low 400s, suggesting that they were taken in the early 1860s. The catalogue uses the word *nautch* as if it were an English term. Its origin is the Hindi and Marathi word *nach*, which in turn is derived from the Sanskrit word *nritya*, dancing and stageplaying. The word was quickly adapted into European languages being used in India.[2]

The woman in the *carte de visite* on the preceding page (photograph 39, see also frontispiece) was named in one album as "Sabie."[3] She must have been a prominent *nautch*; Samuel Bourne apparently also photographed her in the early 1860s.[4] The variety of objects that were part of her world are carefully represented in the photographs. This includes a tea samovar with two cups. A woman with a hookah evoked the illicit. Her shoes have been carefully removed. The contrast between Sabie's expression on the frontispiece of this book, where she seems quite satisfied, and in photographs 39 and 41, where she looks genuinely sad, is revealing. Despite the glamour and trappings, one can expect that the life of these women was genuinely difficult.

Another woman named in the Baker & Burke catalogue is Azeezi (photograph 40); she and another dancer named Mokhtarjan also appear in the Bourne & Shepherd catalogue.[5] Azeezie seems to have been the most popular, with no less than four photographs of her offered in the Baker & Burke catalogue plus the one with two other *nautch* women (photograph 29). She also appears in the group photograph (41), holding the hookah on the right just behind the *santoor*, a trapezoidal string instrument, which is much like the Western dulcimer and played with a stick. Dancing women were invariably attached to musicians.

Originally from Iran, the *santoor* was absorbed into Kashmiri culture, but the art of playing this instrument, which seems to so perfectly evoke the beauty of still mountain valleys, nearly died out during the 20th century.

These photographs are part of an album that belonged to Hungarian nobleman and well-known explorer of Central Asia, Karoly Jeno Ujfalvy de Mezo-kovesd (1842–1904), or Charles de Ujfalvy, as he was known in his adopted home, France. He wrote on cities like Samarkand and Bokhara and led a trip to Kashmir in 1880 that resulted in the publication of a book in 1884 on his experiences and research in the western Himalayas, including Kashmir.[6] His album holds various portraits of Ranbir Singh by Burke and many of *nautch* women and musicians. Although they are shown on *cartes de visite* signed "J. Burke, Punjab," they had been photographed long before Burke set out on his own. Ujfalvy might have bought them from an agent when he was in Srinagar in 1880 or directly from Burke's studio in Murree on the way to Kashmir.

41 Group of Dancing Girls

Baker & Burke #1229, 1862–68
Société de Géographie, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France

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42 Azeezie. another small figure
John Burke #411, Srinagar, Kashmir, 1862–64
Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien, Austria

43 Group of Bultees, Maharajah's Highlanders
John Burke #458?, Srinagar, Kashmir, 1862–64
Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien, Austria

Charles de Ujfalvy was only one of growing numbers of European explorers who made their way to Kashmir as the 19th century progressed; not all of the scholars and travellers in the region were British. Robert Shaw's writings on Yarkhand coupled with improvements in transportation invited many to visit high Himalayan plateaus and Central Asia in the quest to fill in the woolly spaces in Europe's knowledge of the world. Another one of these travellers was Dr. Josef Troll (1844–1919) of Austria. On his way across India and ultimately to Kashgar, he spent the summer of 1884 in Srinagar. We can thank Dr. Troll for preserving a unique album containing portraits of Kashmiri people. They show that John Burke had been photographing the wide variety of people in Srinagar some 15 years before he produced his better-known portraits of Kabul residents (chapter 5). Although none of the photographs in Troll's album is signed, and only a few are numbered, we can attribute them to John Burke based on other similar images that are numbered or appear on Burke's *cartes de visite*.

Josef Troll was born in 1844, the son of a successful businessman in the capital of the Hapsburg Empire, Vienna. He does not seem to have practised medicine for long after completing his studies. Between 1883 and 1893 Troll embarked upon a series of four long trips to Asia. In 1888 he published a series on his travels in a Vienna newspaper.[1] Among his surviving papers is an album of 46 portraits of Kashmiris. The people photographed include boatsmen, women, policemen, soldiers, dancers, princes, fakirs, merchants, cannon carriers, hunters, woodsmen, Parsees, Brahmins and a cave hermit. The maharajah himself is notably absent from Troll's album. All the images are either set in oval frames or are some variation of Burke's signature rounded-top frame. The people photographed were probably all in or around Srinagar at the same time.

We can also conclude from the order of the photographs in the Baker & Burke catalogue (see chapter 4), in which some of these photographs also appear numbered and titled, that they were taken in the early 1860s.

The *Group of Bultees, Maharajah's Highlanders* (see photograph 30 for a single example without the striking hat) refers to the maharajah's troops who came from a remote area to the north-west of Srinagar known as Baltistan, which in the 19th century was often referred to as "Little Tibet." It consisted of three regions through which the first stretches of the Indus River flowed, called the "Trans-Kashmir provinces of the

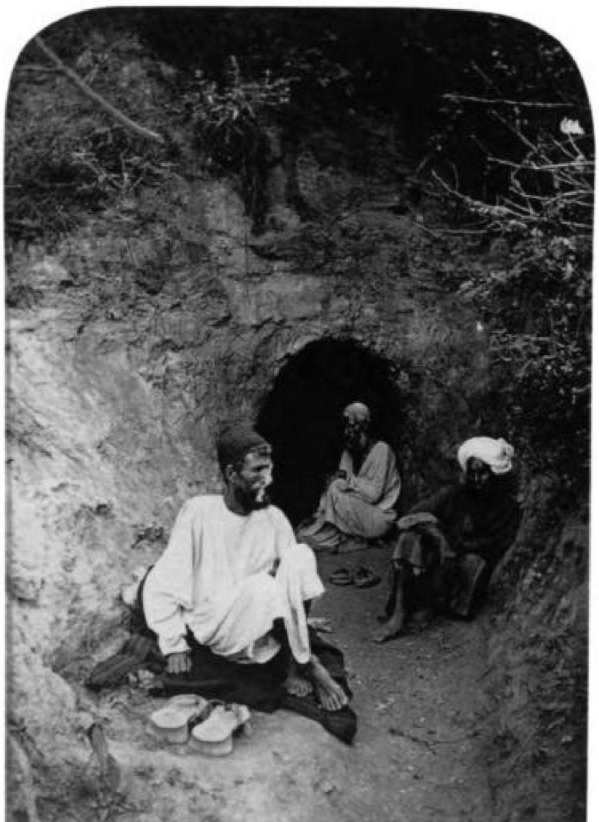
Maharajah's territory": the province of Ladakh, beneath it the province of Skardo and to the west the Governorship of Gilgit (adjacent to Hunza). Highlanders made up an elite British fighting force drawn from Scotland and the term was used analogously to describe soldiers from Baltistan.

44 "Ein Prinz..." [A Prince...]
John Burke, Srinagar, Kashmir, 1862–68
Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien, Austria

The British tended to make two generalisations about Kashmiris: they were very good looking and they were more intelligent, idle and untrustworthy than other people in India. This man was probably one of the maharajah's chief ministers.

45 The Fakir and Cave of Manusbul [Manasbal]
John Burke #381, Srinagar, Kashmir, 1862–64
Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien, Austria

Manasbal is a small beautiful body of clear water not far from Srinagar. The tradition of the fakir or Sufi renouncing the world to live in Manasbal cave can apparently be traced back a long time and has drawn popular interest and visitors. This scene and relevant inhabitant was depicted on postcards well into the 20th century.



46 "Ladakhians"
John Burke, Srinagar, Kashmir, 1862–64
Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien, Austria

Ladakh—like Skardu, Hunza and the other remote, isolated Himalayan and Karakoram mountain valley areas—had its own culture, language and peoples. At the time, the highest inhabited areas in the world were located in Ladakh, some of which were at an altitude between 12,000 ft. and 15,000 ft. These men appear to be hunters, who disguised themselves in animal skins.

47 [A gentleman]
John Burke, Srinagar, Kashmir, 1862–64
Museum für Völkerkunde, Wien, Austria

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48 Temple on the Road between Uri and Naoshera
John Burke #39, Nowshera, Kashmir, 1868
Published in Cole, Illustrations of Ancient Buildings in Kashmir
Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

John Burke's best known archaeological photography was undertaken in Kashmir. His photographs were published in books by two leading Indian art historians of the period. One of them, Sir Henry Hardy Cole, was a lieutenant in the Royal Engineers. Like many military men in India, he became involved in pioneering archaeological rediscoveries. He was appointed superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India, North-West Provinces, and created a mission to the secretary of state for India in council to record the crumbling temples of Kashmir in the fall of 1868. The resulting book *Illustrations of Ancient Buildings in Kashmir* was published by the India Museum, London, in 1869 and remained the standard guide in the field of early Hindu architecture for over a century. Among the earliest illustrated books on India to have been published in London,[1] it appeared a year after the first volume of Forbes-Watson and Kaye's *The People of India*, a photographic compendium published episodically between 1868 and 1873. It also preceded similar photographic books by Major Gill, E. C. Impey and Bourne & Shepherd.

It was in fact the second photographic book published under the auspices of what became the India Museum, the precursor to today's India Office Library. The book was intended to start a series covering the work of the Archaeological Survey of India. Burke, perhaps because of his work with their branch office in Peshawar, was attached to Lieutenant Cole's mission. Cole's one-page notice at the beginning of the book suggests that he found John Burke's contribution highly significant:

> *Mr. Burke, a photographer of Murree and Peshawar, formed one of our party. The zeal which he displayed in his work, and the successful manner in which he completed it, entitle him to great credit.*[2]

The first edition of the book included 57 full-page albumen prints by Burke. The second edition, published in 1870, included 44 carbon prints of his photographs. The carbon print was a brand-new type of print intended to result in more permanent impressions than albumen or other chemicals allowed. The carbon process was first developed in the 1850s in France. By 1864 it had been perfected by a Britisher, Sir Joseph Swan, but it was expensive and caught on slowly. To ensure continued

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use, the museum spent £150 to license rights to the high-quality "Aristotype process," the trade name for this early carbon process.

Cole describes his trip:

> *I left Cawnpore on the 1st September, and, accompanied by two native surveyors, Thakoor Dass and Habeeb-oo-lah, travelled through Delhi, Lahore and Rawul Pindee to Murree, where the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab was staying during the hot weather. At Murree our camp was formed for marching into Kashmir, and on September the 29th we commenced the journey to Srinagar. On the 10th October we found ourselves in the valley of Kashmir, and from this day to the 3rd November, the surveyors with myself were occupied in visiting the various buildings here illustrated. The lateness of the season limited our operations much, and many Temples of great interest had to be passed over; it would, however, have been impractical to lengthen our stay in the valley, as the snow threatened to block up the passes leading to the Plains of India.*[3]

In many places Cole and his men hacked away highly overgrown forests to find heavy stone buildings long abandoned. Some had trees growing from their roofs. For the temples near Wangat, among the earliest in Kashmir dating from at least 200 C.E., Cole wrote that "a quantity of pine and fir had to be felled with the axe, before either photographs or measurements could be taken."[4] He also wrote: "At the time of my visit, the water was about two feet over the floor of the Temple, and I had to obtain a small boat to enable me and my surveyors to take measurements, & c."[5]

Kashmir had become a land of countless temples by 1000 C.E. but successive Muslim invasions over the following centuries destroyed most of them. The majority of the population converted to Islam and little incentive for the upkeep of distant buildings remained among the Brahmins who congregated in larger towns.

Cole's endeavour resulted in both the photographs as well as his hand-drawings recreating the original facades and layouts of the temple complexes, notably at Martand, Avantipur, Bhaniyar and Nowshera. He later became involved in the South Kensington Museum, the predecessor to the Victoria and Albert Museum, and published works on Muttra and Agra and monuments across India.[6]

The photograph shown here is a classic Victorian image, a 1,400-year-old Hindu temple emerging from deep vegetation. It would have been critical for Burke to wait for the right light and carefully time the lengthy exposure.

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49 Temple of Marttand, or the Sun

John Burke #11, Martand, Kashmir, 1868

Published in Cole, Illustrations of Ancient Buildings in Kashmir

> *The numerous indecipherable ruins which abound throughout the valley, and the immense quantity of cut and fluted stone, built, or rather, patched into the walls of mosques, houses and into ghats and embankments, give evidence of how many have been lost of the series of temples erected by various rulers between the second and tenth centuries A.D.*[1]

Henry Cole called the Temple of Martand "the most impressive and the grandest ruins in Kashmir."[2] The large edifice was probably constructed around 500 C.E. or earlier by a Hindu king, Ramaditya. The colonnade around it was built by another king, the famous Lalitaditya who ruled Kashmir from 699 to the end of 735 C.E. One of the side temples was probably built by Ramaditya's queen, Amritaprabha. This temple complex, referred to by local Brahmins as the House of Pandus and by others as Martand, to the sun, was a great draw for visitors. It was photographed extensively by Baker, Burke and many other Raj photographers. Many said that the temple stood at the finest location in Kashmir "and perhaps in the known world."[3] It rose on a sun-filled ridge from where one could see almost the entire length and breadth of the Vale of Kashmir. Beneath it, green orchards stretched across a basin of snowcapped mountains.

The roof of this building once stood 60 or 70 ft high and the main building's length was 63 ft. Eighty-four columns once stood here, sacred by Hindu tradition as the product of the number of signs in the zodiac multiplied by the days in the week. The architecture was immediately seen by Cole to have Greek or Bactrian characteristics. The much steeper roof (the rubble lying around the columns in the photograph) was seen by others as an adaptation to the heavy snows of Kashmir.[4] The open sides of the temples were meant to allow the sun's rays to enter and illuminate the statues of the gods inside. The entire colonnade bound an area 220-by-142-ft in size. According to Cole:

> *The main building contains three distinct chambers; the outermost one is called the "Arddha-mandapa," or "half-temple;" the middle one, "Antarala," or "Mid-temple;" and the inner one called "Garbha-griha," or the "womb of the edifice." The central chamber is richly ornamented, as may be seen from the panels or niches in the detail photographs.*[5]

Cole's book contains numerous photographs of these statues; clearly, photography was able to depict them more quickly and with greater authenticity than the sketches and drawings that art scholars at the time were accustomed to producing. The Temple at Martand was the only temple known in Kashmir to have both a choir—defined as a front area where singers or priests could stand—and a long central hallway, or knave. Temples were often surrounded by a pool of water fed either by a canal, as at Martand, or by *nags*, springs—the special places where water snake gods lived, according to early Kashmiri traditions. Most Kashmiri temples were dedicated to Siva, god of destruction, on whose image water snake gods are often found coiled.

The same image was also published in another important early photographic book. The leader in Indian art scholarship in the 19th century was James Fergusson. His theories of art and its development in ancient cultures became standards in art scholarship for over a century; he was more prominent than Cole. In 1868 his book *Tree and Serpent*

Worship appeared, complete with pasted-in photographs. In 1870 *Illustrations of the Various Styles of Indian Architecture* followed. Its 14 photographs, most of them by Samuel Bourne, covered archaeological sites all over India. The two photographs by Burke are of the Temple of Martand. The second Burke image used by Fergusson, a closer temple shot, was also published by the *Illustrated London News* as an engraving on March 15, 1870, apparently the first Burke image to appear in this newspaper.

Illustrations of Ancient Buildings in Kashmir was meant to be the first in a series of books revealing the historical art and culture of India. Henry Cole and James Fergusson actually worked together in this endeavour under the direction of Forbes-Watson. The market for these books was still limited. Barely 35 copies at £3.5 each were sold during its first year on the market. Ultimately, few similar volumes were published under the auspices of the India Museum. However, what began as a photographic effort in 1870 would later grow and evolve into the present Archaeological Survey of India and its successor in the North-west, the Archaeological Survey of Pakistan, which today have custodianship of ancient monuments and are vested with the responsibility for their preservation and care.

50 Pillar Near the Jumma Musjid in Srinagar

John Burke #44, Srinagar, Kashmir, 1868

Published in Cole, Illustrations of Ancient Buildings in Kashmir

Cole writes: "Photograph No. 44-'68, is of a beautiful little column on the outside of the Jumma Musjid [Friday mosque]. The top is crowned by a perfect little Temple, with a roof of three stories, which illustrates the style of sacred edifices in Kashmir."[1]

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51 The Bridge at Sumbul down the River

Baker & Burke #1202, Kashmir, 1864–68

Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

Little doubt exists that photographers and firms competed vigorously for photographic awards and took great pride in the awards that they did receive. The importance (and marketing value) that Baker and Burke placed on their prizes can be gauged from the reverse side of *cartes de visite* put out by the firm in the early 1870s (see page 17). Major prizes won make up a substantial part of its design. These include not only various Bengal Society medals, but also a medal from the Akola Exhibition of 1868, held in central India (now eastern Maharashtra state). Photographs of medals also made their way into albums.

The Bengal Photographic Society's 1873 competition at the Dalhousie Institute in Calcutta is interesting for what it reveals both about Baker & Burke and Bourne & Shepherd and the general photographic scene in India roughly a decade after the medium had spread throughout the subcontinent. Although Bourne had returned to England three years earlier, the firm that bore his name continued to enter his photographs into competitions. They remained the standard to beat. In 1872 the *BJP* wrote, as if it were a recognised fact, that "in landscape photography, pure and simple, we consider the finest specimens those by Bourne and Shepherd."[1] Prints put into competition by many firms, including Baker & Burke, were often made from negatives that had been shot many years earlier.

Prize A (gold medal) in 1873 for the best single photograph went to the English firm of Robinson & Cherrill. Lieutenant Colonel Baily received the next gold medal for the best series of Indian landscapes by a non-professional photographer. Prize C (gold medal) for the best series of landscapes by a member of the Society went to Bourne & Shepherd for a Kashmir series taken in 1864. The firm also received prize D (silver medal) for the best series of six portraits. Baker & Burke received prize F (bronze medal) for the best series of six photographs "selected by the judges from those for which no other prize shall have been awarded at the exhibition."[2]

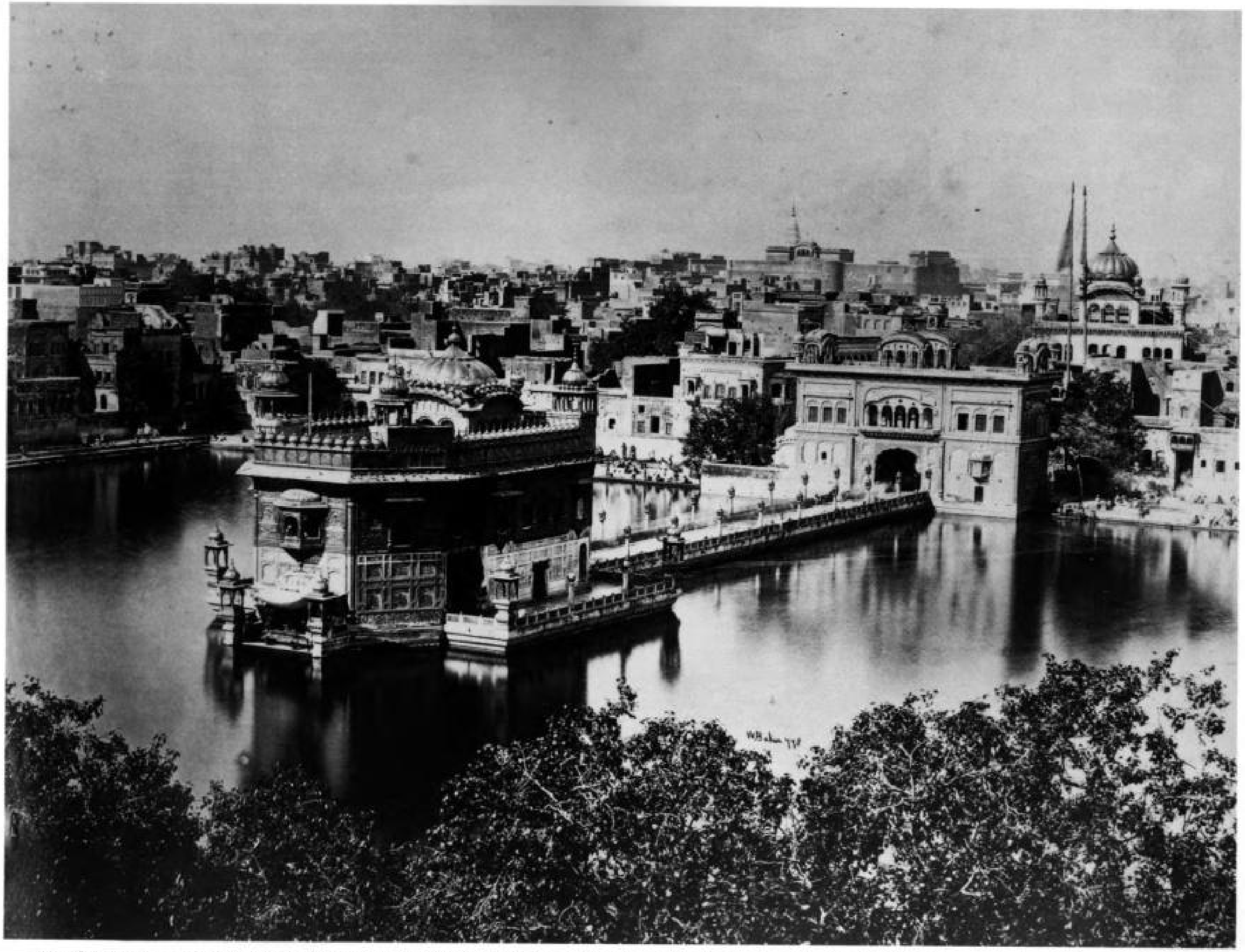
It must have been close, for at the end of their report, the judges added: "In addition for prize F, a bronze medal, we desire to make honourable mention of the beautiful series of landscapes by Mssrs. Baker & Burke." The two pictures selected for general distribution to members were Bourne & Shepherd's *A "Bit" on the Road near Chowk Point, Matheran* (#250) and Baker & Burke's #568.[3] The latter remains undiscovered and not listed in the Baker & Burke catalogue but was probably a view of Srinagar. The number could also be a misprint.

But some controversy seems to have surrounded these awards. A month later, a more extensive story appeared in the *BJP*. Although the account goes through all the photographs in some detail, it never once mentions Baker & Burke or their photographs or prizes. It even erroneously attributes to Bourne & Shepherd the Baker & Burke photograph that was chosen for general distribution. Furthermore, the worthiness of the two photographs selected for distribution is itself questioned, "but it is not unlikely that a change will be made, and more attractive subjects selected."[4] Perhaps Baker or Burke went to the exhibition and offended the judges; therefore, no mention was made of their work later on. The consolation award to Baker & Burke suggests some difference of opinion. The answer may never be known.

The other prizewinners that year include some of the most hallowed names in British Indian photography. A prize for the best series exclusive of landscapes and antiquities went to Captain Waterhouse. Prize H, for an antiquities series went to Lieutenant Impey. Prize E and two silver medals went to Capt. W. G. Murray for another Kashmir series. The popularity of photography among military officers of the period is clear. They, together with Bourne & Shepherd, Baker & Burke and very few others, belonged to the elite practitioners of early photography under the Raj.

Baker and Burke's connection to Kashmir encompassed many levels. One of the more important events in Kashmiri history during the Raj took place in 1870. General Frederick Sleigh Roberts, who was at the time deputy quartermaster general but would later become commander-in-chief of the British army (photographs 76 and 104), became the highest-ranking British official ever to visit the state. He was accompanied by a retinue of family and aides. John Burke went along and produced a commemorative series.

Each of the many trips the photographers made to Kashmir from Murree would have required careful planning and the willingness to enjoy many days in rough camps along the way. A number of photographs show tents and camp scenes somewhere in the frame. One unusual octagonally framed shot, included at the end of the Baker & Burke catalogue, is called *Camp Life in Gulmurg* (#1230).[5] Its presence suggests that both photographers welcomed and enjoyed this part of their profession.



52. The Temple and City, General View *William Baker #788 (mislabeled from #778?), Amritsar, Punjab, 1864–66, By permission of The British Library*

CHAPTER 4

The Baker & Burke 1872 Catalogue

The written entries in a catalogue are usually the only clues to arrive at a complete picture of the work generated by a photographer or a firm, since many photographs have been lost or dispersed. Catalogues are invaluable in tracing the trajectory of a career and recognising where those photographs that have survived fit in.

Catalogues are also often the primary source through which to determine the titles of photographs as given by the photographer. Some firms, like Bourne & Shepherd, inscribed the titles of photographs on the glass plate negatives so that they appeared on each print. Baker and Burke, both as individuals and as a firm, rarely did this, making their catalogues an important means of identifying specific photographs.

The numbering scheme used in a catalogue also helps to date photographs. If one or more photographs can be dated with the help of other references—captions in a personal album, advertisements in a newspaper or on the basis of subject matter—the dates will often apply to a whole series or group of photographs numbered in the same sequence in a catalogue. Furthermore, sometimes the negative and resulting prints were numbered but the photographs were never included in a catalogue. Catalogues, in other words, help identify and date not only the shots that they list but also those that may never have made it into a published catalogue. One might, for want of a better term, call such photographs "orphans" with respect to a specific catalogue.

Photographic firms developed their own internal numbering schemes, which could be purely chronological or based on other criteria such as photographic sizes or the practice of setting aside certain sequences for different subject matters. Baker & Burke used a combination of these three methods, which makes reading the Baker & Burke 1872 Photographic Views in India catalogue both rewarding and occasionally frustrating.

The subjects featured in a catalogue also provide insight into a photographer's or firm's actual market and its needs. Numbered photographs that were incorporated into a catalogue often appear there years after they were made—after they had been tried and tested on a customer base. Nearly all photographs in the Baker & Burke catalogue were made between 1861 and 1868. Catalogues by Bourne & Shepherd and others continued to list photographs decades after they were shot, testifying to the long shelf-life of 19th-century images.

Catalogues were an important marketing tool for early photographers in India; indeed, they were closely linked to another important tool—the newspaper advertisement. Small groups of European customers lived in dispersed cantonments and hill-stations, and newspapers gave photographers a means of informing them of newly available photographs. Catalogues, which included mail order instructions, were distributed to patrons in stores and sent in the mail along with orders. Catalogues also helped firms and photographers retain walk-in customers who moved from one town to another every few years during their service in India. Once a photographer had developed a relationship with a customer, it was worth trying to preserve.

Without newspapers and catalogues, firms like Bourne & Shepherd and Baker & Burke would have found it more difficult to grow, sustain and manage a production process that involved expensive imported chemicals, considerable manpower needs, frequent breakages and losses and significant marketing costs.

The word *amritsar* means holy pool of nectar and is linked to one of the central tenets of the Sikh faith. The pool shown here was first dug in the late 16th century in the town of Ramdaspur. During Ranjit Singh's rule in the early 19th century, the lower half of the temple was rebuilt with marble and the upper half gold-plated. The entire town was renamed Amritsar. It, not the old Mughal capital of Lahore, became the Punjab's most important town and the Golden Temple the holiest Sikh shrine. The British restored Lahore to its earlier importance, in part to counteract Sikh rule, but the Golden Temple, barely 30 miles away, remained a major attraction.

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53 The Great Mosque of Aurangzebe and adjoining Gates

Baker & Burke #1030, Varanasi, Uttar Pradesh, 1866–68
Michael Wilson Collection

The Baker & Burke catalogue lists almost 500 photographs taken across North-west India, from Lucknow and Benares to Srinagar and the Khyber Pass. It is instructive to compare this catalogue to Bourne & Shepherd's first comprehensive catalogue published in 1866. The many similarities describe the larger market for Raj photographs at the time; the differences shed light on the geographic areas each firm served.

Kashmir, being the most popular subject, accounts for about one-third of the large format photographs (15-by-12-in and 10-by-12-in) in both catalogues. The next highest proportion of large photographs, about one-eighth in both cases, is of Lucknow. Neither Bourne & Shepherd nor Baker & Burke had branches in this former capital of the Muslim kingdom of Oudh. Its presence as a subject in the catalogue is due to the war of 1857. Lucknow was the scene of the final climactic battle that ended the war and any further threat to British rule. The stories of the British women and children trapped during the lengthy siege of Lucknow—relieved at the last moment by the heroic and costly efforts of British Indian army troops—were integral to the mythology of the Mutiny. The battle-scarred residency, never restored by the British, was the most frequently photographed subject in the city; its grounds the setting for many stories about the defenders' courage. Later, the British destroyed much of Lucknow as retribution and to deter any future thoughts of an uprising. Another city included in both catalogues primarily because of its association with events of 1857 was Kanpur (photograph 54).

Mughal splendours were also of great interest to customers, which explains the high proportion of photographs of Delhi, Agra, Fatehpur Sikri and Secundra in both catalogues. Delhi had been the Mughal capital and was the scene of much Hindu and Muslim architecture and Agra was home to the Taj Mahal and other fine monuments. Fatehpur Sikri was a massive uninhabited city that had been built by Emperor Akbar as his capital but later abandoned for lack of water. The demand for photographs of Mughal architecture no doubt stemmed from a genuine touristic and aesthetic appreciation for what would have been to British eyes exotic and spectacular constructions. At the same time, one can infer the pride the new conquerors must have felt in taking possession of these structures and the kingdom that built them.

Benares was another leading subject of photographs in both catalogues. This famous Hindu city, where cremated ashes were dispersed in the Ganges River from the ghats, was a favourite destination of early British tourism in India. Bourne & Shepherd did offer a number of Murree photographs, although Baker & Burke offered no photographs in their catalogue of Simla or Calcutta, which shows the extent the latter's customer base was outside the central axis of the Raj. (Calcutta does not feature in this Bourne & Shepherd catalogue, suggesting that a separate list of Calcutta photographs was then available; Calcutta and Darjeeling are integral to later Bourne & Shepherd catalogues.)[1]

Baker & Burke (1872)	*Bourne & Shepherd (1866)*
Kashmir	Kashmir
Lucknow	Lucknow
Murree	Delhi
Agra	Kulu, Spiti
Lahore	Fatehpur Sikri
North-West Frontier	Agra
Benares	Simla
Fatehpur Sikri	Benares
Delhi	Lahore
Haripur	Murree
Secundra	Subathoo
Peshawar	Bolunshuhur
Dera Ghazi Khan	Peshawar

Comparison of photographic subjects by geographical region in order of number offered

Baker & Burke instead offered an extensive list of photographs of cantonments in the Punjab and the North-West Frontier that never made it into a Bourne & Shepherd catalogue. These included Haripur—the site of an important Sikh temple between Rawalpindi and Peshawar—and Dera Ghazi Khan and Dera Ismail Khan, where the British had built cantonments. Similarly, Bannu and Kohat, sites of British army outposts in the Frontier, were also included. The lists of photographs in these and other smaller towns and areas typically begin with an image simply called "The Church." Other geographical subjects included Sheikh Bodeen, an almost forgotten hill-station near the large ancient city of Multan in southern Punjab (photographs 56 and 57).

Few, if any, photographers during the 19th century offered selections that covered the Punjab and the Frontier in such breadth and detail.

54 The Memorial Well. The Marble Statue, by Baron Marochetti, from the entrance

William Baker #1104, Kanpur, Uttar Pradesh, 1866–68

The Alkazi Collection of Photography

This is the single most important photographic location in British India. For a century, almost every colonial album contained a photograph of this well. Of the seven large-format photographs of Kanpur in the Baker & Burke catalogue, six are views of this marble edifice.

"Cawnpur" was a centrally located northern cantonment not far from Delhi and Lucknow. In the summer of 1857 few British troops were stationed there. When the sepoys rose, a few hundred British troops and a similar number of civilians fled from their new bungalows and retreated to a set of buildings with few defenses in the centre of town. As the uprising progressed, many sepoys under their leader Nana Sahib gathered in Kanpur. An old school warrior, Sir Gen. Hugh Gough was never expected to surrender.

In the months that followed, the British remained trapped under continuous fire. At night a retinue of spies, allies, *ayahs* and others kept the lines porous enough so that necessities did flow into the garrison. However, one by one, people were killed or died in the most excruciating ways. Cholera spread. Babies were born. Supplies ran short. The relief of Kanpur became a pressing matter but no British troops were able to get through.

Despite British counter-attacks, General Gough finally surrendered upon promise of safe passage for the survivors to boats that would take them down the Ganges River to Calcutta. He had little choice. Nana Sahib guaranteed their safety and that of over 200 women and children separated from the main group. When the departing defenders and survivors congregated at the ghat to board the boats, sepoys fired upon them from all sides. Some of the British fled to safety, a handful sailed to Calcutta, but most were killed on the spot. Meanwhile, the women and children were kept in a big room in the courtyard of a palace that was surrounded by sepoys. After protracted indecision, a group of sepoys were ordered to fire into the room through the open windows. After one round they refused to continue. A group of five men finished the job by hand. No one survived. The bodies were cut up and stuffed down this well.[1] British retribution when Nana Sahib and his men were finally captured was frenzied. To the British, this photograph was an important marker. It represented their own suffering at the hands of brutal, untrustworthy Indians and so, in an indirect way, justified their occupation of the country.

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55 Abbottabad, General View from South

Baker & Burke #835, Abbottabad, NWFP, 1863–66
The Alkazi Collection of Photography

Five hundred miles away from Kanpur, a very different kind of colonial rule manifested itself in Hazara, a narrow hilly district that has never quite fit in its own neighborhood. Photographs like these are among the unique offerings in the Baker & Burke catalogue.

James Abbott's (1807–94) story reaches back to the days before the British even annexed the Punjab. Abbottabad lies in Hazara District, which borders Kashmir and is the only portion of the North-West Frontier that is on the Punjabi side of the Indus River. In fact, it almost became part of Gulab Singh's dominions. Its final status still unclear, James Abbott was sent there in 1846 to serve as joint authority with the Sikh military. He soon saw that the conditions of the people were intolerable. Two-thirds of agricultural produce was taken as tax. The majority of the people were Muslims, but as Abbott wrote, "any Moosulman praying in public was liable to be slain on the spot by any armed Sikh."[1] Towns were devoid of their inhabitants. Abbott stood up for local grievances and used this dissatisfaction to create his own force that countered Sikh power.

When bargains were being struck in Lahore between British officials and Sikh leaders, James Abbott implored Sir Henry Lawrence, the British resident in Lahore, not to turn Hazara over to Gulab Singh. He found allies among other British officers in the Punjab. A swap of territory was arranged and the Hazarwals became eternally grateful to Abbott for bringing them under British jurisdiction. As deputy commissioner, Abbott ruled as a benevolent dictator and resourceful military tactician who defeated stronger foes by using the terrain and loyal local troops to his advantage. Abbott, incidentally, established the very first military camp in Murree in 1847 and wrote, "I was probably the first Englishman that had ever set foot upon it."[2]

Abbottabad was established at an altitude of 4,000 ft as the new capital of Hazara District in 1853. Abbott was removed from his post the same year by leaders in Calcutta for too strongly identifying with his subjects and for being too independent. It would take him a long time to rebuild his career—he was knighted only two years before his death at 87—but he remained very popular among local inhabitants, who fill the sparsely populated plains in the photograph. Fifty years after Independence, the town is still named after him. Hundreds of thousands of people, countless buildings and a blanket of smog now fill the landscape.

This photograph is also one of many that help date the other photographs in the Baker & Burke catalogue. For instance, found in an album that belonged to Henry Pelham Close (photograph 5) is a photograph of Abbottabad that Close dated to April 1864. The two Abbottabad photographs in the Baker & Burke catalogue are numbered 829 and 835, suggesting that the photographs with this series of numbers were taken in 1864 and that others in between were orphaned.

The Murree photographs in the catalogue were actually taken in different waves. Those numbered 414–490 can be dated to 1861–62. Few are numbered below 100, among them a 3-by-4-in sized image (#10). Many shots were taken around Abbottabad. Of Doonga Gali, on the road from Murree to Abbottabad, one photograph was numbered in the mid-800s and some in the low 900s, which Close's captions date to 1866. One of these photographs shows the construction of a bungalow that was completed in 1866.

The derived date, of course, is only approximate. Rarely is a month given in the caption; sometimes other sources are available. For example, the Lahore and Amritsar shots in the Baker & Burke catalogue are numbered in the 700s and low 800s. Among them, #807 is a photograph of Jhelum which is near Lahore and #810 is of the Punjab Exhibition building (photograph 108). It is likely that Baker, who signed most Lahore shots of the period, went to Lahore for the Punjab Exhibition in October 1864, when the exhibition building was inaugurated. Many

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photographers, including Bourne, came to the exhibition, one of the biggest "rebuilding" events after the war of 1857. They would have made formal or informal series of shots of the exhibition and offered them for sale, probably both at the event and later from their studios. The photographs later became part of a firm's catalogue. They were numbered intermittently, sometimes in groups and sometimes for other than only chronological reasons. Thus one can only assume with a fair degree of probability that the series of shots of Lahore and Amritsar that appear in the catalogue, where the photographs are numbered between 700 and 800, was taken around 1864–65. One might suppose they were taken around October 1864, but in order to be completely confident, additional evidence would be needed, such as the record in an album.

Some of the numbered shots were orphaned. For example, certain shots of Doonga Gali (Baker #904 and #917) or Murree (Baker #432) are not included in the Baker & Burke catalogue, although the photographs whose numbers fit sequentially into the series are shots of the same area.[3] Orphaned photographs could have been part of a series or handlist that was later discontinued, the original negative could have become unusable or the photographs may not have sold well. Numbers were also changed for other reasons. One Baker photograph of Kohat was numbered 431; in the Baker & Burke catalogue the same number is used for a Murree photograph by Burke (photograph 16) that fits into a sequence of Murree photographs (#414–#495). Numbers do not, to be sure, tell a complete or necessarily accurate chronological story but they do serve as a guide that, combined with other evidence, can help associate a photographer's work with a timeline.

56 Shakranallum Sahib Mosque in the Fort
William Baker #713, Multan, Punjab, 1864–66
By permission of The British Library

The Baker & Burke catalogue includes seven large-format photographs of Multan, a gateway through which trade flowed from India westward to Afghanistan and Iran and north to Central Asia. Alexander the Great received the wound that finally killed him here in 323 B.C.E. when he single-handedly stormed the city's fortified walls in order to rally his exhausted Greek troops against the Hindu defenders. The Arab conqueror Muhammed bin Qasim captured Multan in 711 C.E. and was its first Muslim ruler. The city became most prominent in the 13th century as a centre of Sufi and Muslim culture. It became part of the Mughal empire and in the mid-18th century was captured by the Afghan Ahmed Shah Durrani. In 1819 Ranjit Singh wrested control of the city from its Afghan rulers. The British finally won the Second Sikh War in 1849 in Multan to take control of the whole of the Punjab.

The title of this photograph in the Baker & Burke catalogue is somewhat in error; the image actually shows the tomb of Rukn-i-Alam, Pillar of the People, the much beloved head of a large Sufi order and spiritual guide to one of the earliest Muslim rulers in Delhi, Sultan Ghias al-Din Tughluk. The sultan originally built the structure, which is located in the city fort, in 1320 for his own mausoleum. He later changed his mind and built a new mausoleum in Delhi. His son gave this one to Rukn-i-Alam, who died in 1334 at the age of 83.

In this construction the large octagonal base replaced the common square base, introducing a whole new style of mausoleum architecture to India. The massive white dome is surrounded by bands of glazed blue tiles for which the city has long been famous.

Multan remains a centre of Sufi activity. Numerous tombs of saints, both here and in the surrounding area, still draw followers from all over the region. Many can be seen from Rukn-i-Alam's tomb, which overlooks the city. A band of musicians chanting songs punctuated by the saint's name is often present at the tomb.

The British have their own tomb in Multan, too, in the form of a 50 m high obelisk outside the fort in memory of Lt. Patrick Alexander Vans Agnew and his assistant William Anderson. Vans Agnew was a rising deputy to James Abbott in Hazara. He and Anderson came to the city in early 1848, before the British annexed the Punjab, with a Sikh delegation to assert joint control from Lahore over Dewan Mulraj, Multan's independent-minded governor. He had been collecting large sums in taxes but not relinquishing the money to the Sikh court in Lahore.

Dewan Mulraj ceremoniously met and welcomed the men on April 18. The next day they toured the fort and he presented to their Sikh escort the keys to the city. As they were leaving the fort, his forces suddenly attacked the British officers. They were wounded but managed to escape to the city's Friday mosque, Eid Gah (photograph 57). There they were surrounded on all three sides by hostile forces.

Vans Agnew managed to send out desperate pleas for help by mail carrier: "I have a smart gash in the left shoulder, and other in the same arm. The whole Mooltan troops have mutinied, but we hope to get them round. They have turned our two companies out of the fort. Yours in haste, Lt P. A. Vans Agnew."[1] But they arrived too late. He and

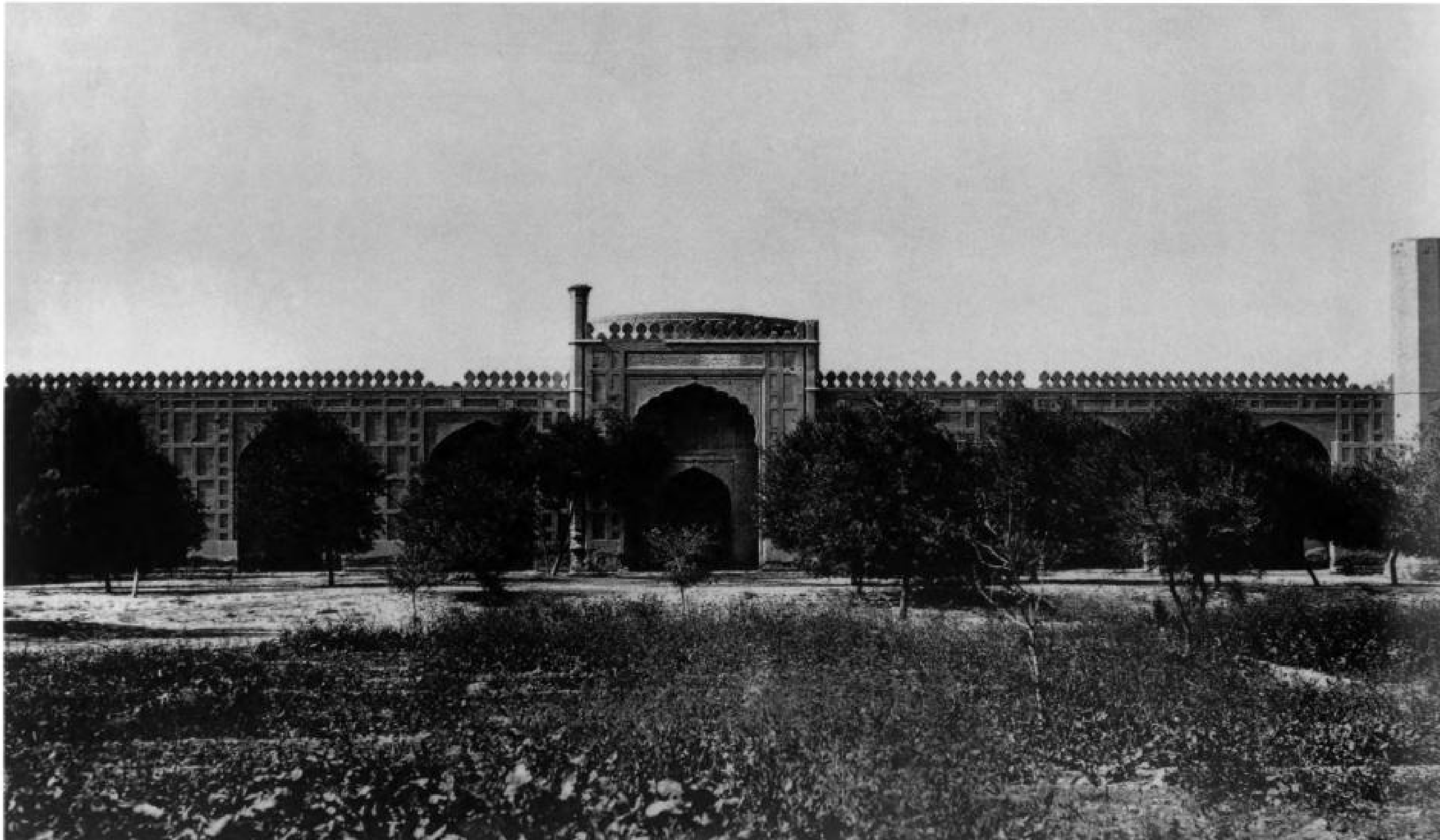
Anderson were overwhelmed and killed in one of the very few times that Gurkha troops abandoned their British commanding officers.[2]

The photograph of the obelisk later erected in their honour became one of the few popular shots of Multan featured in British albums and in the Baker & Burke catalogue. Like the well at Kanpur, the Vans Agnew Memorial for this event, which sparked the Second Sikh War, seemed to embody British suffering and justified annexation of the Punjab. Their epitaph included the lines "Wounded and forsaken, / They could offer no resistance, / But hand in hand calmly awaited, / The onset of the assailants."[3]

The tomb of Rukn-i-Alam is the other popular Multan shot. However, with the exception of John McCosh's early salt prints of Dewan Mulraj in 1848 (see the introduction), Multan does not seem to have been extensively photographed in the early days of the medium. Baker & Burke's photographs of Multan are probably among the earliest taken of the city.

57 **The "Eed Gah"**
William Baker #723, Multan, Punjab, 1864-66
By permission of The British Library

Like many other Mughal buildings across the Punjab, this mosque in Multan had fallen into complete disrepair during the 19th century. It was built in 1735 and is similar to the Badshahi Mosque in Lahore (photograph 105). Today, the Eid Gah has been restored with the original tile work. The name of the mosque literally refers to the place for prayers offered during the Muslim holy days of Eid.



57

58 The Amir [Shere Ali Khan], Large size head in profile
Burke #3 (Shere Ali Khan series), Amballa, Punjab, March 1869
By permission of The British Library

Following page
59 Group of The Amir Shere Ali Khan, Prince Abdoollah Jan and Sirdars
Burke #7 (Shere Ali Khan series), Amballa, Punjab, March 1869
Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

On the back page of the Baker & Burke catalogue is an advertisement for a special series on Amir Shere Ali Khan of Afghanistan at the Amballa Durbar in 1869. Durbar comes from a Persian word that means court or the executive gathering of a feudal state.[1] The only other special photographic series advertised in the catalogue is of Lord Mayo's visit to Peshawar (photographs 12–14). The Amballa Durbar was an auspicious moment. The First Afghan War had led to the defeat of the British army after a brief occupation of Kabul in 1842. British proponents of the aggressive Forward Policy had been itching ever since to take revenge and occupy Afghanistan. The Afghan kingdom, itself in turmoil amid battles between relatives, tried to stay independent. On January 3, 1869, a new amir, Shere Ali Khan, took over. He was no friend of the British but knew how to appease them. In 1869 he journeyed to Amballa just east of Lahore for a durbar with Viceroy Lord Mayo. It was the first visit by an Afghan ruler in an attempt to mend fences between two wary and hostile neighbours.

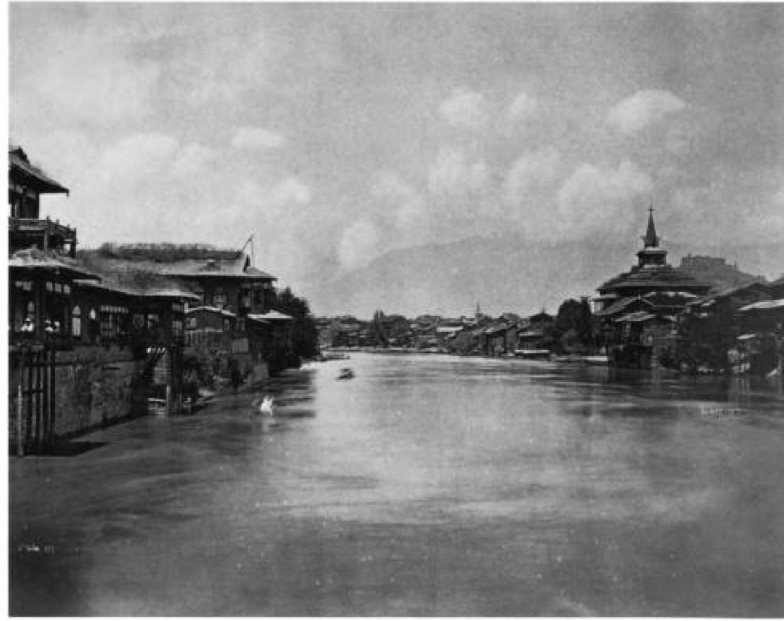
The portrait itself seems to have been taken outside Peshawar. The small boy standing at Shere Ali Khan's side was his son and heir apparent, Prince Abdullah Jan. During the durbar, the amir resisted the British desire to station an embassy in Kabul, which would have been regarded by the Afghans as akin to an invasion. On the other hand, he wanted their help to establish his legitimacy. The British offered large sums of money but left him to find his own way of ruling Afghanistan.[2] Burke's "Photographs of the Amir Shere Ali Khan and Suite" provide a unique record of an early encounter between people largely unknown to each other except through prejudice, which this sympathetic portrait does not reinforce. Some years later, a woman recalling the durbar wrote:

> *When, on the invitation of Lord Mayo, the reigning Ameer, summoned up the courage to adventure himself on British territory, and travelled as far south as Umballa, there to be received in State by the Union at a grand Durbar held in his honour on March 27 1869. That gorgeous scene, and many others scarcely less striking, which arrested the ego in every turn during that memorable week, have furnished a succession of pictures never to be forgotten by those who were so fortunate as to witness them.*[3]

59

60 Down the River from the 3rd Bridge

Baker & Burke #1157, Srinagar, Kashmir, 1864–68
Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles



Ironically, the Baker & Burke catalogue was the highpoint and endpoint of the two photographers' collaboration. Sometime in 1873, about one year after the catalogue was published, Burke established himself independently as "J. Burke, Photographer." He was 32 years old and had worked with Baker for at least 12 years.

Adequate information does not exist to determine exactly what precipitated the separation. *Thacker's Indian Directory* continued to list the firm's name as "W. Baker & Co., Photographers" through 1871. Although entries typically reflected changes that had been submitted a year earlier, "Baker and Burke, Photographers" appears for the first time in the 1872 entry and again in the 1873 entry. The latter explicitly lists both men as partners. The 1874 entry lists "Burke, Photographer" for the first time.[1] It is fair to assume that the split occurred sometime before June 22, 1873, when Baker registered the purchase of Baker's Buildings in the Murree land records.[2]

John Burke may simply have preferred to set out on his own. Health or personal issues may have been involved. Neither man seems to have had any financial problems. Burke took with him two British assistants, Thomas Winter and J. Pearsall, plus one can assume enough local workers to run three branches. "J. Burke, Photographer" initially opened in Murree and Rawalpindi; an entry under Peshawar follows in the 1874 publication of the directory, although its absence in 1873 may have been an oversight. All three branches primarily offered photographic services.

W. Baker & Co. continued its operations in 1874, including a photography practice, and retained the services of two assistants, C. Vaughan and W. Mayes; J. Cook ran the agency for the Murree Brewery Co. in Rawalpindi. In Peshawar on November 3, 1875, Baker's second wife, Elizabeth, died of fever at the age of 27. After this death, W. Baker & Co. seems to have faded from view. The name vanishes from the directory in 1876, replaced by "H. Baker & Brothers, wine merchants, house and commission agents and agents for the Murree Brewery" in Peshawar.[3] This new firm was soon running advertisements in the *Civil and Military Gazette* for their "well-known . . . Peshawur port, Peshawur Sherry and Peshawur Ginger Wine."[4] An entry for "H. Baker & Nathoo, coach-builders" also appears in *Thacker's Indian Dictionary*. Baker's successors do not seem to have established a successful single line of business. Photography is no longer mentioned and there is no clear evidence that Baker took photographs after 1875. William Baker himself died of heat apoplexy in Peshawar on June 19, 1880. He would have been just over 50 years old. He is buried in Peshawar, although his gravestone does not survive (photograph 124).

Who ended up in posssession of the negatives—the heart of the catalogue and the photography business? Burke seems to have inherited them, whether immediately or not is unclear, suggesting that Baker abandoned the business, whether for health or financial reasons. On a number of plates Burke scratched out W. Baker's signature and added his own. In this photograph of Srinagar, for example, an attempt has been made to scratch out W. Baker's signature and replace it with "J. Burke #1157." Other times, he cropped the prints to hide Baker's signature and added his own (photograph 33). The use of the same numbers suggests that Burke was in possession of most negatives. On some photographs he simply added his name to that of Baker (photograph 31). Later, Burke also reused some early Peshawar shots (photographs 2 and 3) in his

Afghan War catalogue (#F and #G). The erasure of names may indicate an acrimonious parting or a friendly transition. However, for more than a decade, Burke would advertise his own firm with the subtitle "Late Baker & Burke," showing that the old name carried a measure of goodwill.

Possession of the negatives ensured future revenue. Photographs remained expensive. The large 10-by-12-in shots in the catalogue were priced at Rs. 4 each. Medium size cabinet cards were Rs. 3 and 3-by-4-in shots were Rs. 1.5 each. In those days the monthly cost of a servant was Rs. 2. A top British official would make Rs. 500 per month and a soldier earned Rs. 20–50 per month. Photographs were not quite commodities. Each printed photograph probably cost the photographer Rs. 1 or Rs. 2 in imported chemicals and papers, with a fair probability that photographs would not come out right. Printing too many photographs at a time entailed investment in inventory and the risk of loss; printing too few could lead to unprofitable production.

Considering the Baker & Burke catalogue as a whole, Baker seems to have taken most of the photographs of cantonments scattered in the Punjab, the Frontier and on the borders. Many were made simultaneously with portraits of army officers serving at the stations, suggesting that Baker's army connections endured long after he went into private business. Burke on the other hand was more engaged in archaeological photography and events involving Afghanistan, apparently without Baker.

61 Group of the Khan [of Khelat] and Personal Sirdars

John Burke, Delhi?, December 1876 to January 1877
Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

After the breakup of Baker & Burke, John Burke continued to operate a branch in Peshawar until 1878, after which references to it cease to appear in *Thacker's Indian Directory*.[1] He continued to maintain his headquarters in Murree and a branch in Rawalpindi for another two decades. Like many other photographers, he pursued special political events. One of these was possibly the visit of the Prince of Wales to Lahore in January 1876.[2] Another was certainly: the imperial assemblage in Delhi, where Queen Victoria was officially proclaimed empress of India on January 1, 1877. This move was meant to emphasise to her Indian subjects the importance of these dominions, over which she had fully taken control more than 18 years earlier. Every photographer for hundreds of miles was drawn to this event, one of the defining ceremonies of the Raj. There John Burke's penchant for photographing "the enemy"—when the enemy was friendly enough to be photographed—was on display again.

Near the major southern Afghan city of Kandahar lay Baluchistan. Historically, much of the territory belonged to or owed allegiance to rulers of Afghanistan. However, it always played an important logistical role for British expeditions in Afghanistan. Various parts were occupied from 1839 until 1842 during the First Afghan War. The independent princely state of Kalat in Baluchistan first came under some semblance of British control in 1854 following a treaty negotiated by Gen. John Jacob of Jacobabad in upper Sindh. British political agents were assigned to the state until 1873. In 1874 and 1875 internecine warfare broke out in Kalat between the ruler, Mir Khudadad Khan, who had assumed the title as a mere boy in 1857, and some of his chiefs.

The British tried to intervene, but shortly after one mission in 1875, the mir again killed many of his challengers. The British returned with "a large escort"[3] under the leadership of Sir Robert Groves Sandeman (1853–1902), the father of British Baluchistan. As agent to the governor-general for Baluchistan from 1877 to 1892, he "initiated a new frontier policy of influence rather than of non-interference."[4] In other words, he used the might of the British Empire to "convince" Baluchi chieftains to defer to British rule. The Treaty of Mastung, signed in July 1875, forced the mir to lease Quetta District to the British, while keeping control of Kalat and their other lands but under the supervision of a British minister. However, trouble again rose and in 1876 the British launched an assault against the fortress of Kalat and Mir Khudadad Khan. The mir was forced to sign a treaty in December 1876 that recognised British rule.

Nonetheless, the treaty still left him in power and one of the most independent rulers to be invited to the imperial assemblage, which began later that month. There he was treated on par with Maharajah Scindia of Gwalior and Maharajah Ranbir Singh of Kashmir, among the hundreds of feudal rulers who came to pay homage to Queen Victoria and recognise her ultimate rule over their lands.

Mir Khudadad Khan occupied a singular position in the imagination of the British in India at the time. More press during the assembly was devoted to him than any other ruler. He was the freshest and most fashionable notoriety. He was described as a murderer of his own relatives. The most respectable newspapers carried stories of how he tried to carry off the furniture and fittings from his tents at the assemblage. His spell can be measured by the fact that when Burke ran an advertisement in the *Pioneer* of Allahabad for a 13-shot series of the assemblage, beneath it was a set of four separate shots of the "Khan of Kalat" and his entourage.[5]

This photograph was also published in London the same year in a book on the history of the imperial assemblage.[6] The 14 photographs in the book are usually all attributed to Bourne & Shepherd, but this is clearly Burke's photograph with the familiar rounded-top corners. Burke probably took this photograph in Delhi, as it is not known whether he ever went to Baluchistan. Burke's advertisement in the *Pioneer* may show his desire to reach east of the Punjab towards the wider Raj for customers or derive from the fact that the subject matter of the assemblage was of interest to the entire Raj.

In 1893 Mir Khudadad Khan was accused of one murder too many—this time of his chief accountant and his family after he suspected the accountant of treachery. The British forced the mir to abdicate in favour of his own son and he lived out the rest of his years in exile in different parts of Baluchistan.

Sandeman built a residency and established a cantonment that became the capital of an enormous sparsely populated region of widely scattered tribes. Despite having been a foreign conqueror, some Baluchis remembered him fondly as having quelled feudal struggles and instigated development measures in the province.

62. Ali Musjid and Camp from Sultan Tarra, showing Sunga where Major Birch and Lieutenant Fitzgerald, 27th Punjab Infantry, were killed

John Burke #26 (Afghan War album), Khyber, NWFP, 1878–79, Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

CHAPTER 5

THE SECOND AFGHAN WAR 1878–80

The Second Afghan War may not have been, in the words of one leading scholar, "a necessary war."[1] Yet it was a fascinating war because it defined the limits of the Raj on the ground and in the psyche of British India. The press, photographers, amateur writers, sketchers, army diarists and artists popularised it to the extent that it nourished fiction for decades to come. The war unleashed forces its instigators never foresaw and even helped lead to the defeat of the Disraeli Government in London in 1879. On the ground it was an extremely bloody war, but stories of wanton hangings by British troops made it back to London and tarnished quite a few reputations. The historic British defeat at Maiwind in southern Afghanistan, followed by General Roberts's legendary march on Kandahar, were also well-worn stories. The latter inspired British schoolboys for generations. It can be hard to sort fact from fiction in this war, but in the end, no real winners emerged.

The war had its ostensible origins in 1878 when the Afghan king, Shere Ali Khan (photographs 60 and 61), accepted an embassy from the Russians and refused one from the British. This chain of events had in fact been concocted by advocates of the Forward Policy. Cooler minds knew the futility of venturing into Afghanistan, where they were not welcome, and the enormous cost of maintaining supply lines across sparse, hostile terrain. They also remembered that the First Afghan War had ended in 1842 with the famous oft-painted scene of a British doctor, the sole survivor of the British residency in Kabul, dragging his skeleton over the horizon to a lone outpost in the eastern town of Jalalabad. That was one war the British lost completely.

Almost four decades had passed. Advocates of the Forward Policy now had a champion in the new viceroy, Lord Lytton (1831–91). Edward Robert Bulwer, the first earl of Lytton, dreamed of conquests to further his own political ambitions. Around him were officers thirsting for the honours real battles could bring. Once events began to unfold, the nebulous logic of the Great Game took hold. If a Britisher were to recall that the Afghans had done nothing to start this war—that no immediate threat to the Empire was involved—it would have mattered little.

John Burke was in many ways a beneficiary of the war. He travelled together with the troops as they invaded Afghanistan, which gave him the opportunity to become the first significant photographer of Afghanistan and its people. He spent many months in Jalalabad and Kabul, lining up people in front of his camera. Burke must have taken thousands of photographs during the two-year conflict. Nearly 400 of them were published, sequentially numbered, in two major catalogues that appeared as the war progressed: (1) Afghan War, 1878–79. Catalogue of Photographs. Peshawur Field Force. Attock to Jellalabad, Gandamak and Surkhab; and (2) the two-part Kabul War, 1879–80. Photographs by J. Burke, and Kabul War, 1880. Photographs of Kabul, Jug-dulluck, & c.[2] "Kabul War" was a term that came into vogue with the British occupation of Afghanistan's capital but later was dropped in favour of the more comprehensive "Afghan War." These two parts were then combined to create one final catalogue. From this, Burke himself assembled for sale four different albums of 100 photographs each.[3] These are generally known collectively as his Afghan War album, for which he is best remembered. He also invited customers to select their own photographs for assembly into customised albums of 30, 50 or 100 photographs.

Some 40 of Burke's photographs were also published as wood engravings in the *Graphic*. Through his camera, the British public viewed places and people they had never before seen. He even appeared himself on the cover of one issue, a rare privilege for any 19th-century photographer.

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Ali Musjid is inside a fort located on the dark hill on the left. A Buddhist temple was later found here as well. The hilltop had for centuries controlled the movement of men and arms through the Khyber Pass between Afghanistan and India. Its capture from Shere Ali was one of the very first British war objectives.

63 H.H. The Amir Shere Ali Khan, large sized portrait
John Burke #A (Afghan War album), Amballa, Punjab, 1869
Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

Amir Shere Ali Khan was one of the most tragic figures in this conflict. This photograph of him actually dates to 1869 at the Amballa Durbar when he first negotiated with the British. Burke reused it as part of the introductory set (#A–#G) before the first numbered photographs of his Afghan War catalogue, which he advertised (photograph 64) as opening with this shot of the amir.

Shere Ali was not a popular figure among the British. The *Times* correspondent wrote: "Personally, Shere Ali is of no pleasing appearance. In countenance he bears a striking resemblance to his nephew Aberrahman, both having the heaviest type of Afghan features, in which are equally mingled expressions of fear, ferocity and cunning."[1] His father, Dost Mohammed Khan (1791–1863), became amir of Afghanistan in 1833 and established its borders and independence from British India by treaty in 1855. After he died, a war ensued among his sons for the throne. The fifth son, Shere Ali, was able to come to power in 1869 only after killing two of his brothers and defeating his nephew Abdur Rehman in battle. He had ruled unstably ever since. He had not been satisfied by British assistance or treatment of him at the Amballa Durbar; attempts in 1873 and 1877 to increase British support for his rule ended unsuccessfully.

The British were miffed that the amir had received a Russian general in Kabul. They demanded that Major Cavagnari, a senior official and one-time deputy commissioner of Kohat District, be equivalently received in Kabul and given an audience with the amir. The major rode up to Ali Musjid, the entrance to the Khyber Pass (photograph 62), in August only to be turned away by Afghan border guards. The British set another deadline, November 20, for the amir to accept their friendly embassy. The amir, whose hold on the throne was tenuous, was in no position to acquiesce to foreign demands. He chose not to reply.

The next day the British attacked. Six columns of troops numbering 34,000 soldiers had already been prepared to launch simultaneous attacks along the entire Afghan border. The most important of these was initially the Peshawar Valley Field Force, made up of 6,500 men and 21,000 non-combatants assembled especially for this war under the command of a one-armed general and former Guides colonel, Sam Browne. These grand names for armies reflected the fact that many different regiments and battalions from all over the British army—and

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from the East India Company in the case of the Army of the Indus—were pulled together for a campaign. Burke accompanied the force.

Its orders were to take the Khyber Pass and march some 40 miles into Afghanistan and occupy Jalalabad, the biggest city on the road to Kabul. Within two days they had captured Ali Musjid, led by a suicidal charge up the hill by Major Birch, commanding the 14th Sikhs, and Lieutentant Fitzgerald (photograph 62), who would die while attending to his fallen commanding officer. The Guides surprised the Afghans from the rear. Shere Ali's forces fled, leaving behind tents, mules and heavy guns (see photograph on page 8).

The 14th Sikhs, also known as the Ferozepore Regiment, was, like many native infantry units, constituted after the Second Sikh War out of soldiers from the newly defeated armies. (They soon distinguished themselves at Lucknow in 1857 when they heroically fought their way into the city through enemy lines to relieve its British defenders.)

The amir had hoped to play the British and Russians against each other to strengthen his domestic position. After Ali Musjid fell, the Peshawar Valley Field Force slowly moved towards Jalalabad, fighting some battles along the way but also winning the allegiance of local tribal leaders who realised that resistance was futile. On New Year's Day in 1879, General Browne was able to convene an assembly in Jalalabad with local Afghan chieftains to wish the queen a happy birthday. Soon thereafter, the city of Kandahar was in sight of British columns marching through Baluchistan. Shere Ali fled to the Russian border hoping to secure the czar's help. He left his son Yakub Khan—most recently under house arrest as a threat to his father—temporarily on the throne in Kabul.

The amir received no help from the czar. Despite a treaty with the Russians, he was not allowed to enter the country. As one writer puts it, "His spirit and health broken, and refusing all food and medicine, he died at Balkh in February 1879."[2] Burke's choice to open the album with a photograph of Shere Ali was made around the time of his death. Yakub Khan became the new amir. The Peshawar Valley Field Force, not wishing to march on Kabul in the winter and recognising that the new amir needed time to establish himself before he could negotiate with the British, waited in Jalalabad.

Burke started taking photographs just as the war began. He was not an official army photographer—his attempts to secure this position do not begin until later (photograph 70)—but he must have had an excellent relationship with the army to be given the necessary access. Considering the time and effort he would spend following the war deep into Afghanistan over the next two years, he must have been attracted by the possibilities of photographing a war that was, for the British who lived on the Frontier, so long in the making.

For the first time, Burke would have a large, continuous audience in the capital of the Empire when his photographs made it to London where they appeared as wood engravings in the *Graphic*. The first engraving was published on October 26, 1878, and was actually from a photograph taken by Baker in 1863 (photograph 1). In the media build-up to the war, other—what seem to be—old Baker & Burke photographs of Peshawar (including photograph 3), Lahore and another of a view of Attock were published on November 16, 1878. The first Burke photographs taken in connection with the war were published in late May 1879 (photograph 64); Burke shots of the captured Afghan guns at Ali Musjid and other very early events were published in early June.[3] Words could reach London almost instantly via telegraph but photographs still needed to be sent by more cumbersome means. However, as the war continued, the time lag between an event and its depiction as an illustration in the popular media would lessen.

64 Group of British Officers (Q. O.) [Queen's Own] Guides
John Burke #30 (Afghan War album), Khyber, NWFP, 1878
Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

The Guides played a major role in the first phase of the war, when a number of the men in this photograph were killed. The most famous of these was Maj. Wigram Battye, seated at the far left, the seventh of 10 soldier brothers renowned for their valour and heroic deaths in battle. His brother, F. D. Battye, is standing second from right. The eldest, Quintin Battye, had fallen during the siege of Delhi in the war of 1857. Wigram Battye fell in the first phase of the Second Afghan War. "The news of the death of major Wigram Battye spread a great gloom over the camp. There was not an officer better loved or more respected by all races in the camp," wrote the *Graphic*'s artist and correspondent Frederich Villiers.[1]

Maj. Wigram Battye was an old Guide, having first been seriously wounded in the Ambela Campaigns of 1863. He participated in many subsequent Frontier campaigns to great acclaim. His final battle took place at Futtehabad, located outside Jalalabad, on April 2, 1879:

> *Major Battye, who was charging at the head of the Guides, was first shot in the leg, and afterwards in the arm and body, his horse also received two bullets and fell; and a brave native soldier, Resaldar Mahmoud Khan, who stood over his fallen officer's body, was cut to pieces before the troops could get him up. It was said that Major Battye killed four men with his own hand before he fell.*[2]

Wigram Battye was first buried in Jalalabad but later his grave was moved to Mardan (photograph 97). Lieutenant Hamilton, Battye's best friend who is standing on the right, received the Victoria Cross for his actions that day. He had taken over the Guides' Cavalry and saved a man's life, making him one of the war's early British heroes. He would die a few months later while leading the Guides' escort in Kabul (photograph 71). Colonel Jenkins, standing fourth from the left, commanded the Guides during the war, except for a brief period when this photograph was taken, at which time he was serving as a brigadier general in the Peshawar Valley Field Force.

The esteem with which Battye was held can be gauged from the fact that his grave in Jalalabad and a general shot of the graveyard (#106 and #107) were the two closing shots of the initial four-page Afghan War catalogue. Burke, it must be made clear, developed his offering in tandem with war developments. Indeed, an early single-page version of this catalogue appeared even before Wigram Battye was killed. Burke ran the advertisement below in Lahore's *Civil and Military Gazette* on March 6, 1879.

AFGHAN WAR 1878–79.

Now ready for publication,

"BURKE'S" SERIES OF PHOTOGRAPHS

Illustrating the advance of the Peshawar Field Force from
ATTOCK TO JELLALABAD.

The series begins with a very fine portrait of the Amir Sher Ali Khan Of Kabul, and consists of nearly one hundred large sized Photographs, in book complete, with descriptive catalogue.

PRICE, Rs. 200 Nett Cash.

Orders can be registered, and Catalogues obtained on application to—

J. BURKE,
Peshawur.

N.B.—All orders will be issued according to registry of names. Early applications requested, to enable books to be ordered from England in time.

The series referred to in this advertisement consists of 98 photographs, plus the introductory shots (#A–#G), for a total of 105 images. These were part of the first catalogue, which was published later with an addition of nine photographs taken in May 1879 as well as a second section consisting of a series of group photographs of men and their commanding officers (#115–#146). It bore the same title, *Peshawur Field Force* . . . , but rather than also calling the whole set "'Burke's' Series of Photographs," the collection was referred to in the later series as "The Afghan Book," which Burke described as "100 photographs neatly mounted . . . [for] Rs. 200." The catalogue facilitated the ordering process—"when ordering photographs only write the numbers"—and came with the album as a descriptive list of photograph titles. The first album of 100 photographs—later renamed again as the "Khyber Series, India to Safed Sung"—is the best known and most consistent of Burke's

albums. By the end of the war, he offered three more albums of 100 different photographs each but their specific selections often varied.

Clearly, Burke was making it up as he went along. Few precedents, if any, existed in British Indian photography for a product on the scale of Burke's Afghan War series and albums; nothing similar seems to have ever followed. Albums were put out in commemoration of a feudal event or a ceremony. However, they generally comprised a handful of copies under official patronage or funding or were in the form of a book published by a firm or institution, not a commercial offering by a single photographer. As the advertisement suggests, Burke must have calculated that the thousands of British troops involved, as well as the general interest in the conflict throughout the western Raj, warranted the offering. The fact that he continued to build his series as the war progressed shows that it must have met with some success.

65 Jellalabad, the main street shewing [*sic*] covered Bazaar
John Burke #75 (Afghan War album), Jalalabad, Afganistan, 1879
Michael Wilson Collection

Burke was closely attached to the Peshawar Valley Field Force when it sat out the winter in Jalalabad. He seems to have spent a considerable amount of time there, given the number of photographs of the city and its surroundings that made it into the first part of his Afghan War catalogue. He probably commuted back to Peshawar when needed. He must have enjoyed some measure of official support. Logistics were the biggest problem for the British army during the war. Food supply was often inadequate; so was transportation. Sustenance that was available in the region was barely adequate for the local population. Everything the British consumed had to be brought across the Indus.

The occupation of Jalalabad was largely uneventful. The British waited patiently for Yakub Khan in Kabul to deliberate and finally accept or reject their conditions. These pertained to renouncing any alliance with czarist Russia and accepting a permanent, if small, British embassy to be stationed in Kabul and headed by Major Cavagnari. Without too visibly undermining Afghanistan's sovereignity—or, rather, the rule of an amir who was friendly to the British, yet at the same time was not seen as a traitor by his own people and thereby avoided being caught in endless internecine battles—the British were determined to neutralise the kingdom as a vehicle for instability on their Frontier or for Russian designs on India.

Although minor battles with local chieftains took place in areas around Jalalabad, the British were able to move about the city freely. British soldiers even enjoyed the public baths. Burke could easily walk around and take pictures of the amir's palace and gardens in the snow, musicians in the street (photograph 69), groups of prisoners (photograph 66), Buddhist ruins (photograph 70), views of the city, bridges, forts and battle locations. Burke's photographs of Jalalabad are probably the first to have been taken of that city; no others seem to survive from this period.

One photograph was titled *Jellalabad, the Bastion where General Elphinstone and others were buried during the siege of 1841–42* (#76). This refers to what became the final resting place of the British commander General Elphinstone during the First Afghan War. Elphinstone, though old and sick, had been in charge in Kabul at the end of 1841. He had not properly prepared the defenses when the British came under attack during Christmas. He then led the disastrous retreat towards Jalalabad when British troops and civilians were picked off from the hills by Afghan fighters. He finally surrendered as a hostage in exchange for safe passage for civilians, despite the fact that the Afghans had broken all such earlier agreements; they ignored this one as well. He died of dysentery in Afghan captivity (saving the British army, according to some, the need to court-martial him).

Historical redemption was an important British theme during this war. The third shot in Burke's catalogue is a photograph titled *Certificate, with signatures, given by European prisoners in Kabul 1842, to one Bahu Khan* (#C). It conveyed the Afghan violation of the agreement for safe passage from Kabul that led to many British deaths. Like Kanpur (photograph 53), it was meant to represent the moral upper hand of British civilisation, evading the fact that the British were invading another people's land.

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66 Halt of Prisoners from Bassaule, with Escort 45th Rattray's Sikhs, on the Khurd Khyber Pass

John Burke #55 (Afghan War album), Khyber, NWFP, 1878–79
Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

Neither side had room for prisoners, especially those without rank. This is an unusual photograph; the men shown were very lucky to have still been alive. Another Burke photograph in the catalogue, although slightly out of focus, was entitled *Five Syuds, Prisoners en route from Jellalabad* (#91). Syeds were considered descendants of the Prophet Muhammad's tribe and were thus noteworthy captives.

Engravings could go much further than photographs in depicting the usual fate of prisoners, both for technological reasons (the long exposure times needed) and because an actual photograph might have been too revealing. On April 19, 1879, for example, the *Graphic* ran three images on "The Afghan War—Punishments in Camp": *A Slight Misdemeanor at Jamrood* showed a man being flogged, *Civil Law: the Extreme Penalty at Peshawur* showed a man being hung and *Martial Law: the Extreme Penalty at Lundi Kotal* showed three men being executed by firing squad. Another engraving published on February 8 of the same year shows the body of a "Ghazi," or so-called fanatic willing to die fighting, being carried to a fire outside Jalalabad.[1] Similarly, British troops who were killed or fell into Afghan hands were regularly dismembered by the Afghans and had their genitals stuffed into their mouths. Rescuing the bodies of fallen comrades was a British priority.

67 Officers Her Majesty's 51st Regiment on Sultan Tarra, showing different Services Uniforms worn

John Burke #20 (Afghan War album), NWFP, 1878
Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

This oft-republished Burke photograph shows the motley nature of the British troops and costumes. The placement of the three Afghans, perhaps Pathans, above the troops is a typical Burke twist on the expected hierarchical composition of Victorian imagery of Europeans and natives (photograph 84).

67

68 The Kabul River Jellalabad scene of the disaster
John Burke #59 (Afghan War album), Jalalabad, Afghanistan, 1879
Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

This shot shows the location where 49 members of the 10th Hussars were drowned on the night of March 29, 1879. Another squadron had crossed the Kabul River just before them in the dead of night. The Hussars were following a pack of mules closing the first group's line. Suddenly, their horses found themselves in deep water and panicked. An orderly retreat became impossible in the confusion. Men and animals were swept into the fast-moving stream, weighed down by their baggage. According to the *Graphic*:

> *All that morning and day the search [for bodies] was continued, but only nineteen bodies were recovered. At half-past seven the next morning the burial took place in the little cemetery which has been made a short distance from the camp. Every one who could possibly leave their duties followed in the wake of the dhoolies* (stretchers) *carrying the bodies; and many a heart swelled as the strains of that exquisite march of Schauppmann's played the poor fellows to their last resting place.*[1]

The first British troops inside Afghanistan in 1878 were from a squadron of the 10th Hussars. Formed in 1715, they were also known as The Tenth, and after the then Prince of Wales became their commanding colonel in 1784, the Prince of Wales's Own Royal Regiment of Hussars.

69 Scene in the City Jellalabad
John Burke #77 (Afghan War album), Jalalabad, Afghanistan, 1879
Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

This photograph shows a group of musicians in the street in Jalalabad. Burke signed his name near the centre of the image, right next to the musician holding the instrument.

69

70 General View Ispola and Sultan Kheyl Villages, showing Buddhist Tope
John Burke #39 (Afghan War album), Khyber, NWFP, 1878–79
Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

Burke's Afghan War album includes a number of archaeological photographs, mainly of Buddhist and Mughal monuments. The advancing British forces, accompanied by a mixed baggage train of reporters, sketchers and amateur artists, came across a number of Buddhist ruins. At the time, they knew little about Buddhist history in the subcontinent. One of the unintended consequences of the Afghan War and the Great Game explorers who ventured this way was the growth of interest in the earlier Bactrian-Greek and Buddhist periods (photograph 10).

In the first part of the catalogue, Burke includes this photograph and two others of the Ispola stupa and another of a stupa found at the top of Ali Musjid. Archaeological relics were also proving of interest to the other artists and illustrators travelling to Afghanistan to cover the war for the news media. The well-known British painter William Simpson was one of them; he also sketched the Ispola stupa. Besides the illustrations he made for the *Illustrated London News*, Simpson wrote for the *Daily News* in London. In his autobiography he gives an exciting and chilling account of the violation of a stupa similar to the one featured in this photograph.

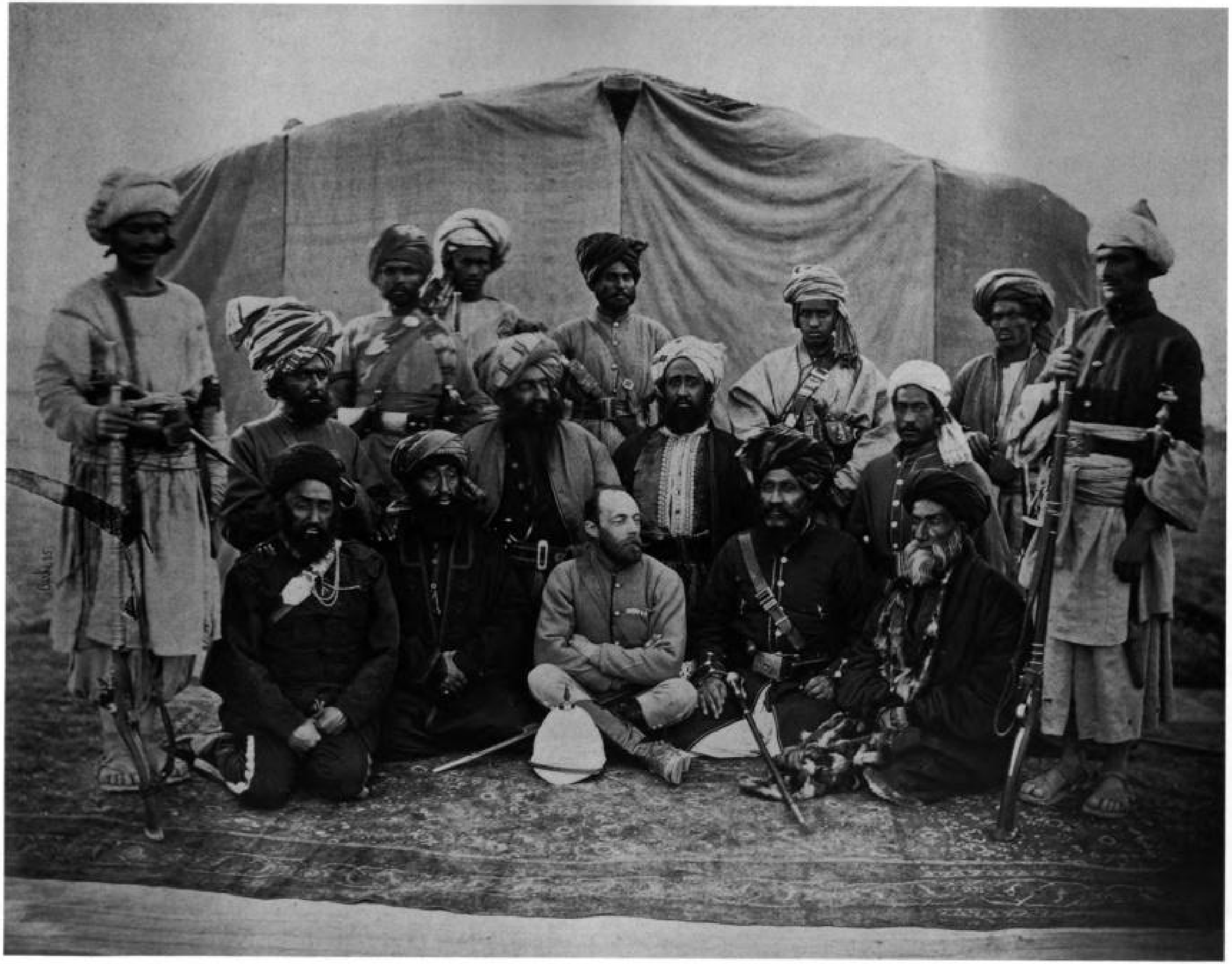
Simpson had arranged for a party of men to dig a 50 ft tunnel into the centre of an enormous stupa. There they found a slab, which they removed:

> *A second [slab] lay below it. This was also carefully taken up, so as not to let any of the small fragments of hardened mud fall into the cell, which was now uncovered. There was enough light by the tunnel to do all of this, but it was too dark to see the cavity or what was in it. I had anticipated this, and brought a candle in my pocket, which we lighted. The cell was very small, being about 15 inches square, very neatly formed with small fragments of slate. There was a small heap of brown looking stuff. By supposing that the contents of a coffee pot had been emptied, an idea of it will be formed. Something lay on top of this heap, which I at last lifted. It turned out to be a gold relic holder. One of the Sappers pointed to another object, which turned out to be a gold coin. I began to collect the dust into a piece of the Saturday Review. On taking up the first handful, another glittering object was seen; this was another coin. One of the Sappers pointed to another, part of which projected out of the dust. As I removed the brown stuff, coin after coin appeared, till I had eighteen of them in my hands. Two more were found in the gold relic holder, making a total of twenty in all. The brown stuff, I assumed, was the ashes of some holy man, in whose honor the tope had been erected.*[1]

Even as other artists were attaching themselves to London magazines to cover the war, Burke was developing his own plans. The degree of success in his initial sale of the Afghan War albums is not known. However, a month after the newspaper advertisement for it appeared (photograph 64), and while British troops in Jalalabad were still awaiting response from Yakub Khan, Burke wrote a letter to the military department of the Government of India in Simla requesting a formal contract.[2] He is replying to a previously discussed request or offer from the government. A rare piece of writing by Burke, it is reproduced here exactly as written and gives some insight into the expenses and organisation needed to support his photographic effort:

> [No. 2987] From J. BURKE, Esq. To the Under-Secretary to Government of India, Military Department.—(Dated Peshawar the 4th April 1879.)
>
> IN compliance with your request I now beg to state I am prepared to accompany the Peshawar Valley Field Force as photographic artist on the part of the Government of India, on the same terms as I have on former occasions been employed by the Government, viz:—
>
> Rs. 1,000. (one thousand) per mensem [two weeks] with local honorary rank with the position I shall occupy.
>
> Free carriage say 12 mules. Rations for self, servants and horse on payment.
>
> I providing my own chemical apparatus and other requirements.
>
> In consideration of which the Government will be entitled to my services when required and six copies each of every plate I may do, and the right of purchase of any or all the plates at a valuation of Rs. 20 each, I retaining duplicates.
>
> I shall be entitled to all the privileges attached to my appointment, and will endeavour to my utmost to give the Government every satisfaction, and observe all the rules in force.
>
> I would beg the favour of being appointed to Lieutenant-General S. E. Browne's personal staff or Major Cavagnari, C.S.I. [Companion of the Star of India].
>
> I trust the above will meet with the favourable consideration and approval of His Excellency the Viceroy, and that the appointment be telegraphed to me, to enable my starting at once for Jellalabad.[3]

70



71

71 **Major Cavagnari, C.S.I. and Chief Sirdars with Kunar Syud**
John Burke #85 (Afghan War album), Jalalabad, Afghanistan, 1878–79
Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

The official reply to Burke's letter from Colonel Burne at the military department came two weeks later:

> *I am desired to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 4th April 1879, and in reply to inform you that the Government of India are unable to entertain your application to be allowed to proceed as photographic artist on the staff of the Peshawar Valley Field Force on the terms and conditions named by you.*
>
> *2. Any assistance you may require in the way of transport, & c., should be applied for to the Quartermaster-General's Department.*[1]

Whether the official reply seemed logical or capricious, it certainly was not an unusual request to Colonel Burne. A number of photographers wanted to work the war. In his next communication Colonel Burne authorises release of photographic equipment for Captain Waterhouse to accompany Lieutenant General Stewart's forces. In this case the request had come directly from Stewart, the commanding general of the Southern Afghanistan Field Force moving towards Kandahar. After approving the request, Colonel Burne passed it on to the Archaeological Survey of India, probably a known source of photographic equipment. Before they could reply, Lieutenant General Stewart recalled that official war photographers and apparatus were already in place with the Bengal Sappers and Miners, an explosives group attached to the Peshawar Valley Field Force and based in Roorkhee, Hardwar District, in the Himalayan foothills.[2]

Colonel Burne does not entirely dismiss Burke's letter, by referring him to the quartermaster general (photograph 76) who was in charge of logistics. As the letter reveals, Burke would have needed significant cooperation from the army authorities. Having spent 20 years on the Frontier, he would have known most of the officers from their junior days and could have counted on such support. Major Cavagnari, for example, was a former deputy commissioner of Kohat and Peshawar districts. A half-Irish Italian nobleman, he was also an amateur photographer. An engraving made from one of his photographs was published next to Baker's photograph of Attock (photograph 1) in the *Graphic* on October 26, 1878 (since Major Cavagnari is in the shot, one wonders whether Baker or Burke might not have been the actual photographer).

This photograph of Major Cavagnari with the main leaders of tribes in the area was taken when the British were still waiting in Jalalabad. The gathering was part of a British attempt to favourably dispose as many semi-independent Afghan tribes as possible to any future treaty with Amir Yakub Khan. Major Cavagnari is to the left of Badshah Kunar Syed. Badshah literally means king but is often used as part of a person's name to emphasise stature. Here it likely refers to the fact that Kunar Syed was a powerful local ruler. Sardar Kala Khan, the trusted emissary between Yakub Khan and the British, is on the other side of Cavagnari. On his right is Sardar Wally Mohamed and on his left Sardar Ali Mahomed Khan.[3] The *Graphic*, which published this photograph on September 13, 1879, wrote of another similar view of Cavagnari and chieftains: "Their traditions claim for the Afridis and others descent from the Ten Lost Tribes, and this photograph certainly shows a strongly marked Jewish cast of feature."[4]

British newspapers claimed that Kunar Syed had come to Jalalabad to surrender to the British but it can be hard to determine what exactly this meant. The British were already occupying Afghan territory by being in Jalalabad. One can only imagine the negotiations that took place among the gentlemen and the complicated rules of precedence they must have followed in a tense situation. Perhaps Cavagnari surprised them by taking the lowest position and then stiffly turning his cheek up for the photograph.

For Cavagnari was nothing if not arrogant and his role as emissary to the Afghans was seen by those British officials more cautious in their Afghan policy as itself dangerously provocative.[5] Otherwise, why would one of their most aggressive officers be put in charge of coming to peaceful terms with the Afghans, who were very reluctant to agree to any foreign demands? He came from the royal family of Parma in Italy. His grandfather had been a general to Napoleon and his father served as private secretary to Prince Lucien Bonaparte. A direct recruit into the East India Army, he once challenged a notorious Afghan "troublemaker" to a duel and killed him, and "although of foreign extraction," concluded the *Graphic*, "he is by birth nearly, by education and training quite, English."[6] Viceroy Lord Lytton, who was most responsible for his appointment as emissary, is said to have known how reckless Cavagnari was and hoped that he would create an excuse for an invasion.[7]

In May 1879 the newly vested Amir Yakub Khan finally made it to Gandamak, a village just outside Jalalabad, where he entered into negotiations with Cavagnari. On May 25 he signed a treaty with the British. In exchange for peace, the amir ceded a number of territories to the British, including the Khyber Pass and the Kurram Valley, a large district south of Jalalabad that sticks like a finger into Afghanistan.

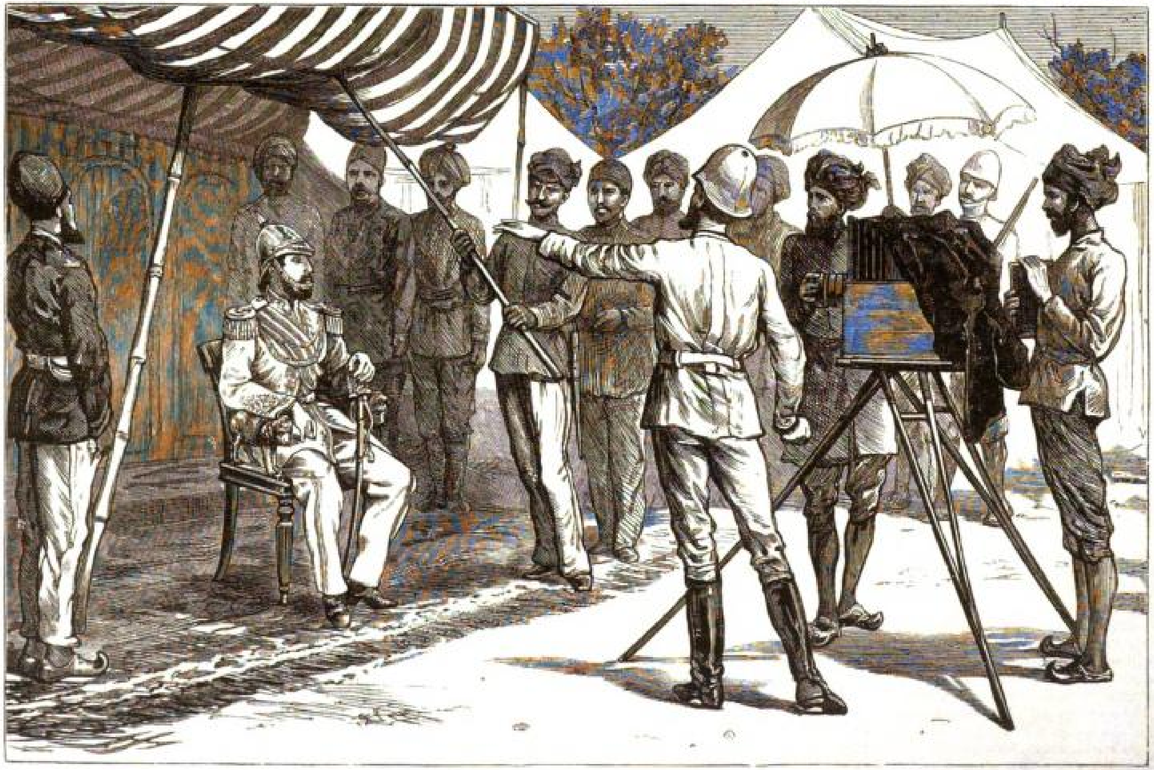
THE GRAPHIC

AN ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY NEWSPAPER

VOL. XX.—NO. 502
Regd. at General Post Office as a Newspaper]

SATURDAY, JULY 12, 1879

WITH EXTRA SUPPLEMENT [PRICE SIXPENCE
Or by Post Sixpence Halfpenny



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Jalalabad itself was to be returned to the amir. Yakub Khan also agreed to accept Major Cavagnari as British emissary in Kabul.

This longstanding British demand was extremely unpopular among the Afghans. As part of the Kabul mission, Cavagnari was allowed to bring with him only three British officers, including a surgeon, Lieutenant Hamilton and a secretary. Lieutenant Hamilton, who was only 25 years old, would be in charge of 75 handpicked and volunteer Guides serving as an escort (photograph 64).

72 **Mr. Burke Posing the Ameer**
Engraving from a sketch by Frederich Villiers, Jalalabad, Afghanistan, May 1879
Graphic, *July 12, 1879*

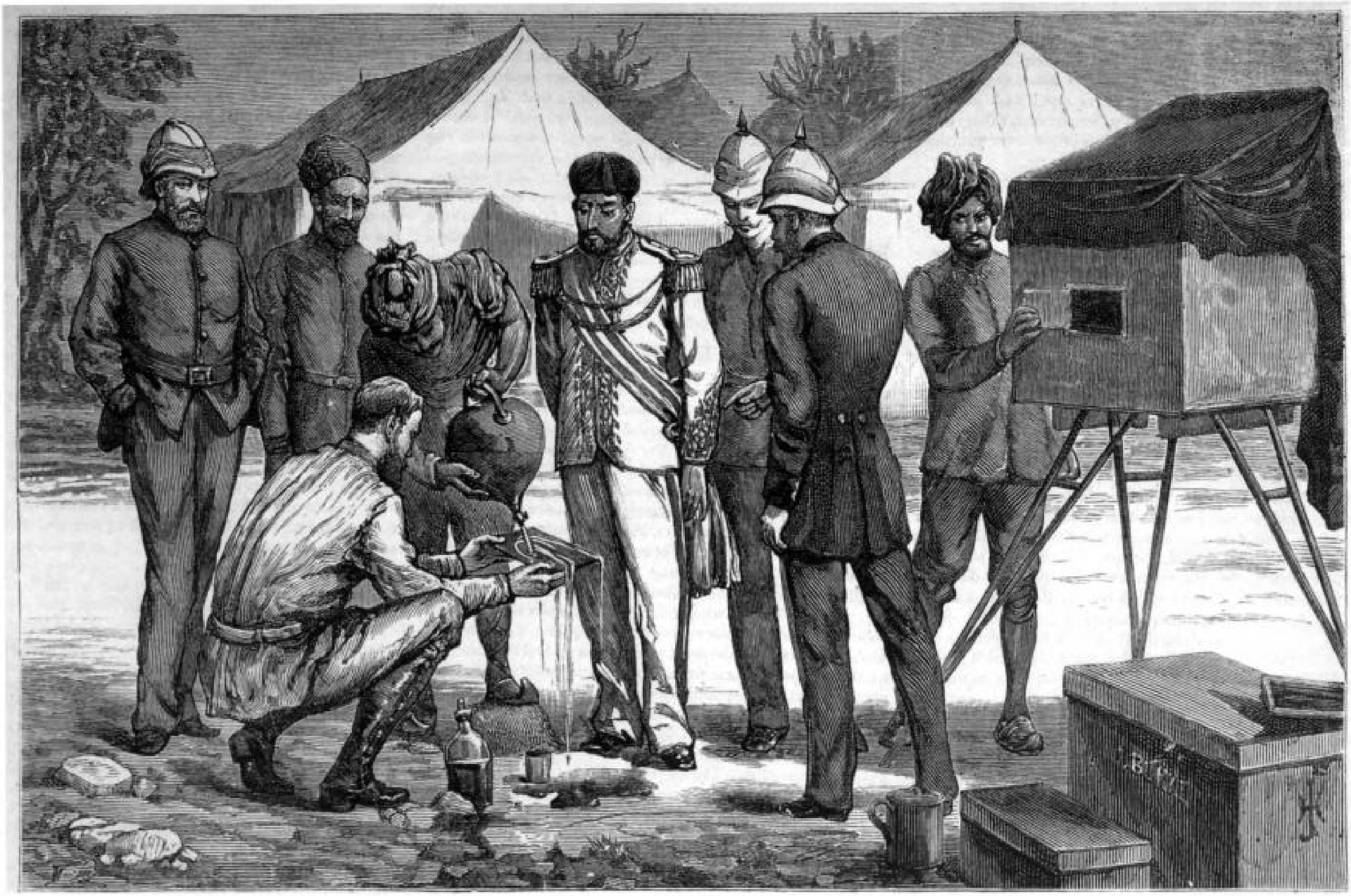
For a moment it seemed as if the war might be over. The Treaty of Gandamak led to a celebratory atmosphere in the popular British media, reflecting perhaps the unease that had been felt in the face of another major conflict in Afghanistan. At least five engravings from Burke photographs were published in the June 7 issue of the *Graphic* (including photograph 67). Two weeks later, the *Graphic* published the portrait of Yakub Khan and for the first time they mentioned John Burke by name, complementing "his admirable photographs of Afghan scenery."[1] The portrait had been shot at Gandamak and showed the amir in a distinct white uniform that he had also worn for Burke's group portrait with Cavagnari (photograph 74). This photograph was also praised by the correspondent of the *Civil and Military Gazette*, who wrote that Burke "secured a capital view of the meeting of the Envoy and the Ameer, a valuable addition to his series illustrating the campaign."[2] Six weeks after the treaty was signed, Burke himself appeared in two engravings on the front page of the *Graphic* (also photograph 73) under the main title "The End of the Afgan War—Photographing the Ameer Yakoob Khan at Gandamak."[3]

THE END OF THE AFGHAN WAR
Photographing the Ameer

"Mr. J. Burke," writes our artist, "the photographic artist attached to our Indian Army to illustrate the advance of the troops and the grand scenery of Afghanistan, was permitted by the Ameer of Cabul to take a series of pictures of himself and his suite in Gandamak. One of my sketches illustrates the process of 'posing' the Ameer, who indulged in a quiet smoke during the preparation of the photographic plates. After Mr. Burke had taken him in his gorgeous uniform of white and gold, the Ameer showed great anxiety to see the results, and Major Cavagnari explained to him the process of photography." With regard to the very brilliant uniform in which the Ameer arrayed himself for the occasion, the correspondent for the Daily News writes that the costume was perfectly European in all its details. The style was evidently formed after the model of some dress worn by a German, or most probably a Russian sovereign; certainly it was not copied from the Prince of Wales, the Viceroy, or any British civic or military official. His coats and trousers were of white cloth, heavily embroidered with gold, and a sash of blue, with three thin gold stripes through it, worn on the left shoulder. The head gear was a steel helmet, with gold and a plume of feathers surmounting it. He was photographed with his helmet on, and then with it off, and when bareheaded the Ameer presented a curious likeness to the Duke of Edinburgh—all the more striking as he parts his hair down the middle.[4]

Major Cavagnari was knighted just after the treaty was signed. His proud demeanour cannot hide the fact that he would be undertaking a dangerous mission in accompanying the amir back to Kabul. The treaty had given the British control over the amir's foreign affairs in exchange for a large fee, which many other Afghans—including his brother Ayub Khan who also eyed the throne—were not likely to tolerate. Many British officials also had serious misgivings. In early July, the night before Major Sir Cavagnari's departure for Kabul, General Roberts could not even raise a toast to him, so uncertain were his prospects.[5]

Following page
73 **"Fixing" the Negative**
Engraving from a sketch by Frederich Villiers, Jalalabad, Afghanistan, May 1879
Graphic, *July 12, 1879*



"FIXING" THE NEGATIVE

THE END OF THE AFGHAN WAR — PHOTOGRAPHING THE AMEER YAKOOB KHAN AT GANDAMAK

73

74

Previous page

74 Group, The Amir Yakub Khan, General Daod Shah, Habeebula Moustafi with Major Cavagnari C.S.I. and Mr. Jenkyns

John Burke #102 (Afghan War album), Jalalabad, Afghanistan, May 1879
Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

Yakub Khan was only 34 years old when this photograph was taken but he had already seen much in his lifetime. As a soldier he had led a surprise march on Kandahar in 1868 that brought his father, Shere Ali, to power. A few months later, when Shere Ali chose his much younger son Abdullah Jan (photograph 59) as heir apparent, Yakub rose in revolt and occupied the western Afghan city of Herat. He was nominally reconciled with his father and became governor of Herat until 1874, when he was imprisoned for five years until his father fled Kabul. The effects of his time in prison were said to have undermined his health and concentration at Gandamak.[1]

Daoud Shah was Yakub's 6 ft tall commander-in-chief from the Ghilzai tribe "and is said to have been a man who had raised himself by his own abilities."[2] He had been Shere Ali's commander as well, before falling from favour and then being reinstated by Yakub. Habibullah Khan had been one of Shere Ali's most loyal and oldest confidants who then served as *moustafi*, prime minister, to Yakub Khan.

William Jenkyns, 30, became secretary to Cavagnari's Kabul mission after serving as political officer with the Peshawar Valley Field Force and a chief negotiator of the treaty. He had learned Pushtu while serving in Dera Ghazi Khan, near Multan in south-western Punjab.

75 The Laager and Abattis, north-west corner, Sherpur, looking toward Aliabad Kotal, 5th Punjab Infantry, in position, 23rd December 1879

John Burke #190 (Afghan War album), Kabul, Afghanistan, 1879
Courtesy of the Director, National Army Museum, London

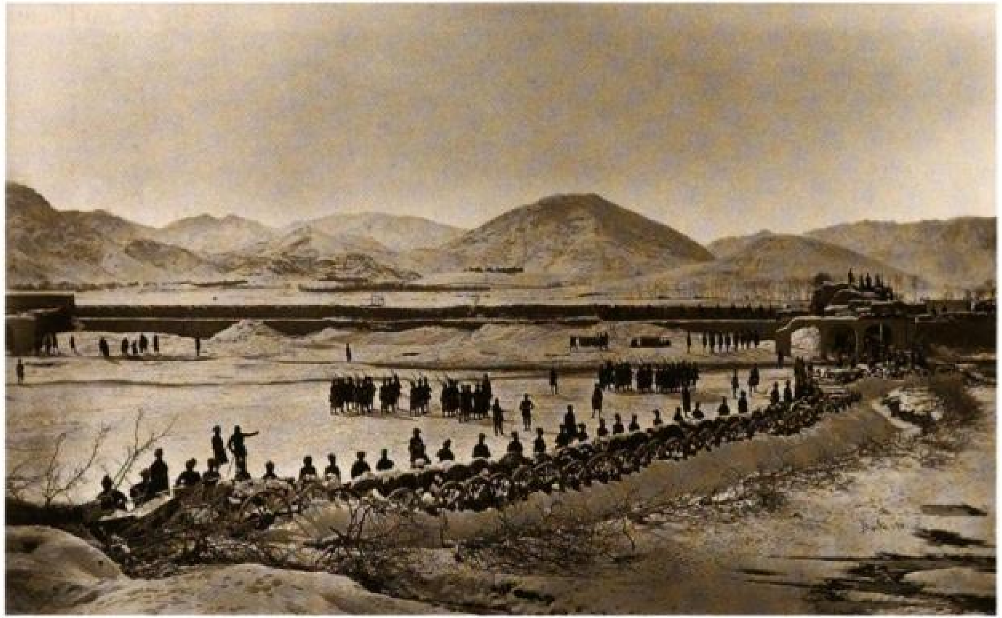
Cavagnari was not a discreet emissary. He enjoyed riding ostentatiously around Kabul from the day he and the Guides' escort—along with more than 100 servants and followers—arrived on July 24 and occupied the residency in the Bala Hissar, the giant fort overlooking Kabul (photographs 77 and 78). "Cavi never tried to make friends with anyone, but isolated himself, by being aloof and contentious of Afghans," wrote Q.M. Gen. Sir Charles MacGregor (1840–87), who was a one-time explorer of Central Asia and great champion of the Forward Policy (photograph 76).[1]

Kabul was tense not only because of the British presence but also due to palace intrigues and Yakub Khan's tenuous hold on power. Cavagnari was treated with every official courtesy, yet Yakub, suspecting any of his officials who met Cavagnari, had the residency carefully watched. Although one clause of the treaty enjoined the amir to forgive the petty chieftains and others who had paid tribute to the British in Jalalabad, rumours were rife that they were being punished by Yakub Khan.[2]

Nearly two weeks later, Afghan troops from Herat arrived—men who had notably not been defeated by the British in an earlier phase of the war. They were also angry at Yakub Khan for not having paid them. A Pathan Guide who came from a village near Kabul apparently warned Cavagnari that their passions were "dangerously excited" and that they were mocking those who had received the British. Cavagnari was not worried and told him that "our death will be avenged," even though his official dispatches to the viceroy gave little indication of trouble.[3] On September 3, during Ramadan, the troops from Herat mutinied and attacked the residency. The small force of British officers and Pathan and Sikh Guides held out heroically and killed many times their number. Cavagnari sent out increasingly desperate messages. It was of no use. The amir did nothing to help; he later claimed that he had tried, but no one listened. The residency was overrun and all the Guides inside died fighting. Cavagnari himself was killed leading a futile charge.

The news, while not unexpected in some quarters, was received with shock by the British public. A portrait of Cavagnari by Burke, which had first appeared in the July 4, 1879, issue of the *Graphic*, was reprinted with a thick black border around the picture to signify mourning for his death.[4] The photograph of Cavagnari with Amir Yakub Khan (photograph 74) was presented in the *Graphic* as a full double-page engraving and billed as the last photograph of Major Sir Cavagnari.[5] It was the biggest engraving of a Burke photograph that the *Graphic* had ever published. The ghosts of the First Afghan War had returned.

The British response was swift and deliberate. With orders to march on Kabul, General Roberts regrouped the Kurram Valley Field Force, which collectively with other units was renamed the Kabul Field Force. General Roberts was an old Frontier hand, an Irishman born in India whose action during this war would earn him great renown. Jalalabad and Kandahar were quickly retaken and Roberts and his men reached Kabul in early October. Yakub Khan, whose role in the attack on



the residency was never made clear, quickly abdicated and was sent to India in exile. On the ruins of the residency, for as many Afghans as he could link to the attack, Roberts ordered death by hanging. Those hung included a number of men against whom cases were built on hearsay. Quartermaster General MacGregor laments the executions of some of these men in his secret diaries of the war.[6] The quick executions were also condemned by sections of the British press, and despite his rapid victory, Roberts's reputation was sullied.

Burke would likely not have been staying in Kabul. He seems to have made it to the area by December 1879, if not earlier. A photograph like this suggests that he was not hesitant about travelling to the front line and probably fought or assisted in the attack. After occupying the Bala Hissar, Roberts withdrew his men to the new more defensible modern cantonment of Sherpur just outside Kabul. There they waited. Meanwhile Afghan troops regrouped under the leadership of Ayub Khan, the younger brother of Yakub Khan. Almost 100,000 Afghans from all over the country are said to have finally launched a determined assault on Sherpur on December 23, the day this photograph was taken. The British, who had some of the first Gatling machine-guns in place, managed to beat back their opponents with minimal losses. The sparse defenses in the photograph suggest a fierce battle. The British were a multiple-day march from the Indian border and many weeks from any hope of relief troops.

Despite the victory at Sherpur and the occupation of Kabul, which continued for almost a year, the British suffered their worst single defeat in Afghanistan at the Battle of Maiwind outside Kandahar. On July 27, 1880, Ayub Khan rallied his troops and routed a superior but blundering British force. General Roberts immediately left Kabul with 10,000 troops—7,000 of whom were Indian—carrying their own supplies and heavy guns on a lightning march south through the mountains to Kandahar. When the men arrived, they immediately attacked and defeated Ayub Khan's larger forces on September 1, 1880. General Roberts became known as "Bobs Bahadur"(Bobs the brave), "Roberts of Kandahar" and later "Kipling's General." The march on Kandahar became the theme of British army and schoolboy songs for the next 50 years.

76

76 Quarter-Master General's Group

John Burke #231 (Afghan War album), Kabul, Afghanistan, February 20, 1880

Courtesy of the Director, National Army Museum, London

Burke seems to have been in Kabul with British troops through April 1880. He continued to vigorously photograph the war. Most of his final photographs, which are listed in the second part of the catalogue, were shot during this period.

The photographs were taken with great care, which can be gauged from this dramatic arrangement that imbues the image with the force of a neoclassical painting. The tiniest details are correct. The book on the table is *The Gazetteer of Central Asia Part II*. It was written by Q. M. Gen. Charles MacGregor based on his own travels. It was one of the supporting texts for the Forward Policy.[1] MacGregor believed, in fact, that the British should occupy Afghanistan and in his diaries he dreams of becoming the new amir. Across from him sits General Roberts (photograph 104); MacGregor served as Roberts's chief of staff on numerous occasions and commanded a brigade on the march to Kandahar. Sir Henry Collett (1836–1901) is facing down towards the book with his eyes closed. The son of a reverend, he became a notable general and a botanist who wrote on the flora of Simla.

MacGregor made a reference in his diary to the time this photograph was taken, indicating that he did not like the result: "I have come out scowling." Seven weeks later, Burke took the initiative to suggest another portrait of MacGregor, this time on horseback. For Burke, MacGregor as quartermaster general would have been an important figure in helping to secure transport and fodder—as Colonel Burne's letter to Burke indicates (photograph 71). However, MacGregor frequently misspells Burke's name ("Bourke") in his diaries and no real familiarity is suggested.[2] That Burke would offer private portraits for sale shows that even without official sanction he found a reasonable market for portraits and group shots among British soldiers in Kabul. He did finally make a cabinet card of MacGregor.

Following pages

77–78 Panorama: Bala Hissar from south-east corner

John Burke #179 and #178 (Afghan War album), Kabul, Afghanistan, 1880

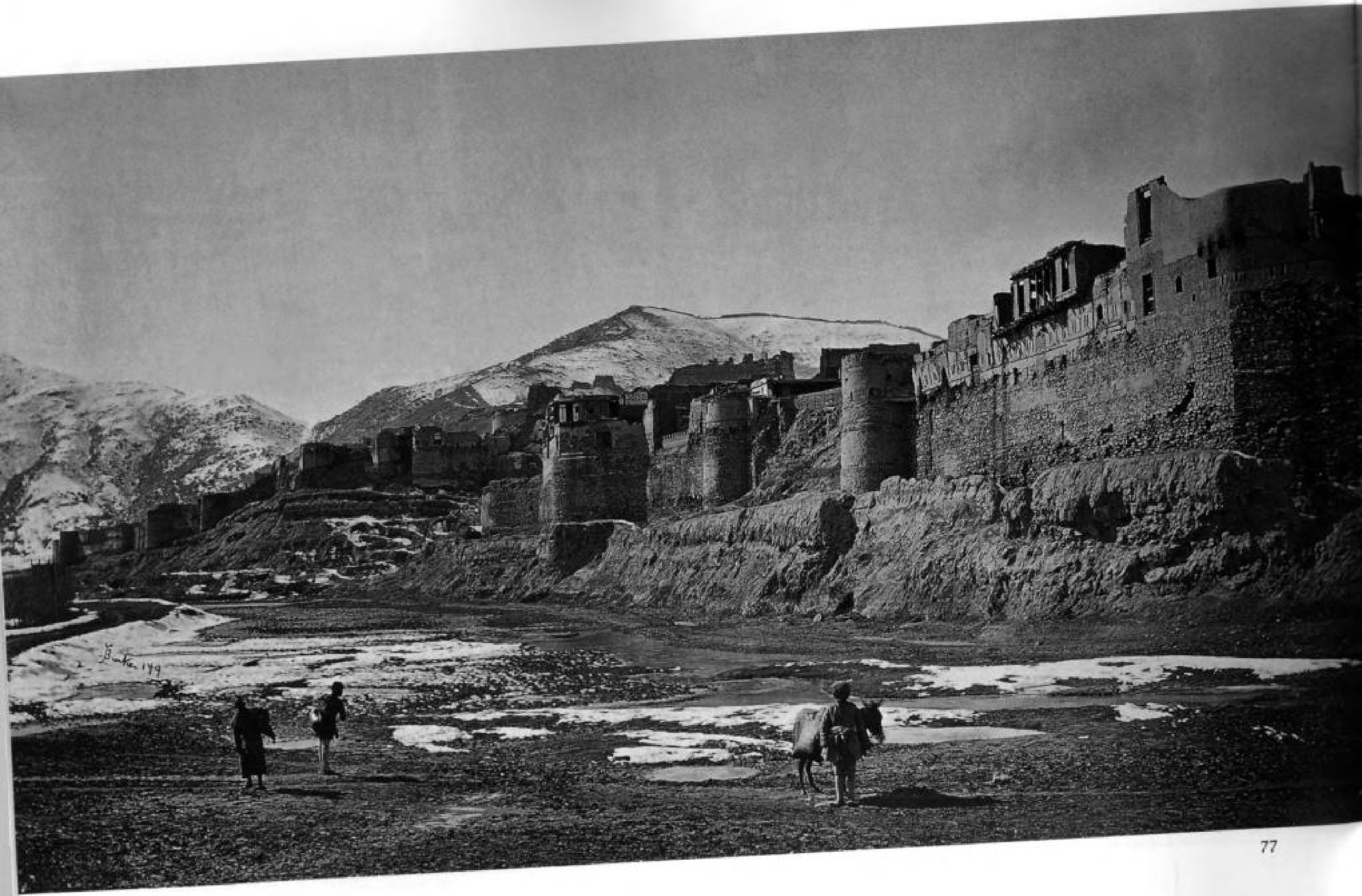
Courtesy of the Director, National Army Museum, London

Panoramas were among the highest forms of a photographer's art at the time. It was very difficult to precisely match lines, exposure and lighting. Of the 397 photographs featured in the final comprehensive catalogue, 12 are panoramas. Three were taken around Jalalabad and nine in Kabul. Six of these are three-shot compositions. The two-part Bala Hissar panorama is the best known, with the right side also appearing on the cover of the *Graphic* on August 7, 1880 (the left appeared inside).

The Bala Hissar was a compendium of Afghan history, with successive invaders and rulers adding and rebuilding different portions of the fort structure. Much of the city lay within it; its rulers lived behind the thick walls. The British initially occupied the Bala Hissar. When it came time to leave, General Roberts had wanted to destroy the fort as a punitive lesson for the Afghans and a reminder to never again rise against the British. But with the onset of winter, wiser minds prevailed and it was left standing.

Burke would have known that he might never visit the city again, so he photographed it and its inhabitants relentlessly. General Roberts merited three portraits (standing, sitting and in winter costume), which appear unnumbered in the second part of the catalogue. Eighteen cabinet size portraits of Afghans included prominent leaders: *Rujub Khan, Chief of all the Hazaras* (#328) and *Bahoo Khan, who had charge of British prisoners in 1842* (#337). The cabinet card of *Turkish prisoners with Dewan Begi of Kokand, who also escaped from Russia* (#340) testifies to Afghanistan's long history as a refuge for dispossessed people outside its borders.

When Burke published the last part of his last catalogue in November 1880, he also offered the entire collection in a new format, four different "books" of 100 photographs at Rs. 230 each: (1) Khyber Series, India to Safed Sung (outside Jalalabad); (2) Kabul Series, 1879–80; (3) Mixed Series, India to Kabul; and (4) Groups of Regiments, & c., 1878–79–80. The price of single photographs varied by volume ordered; individual shots costs Rs. 4 each but 30 photographs were offered for Rs. 100, 50 for Rs. 150 and 100 for Rs. 200.



78

79 Slaves from Kafiristan

John Burke #284 (Afghan War album), Kabul, Afghanistan, 1880
Courtesy of the Director, National Army Museum, London

The most interesting and unique photographs in Burke's album are the first photographs of the varied residents of Kabul, from its slaves to its scientists, from its doctors to its children. Just like Burke's photographs of Srinagar's residents (see chapter 3), they do cater to market demands—*nautch* women are included, of course—but they also show an uncharacteristic range of interest in colonial photography. The mere fact that Burke would select Kabul's *Surgeons and Physicians* (photograph 80) or its *Representatives of Science and Art* (photograph 82) almost suggests a desire on his part to find people who fit Western nomenclature in Afghanistan, as opposed to stereotyping its inhabitants under ethnographic categories. Indeed, Burke often names people fully before giving their affiliation: *Khalifa Ali Ahmad, Kohistani* (#343); *Sirdar Habibula Khan Ghilzai and other Khans* (#291); *Sirdar Mohammed Hashim Khan, full length* (#355); or *Futteh Mohamed Khan, son of Zacaria Khan* (#345). One of the first photographs in Burke's catalogue, *Four Sons of Nowroz Khan of Lalpura* (#7), was of four regal looking teenagers taken hostage by the British and who looked anything but villainous.[1]

The *Slaves from Kafiristan*, land of the unbelievers, could have referred to any number of "Kafiristans" that existed in the 19th century, besides the large area north of Jalalabad known as Kafiristan. There the inhabitants were not converted to Islam until as late as 1900. Today, a place with that name survives in the Kalash Valley near Chitral in the NWFP.

80 **Surgeons and Physicians of Kabul**
John Burke #293 (Afghan War album), Kabul, Afghanistan, 1880
Courtesy of the Director, National Army Museum, London

81 **Landholders and laborers**
John Burke #288 (Afghan War album), Kabul, Afghanistan, 1880
Courtesy of the Director, National Army Museum, London

Following pages, left
82 **Representatives of Science and Art of Kabul**
John Burke #290 (Afghan War album), Kabul, Afghanistan, 1880
By permission of the British Library

Following pages, right
83 **Kabul nautch girls**
John Burke #286 (Afghan War album), Kabul, Afghanistan, 1880
By permission of the British Library

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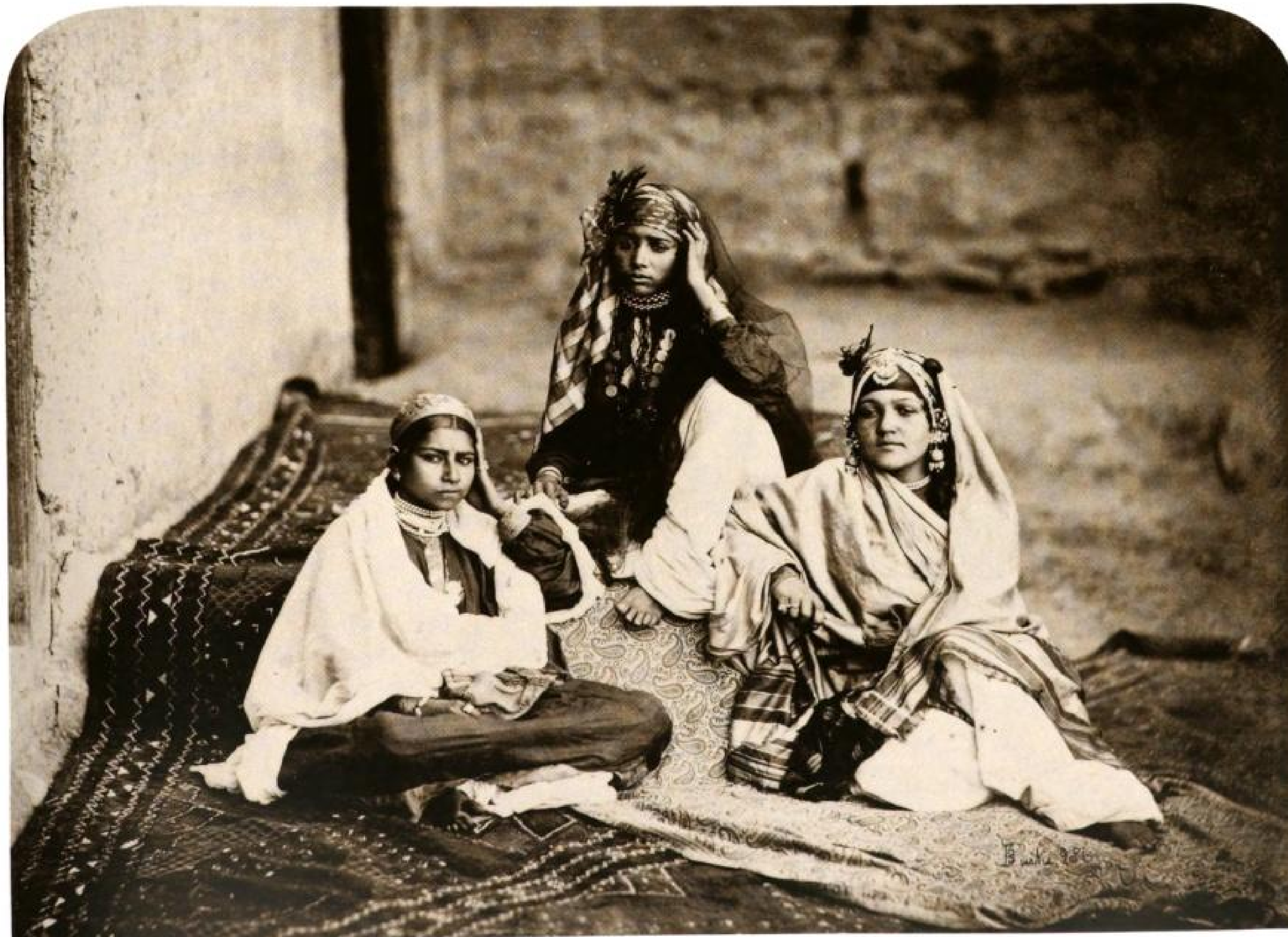

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84

84 "Warriors against Hillside"
John Burke, Khyber, NWFP, 1878–79
Collection of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles

This is one of the most interesting and oft-reproduced of Burke's pictures from the Second Afghan War, repeatedly used as an example of wild tribesmen on the Frontier.[1] Although, at the time, it was not usually noted that they were fighting for the British. One of the most complicated and almost unbelievable stories of the British Afghan wars lies behind this photograph.

In the centre of the photograph, up in the shadows, sits a man who could be one of Kipling's characters, a dashing hero of the Great Game. Is he British? Upon closer inspection, yes—but then, why is he nearly invisible? Once again, Burke's photographic composition undermines Victorian traditions that placed the British above or in more prominent positions than members of the colonized populations (photograph 67). In this case, though, Burke's composition may have to do with the fact that the real story of Col. Sir Robert Warburton truly does rival that of Kim.

Warburton was Anglo-Afghan. His father, Lt. Col. Richard Warburton, served with the Bengal Artillery. He joined the Army of the Indus, which invaded Kabul in 1840 during the First Afghan War to place the friendly Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk on the throne. Richard Warburton stayed in Kabul to command the shah's artillery. He fell in love with the niece of the former amir, Dost Mohammed, who had been exiled in India. They were married in November 1840 with Sir Alexander Burnes, the British resident and Great Game explorer, as witness. During General Elphinstone's ill-fated retreat from Kabul the next year, Warburton was taken prisoner. His wife was hidden from the vengeance of the new rulers. He managed to escape and they were reunited near Gandamak when fleeing. There, on July 11, 1842, their son Robert Warburton was born on Afghan soil.

Robert Warburton was raised in British schools in India and went to Addiscombe in 1857, the army school for the East India Company. He joined the Royal Artillery and returned to India in 1862. He was in Amritsar when his father died just before the Ambela Campaigns of 1863 began. His mother remained in India.

Warburton's mixed parentage, perhaps because of the noble origins of his mother, never seemed to have bothered him. He earned a reputation, even during a brief excursion to Africa, for developing a rapport with the people he oversaw. Powerful men like the commander-in-chief of the British army in India, Sir Charles Napier, made various manoeuvers on his behalf to secure him a position with the Political Service, the civilian administrative arm of British rule, which he joined in Peshawar in July 1870. Warburton's memoirs recall those days:

> *Peshawar had at that time a very evil reputation in every way: life and property were by no means safe. The cholera season of 1869 had been an exceptionally deadly one. . . . The rail way from Rawalpindi to Peshawar had not been started, and the hundred miles of journey by dak-gharri* (mail-car) *during the months of June, July and August managed to give the coup-de-grace to more than one ailing creature trying to get away to the cool breezes of Murree.*[2]

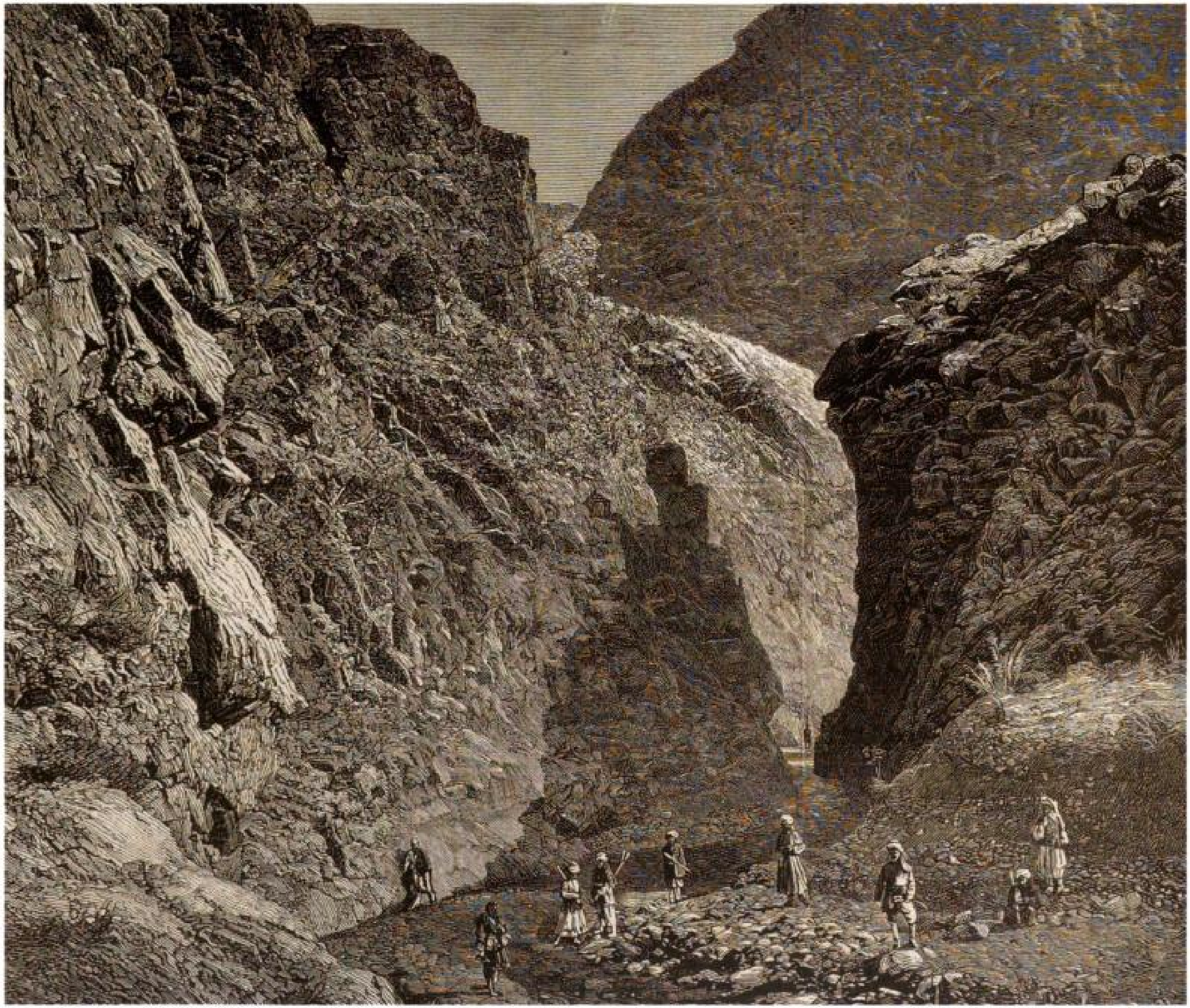
Warburton soon became political officer in charge of the Khyber Pass from 1879 until 1897 and was responsible for what the British considered the most aggressive of Pathan tribesmen, the Afridis. By all accounts, Warburton was very successful and kept the peace for 18 years. In his own words:

> *The Afridi lad from his earliest childhood is taught by the circumstances of his existence and life to distrust all mankind, and very often his nearest relations, heirs to his small plot of land by inheritance, are his deadliest enemies. Distrust of all mankind, and readiness to strike the first blow for the safety of his own life, have therefore become the maxims of the Afridis. . . . If you can overcome this mistrust, and be kind in words to him, he will repay you by great devotion. . . . It took me years to get through this great thrust of mistrust.*[3]

Soon after he retired as a colonel in 1897, the Afridis rose in revolt during an apparent wave of fundamentalism. Warburton was recalled to help fight (photograph 119). He was furious and wrote to a friend:

> *My mind is very heavy over this hideous disaster, which could have been staved off even up to the day of mischief. It makes me quite sad to think how easily the labour of years—of a lifetime—can be ruined and destroyed in a few days.*[4]

He did rejoin and was awarded a K.C.I.E. (Knight Commander of the Indian Empire) in 1898. But in the action that followed, his health was ruined. He died soon thereafter. In the words of a friend, "It is no exaggeration to say that it [the war] broke his heart."[5] Warburton was lucky to have survived the Second Afghan War, however. He was stationed in Hoti Mardan (though not with the Guides) when the war broke out. With his knowledge of Pushtu, he would have been a natural fit for Major Cavagnari's mission. He volunteered to go but for some unknown reason was not taken to Kabul.



85

85 **Pari Durrah—Entrance to the Jugdulluck Defile**
Engraving from a photograph by John Burke (Afghan War album), Afghanistan
Graphic, *August 7, 1880*

The war did not quite end with the British occupation of Kabul, which continued through the summer of 1880. Much of this time was spent arranging for Abdur Rehman (photograph 101) to become the new amir. Negotiating his accession required many Persian and other dispersed tribal groups to make peace with the British themselves. To repair their relationship with Afghans, the British announced an offer for general amnesty on December 26, 1879. Despite the carnage, there was place for humour. In one case a Ghilzai chief, Padshah Khan, famed for his relentless opposition to the British, took advantage of the offer. As he walked up to General Roberts to officially receive it, the situation seemed so absurd that everyone standing and watching, Afghan or Englishman, smiled or burst out laughing.[1]

Abdur Rehman (1844–1901) was a nephew of Shere Ali and one of his bitterest enemies. After he captured Kabul from his uncle in 1866, he helped his father, Afzal Khan, who died the following year, rule briefly as amir. He then retired to Balkh in northern Afghanistan. Two years later, Yakub Khan marched on Kandahar, defeating his father's enemies. In a battle on the outskirts of Kabul on January 3, 1869, he also defeated his cousin Abdur Rehman. Shere Ali was then proclaimed amir and Abdur Rehman retired to Bokhara and Samarkand in central Asia, where he was supported in exile by the Russians for 10 years.

The negotiations between Abdur Rehman and the British were very complex. To avoid Yakub Khan's fate, he was patient and anxious not to appear to be giving in to the British. As he wrote years later in his autobiography, "I was unable to show my friendship publicly because my people were ignorant and fanatical. If I showed any inclination towards the English, my people would call me an infidel for joining hands with the infidels."[2] The British saw Abdur Rehman as an intelligent and forceful character who could bring much needed stability to his country.[3] On June 4, 1880, one British officer wrote:

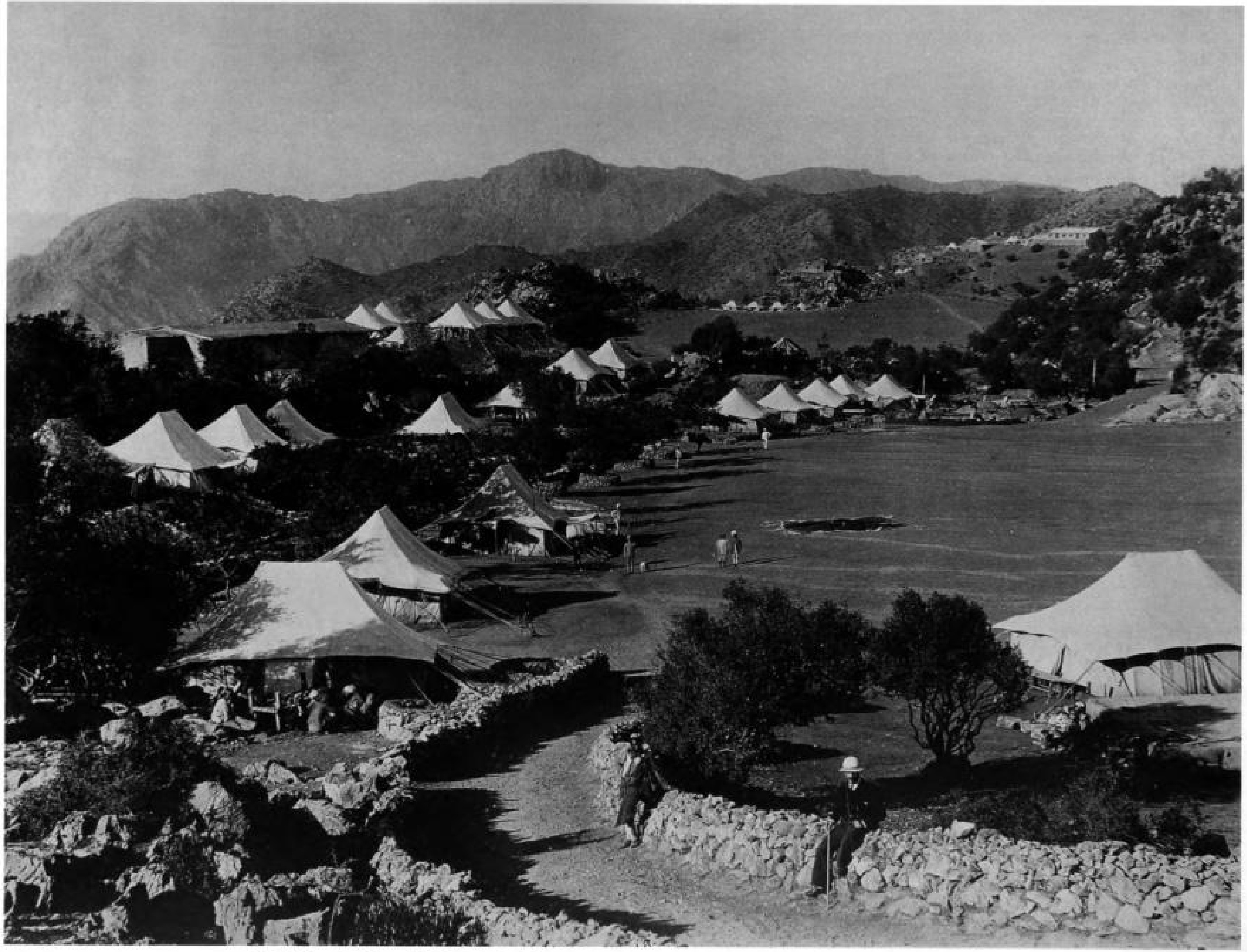
> *Cabul has, indeed, proved a white elephant which we cannot afford to feed. We are so anxious to get rid of the beast, that we are thrusting it as a gift upon a man who looks upon it as his lawful property, which we have seriously injured while holding it tethered in our midst.*[4]

Indeed, the military victory at the hands of the proponents of the Forward Policy was temporary; the costs in resources and men had proven too great for the British, who were eager to get out. In London the Liberals under Gladstone came to power. Favouring a much less aggressive posture in Afghanistan, they no longer wanted to provoke Russia. Viceroy Lord Lytton was removed. Abdur Rehman and the British came to terms in July, just before the British defeat at Maiwind. Despite Roberts's subsequent victory over Ayub Khan, Maiwind only further reinforced to the British the necessity of leaving Afghanistan to the Afghans. Indeed, Ayub Khan took Kandahar again when the British left and Abdur Rehman was only able to completely assert his rule over the country when he recovered Kandahar in September 1881. Against all odds, Abdur Rehman would prove to be a successful, if very firm, ruler. He kept the British at bay for 20 years, losing no more territory to them and greatly strengthening his kingdom.

John Burke missed the march to Kandahar; it is the one gap in his Afghan War album.[5] He seems to have left Kabul for Murree sometime before the new amir arrived in July 1880. He continued to supply the *Graphic* with photographs from which engravings were produced; this one was published with a number of other Burke images after Abdur Rehman's official accession as the new amir.

Of all the engravings published from Burke photographs during the Second Afghan War, none reveals the delicate art of the engraver more spectacularly than this work, which could almost pass for a photograph so densely have its lines been drawn. The engraver exercised a great deal of control over an image and his product was proportional to his level of effort and imagination. The rocky terrain in the foreground has been carved into the wood with short and deftly varied strokes that would have taken a great deal of effort by a master engraver or set of engravers to complete. One need only compare these to the broader less-detailed strokes used on the hill in the background. Burke's photographs of this portion of the Jugdulluck barely captured this level of visible detail, right down to a perfectly falling shadow. They are also devoid of the men casually peppering the foreground, which an engraver could so easily add—and often did—for flavour. The men are Afghans, but for the little Englishman with his jacket and hat on the left.

Jugdulluck is a very narrow pass 16 miles from Jalalabad where many British soldiers were killed during the First Afghan War.



86. "Cherat, Camp" *John Burke, Cherat, NWFP, 1885–88, The Alkazi Collection of Photography*

CHAPTER 6

JOHN BURKE, PHOTO ARTIST

How did the typical 19th-century British photographer during the Raj live? What was the photographer's social role and position? Who was John Burke? What was his social milieu?

Many questions about John Burke must go unanswered. He left behind no written testimony; few of his geographical contemporaries did. The recollections of his surviving relatives are limited. Fortunately, a number of exceptional entries concerning Burke appear in church record books. They make it clear that he was a rather unusual person and that he broke some of the major taboos of his society. From the evidence, this must have caused a great deal of tongue-wagging and grief in the small colonial communities of Murree and Rawalpindi where he was based. Yet, he also seems to have remained a popular figure, able to bend the rules and get away with it because of other gifts.

Commercial photography was changing rapidly from its beginnings in the 1860s. In 1880 George Eastman's gelatin dry-plates, or what we now call film, were sold for the first time in the United States. A burst of similar non-collodion processes that did not require preparation of a wet plate negative hit the world market during the 1880s. Because only light exposure was needed, faster shutter speeds were possible and portable darkrooms became obsolete. Dry-plates paved the way for a dramatic rise in amateur photography, as the professional's skills in handling temperamental chemicals were no longer as important. Similarly, a variety of new chemical print processes and papers made the production of photographs from plates—wet or dry—simpler, varied and more economical than ever before. The amateur was becoming empowered by these technical developments—Afghan noblemen could be found with cameras—and the fact that the print media explained photographic methods to its wide audience. The "magic" of photography had worn off and the photographer was less an alchemist than the provider of what was becoming more and more a widely accessible commodity. In this atmosphere of fierce competition among commercial photographers, those who could emphasised distinguishing characteristics. It was in the early 1880s that Burke seems to have first started referring to himself as a "Photo-Artist" and "Artiste Photographer."

What is known about Burke, however, is only partially characteristic of the few hundred other European photographers scattered across the Raj during the 1880s. Burke seems to have enjoyed continued commercial success, even after his break with William Baker. He rented some of the finest properties in Murree. The individual photographer's role and position, then as much as now, remained largely a function of individual initiative and personality. Few photographers would be as honoured socially as Burke once was by the viceroy in Simla.

One thing Burke did have in common with many of his contemporaries, though, was frequent—if not constant—travel. The writings of European photographers in India, from Bourne to later figures like Fred Bremner and John Blees, are full of movement from place to place in search of assignments, parades and events to capture with their cameras.[1] While Burke maintained offices in Murree and Rawalpindi, he continued shuttling between cantonments in the North-West Frontier and the Punjab to take military and official photographs of every kind. Sialkot (west of Rawalpindi), Mardan and Cherat were frequently visited. Troops were also photographed at cantonments in Amballa, Jullundur and Nowshera. Continuous travel to these locations was gruelling at best. Later, Burke would even open a studio in Lahore.

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Although the small cantonment of Cherat when compared to Murree, was neither as far from Peshawar nor as cool, it was a magnificent stage for photographs. Like Murree, Cherat was on an exposed ridge. In this photograph white tents blossom spectacularly against the dark hillsides. General Roberts had been an early scout of the area in 1857. Even then it was unsafe, he had found.[1] One former resident in 1876 remembered "nightly alarms of Afridis, thieves, and such like, shots being fired close to the house."[2] Burke frequently photographed Cherat, a staging ground for many Black Mountain Campaigns (photograph 113).

87 "A Picnic Party in 'The Forest' Murree 1863"
William Baker or John Burke?, Murree, Punjab, 1863
By permission of The British Library

On April 13, 1879—just as Burke was returning from or leaving for Afghanistan during the Second Afghan War—his illegitimate son, Oswald John Burke, was baptised at the Church of the Seven Sorrows in Murree. This event occurred three weeks before Amir Yakub Khan reached Gandamak to sign the treaty and Burke took his famous photographs there (photograph 74). One might presume that Burke was in Murree at the time of the baptism.

The entry is the first baptism of an illegitimate child in the church's record book and is only one of a handful at the hill-station for a century. Oswald John had been born on September 7, 1877, and apparently was first, but perhaps not properly, baptised—the entry is crossed out—on September 8, 1878. The name of the biological mother is absent. The adoptive mother is listed as Margaret Burke, Burke's wife. Her signature is in Burke's handwriting.

Baptism is a pillar of Catholicism; if a person is not baptised, it is believed that the soul cannot go to heaven. Children were usually baptised soon after birth in Murree since infant mortality was quite high. Illness might have precipitated Oswald John's sudden baptism. The violence done to the entry in the church record suggests that the baptism was the subject of some consternation in the church and in the community and that great pressure must have been brought to bear to perform and record it.

Margaret Burke was probably ill when the baptism took place. On July 5, 1879, the very week that Burke himself appeared on the cover of the *Graphic* (photographs 72 and 73), she died. Twelve weeks had passed since Oswald John's baptism. Burke would have just returned from photographing the amir at Gandamak in Afghanistan. The death notice below appeared five days later on the front page of the *Civil and Military Gazette*.

DEATH

BURKE—At Murree, on the morning of the 5th of July 1879, after a long and painful illness, the dearly beloved wife of J. Burke of Wicklow, aged 35 years.

Irish papers please copy.

According to the cemetery records, Margaret Burke died of cholera. She probably died in Nutwood (photograph 17), Burke's studio and residence at the time. Nutwood was right across the street from the Church of the Seven Sorrows.

Cholera was even more rampant that summer in Murree than it had been in earlier years. Knowledge on how the disease spread was limited; this situation was exacerbated by poor sanitary conditions and inadequate medical practices. A writer for the *Civil and Military Gazette* in 1877 had been prompted to complain, "If only we could get some one at the head of affairs who thoroughly believed in quarantine, we could almost say goodbye to cholera."[1]

Soldiers returning from the Afghan Frontier to convalesce in Murree were primary sources of disease. Church registers for June and

July 1879 are full of cholera deaths; pages have sometimes been added to record the demise of entire battalions in a matter of a few weeks. As one soldier wrote, "The death of a man attacked suddenly with cholera sometimes even takes place within two hours."[2] Many civilians like Margaret Burke were felled along with the soldiers.

The mood in Murree in July 1879, when Burke was preparing his Afghan War album, was grim. Many long funeral trains wound their way along the Mall. The hill-station must have seemed much like this description of an earlier cholera epidemic in Murree. An Englishwoman in 1858 wrote:

> *A dark cloud gathered over the station. The cholera had been raging in Cashmere, and the Doctor reported some cases of a suspicious nature had appeared at the depot. The dark cloud was a literal fact, as well as figurative expression, for a column of mist fell over the hill as a pall, penetrating into every house. There it hung like death stealing around all the contents, and spreading over them a green and unhealthy mold. Shoes left for the night looked in the morning as if taken from a vault with the rot of a year on them. Scarcely a breath stirred the leaves—nothing moved, except the rain that at intervals fell in torrents. The air was without electricity, without wind, and loaded with moisture—we were living in a stagnant cloud. The dire disease had gripped the depot.*[3]

Cholera alone did not cause Margaret Burke's death; the obituary makes allusion to a long illness. She would have been around 35 years old when she died. As far as records show, she had no other children besides William Henry, who was born in Peshawar in 1861. He would have been old enough to take over the photography business during the time his father was in Afghanistan.

The photograph on the right was probably taken by Baker or Burke and is a rare informal pose of people whom the photographers are likely to have known and spent time with. One or both of them and their families may well be in the photograph.

88 Church, & c., looking towards Observatory Hill
Baker & Burke #850?, Murree, Punjab, 1864–68
The Alkazi Collection of Photography

Nothing is ordinary about the record of marriage between John Burke and Rebecca Hopkins at Murree's Holy Trinity Church on May 26, 1883. Marriages between Catholics and Protestants were rare in those days. Rebecca was the daughter of Frederick Bradshaw Hopkins, a board member of the Protestant church, an important landholder and a director of the Murree Brewery Co. Whatever his reputation, Burke had joined Murree's elite. Within four years, the stigma of Oswald John's baptism had been erased and John Burke had stepped into another church.

John Burke describes his profession in the marriage entry as "Photo Artist." This seems to be the first time he used this term. Until 1887 his firm's entries in *Thacker's Indian Directory* always read "J. Burke, Photographer." That year he is first listed as "J. Burke, Photo Artist."

Cartes de visite from this period bear the inscription "J. Burke, Artiste Photographer" (see page 17). We may never know why Burke made this change, or how significant it was, but it does suggest that after over two decades in the field, he did choose a new, finer way to describe his craft.

F. B. Hopkins would have known Burke for many years, as he was one of Murree's earliest residents (photograph 20). He, too, shuttled between Murree and Rawalpindi, where Holy Trinity Church records show that he lost a son in infancy in 1870. Two more young children were to die in the 1870s. Two daughters, sisters to Rebecca, were born by 1872.[1] Three out of a total of six Hopkins children survived their early years. Rebecca was probably a teenager at the time of her marriage. Her father had started as a property agent and slowly became a landlord with his own properties, which he rented to Murree's summer residents.[2] For many years, the Hopkins family lived in the Khyber Lodge on the old Pindi Road.

When Hopkins became chairman of the church board, he made a major donation to finance the purchase of an organ from Calcutta. Nonetheless, he must have been somewhat controversial, at least in his role as a hill-station building contractor. Asst. Commissioner E. B. Peacock, in the guidebook to Murree that he published in 1882, most uncharacteristically singled out Hopkins as linked to cost overruns on a civil project to construct a "charitable hospital and native dispensary." Hopkins, according to Peacock, had submitted plans and agreed to undertake construction for Rs. 5,000. His bills for the amount had already been paid when it turned out that he was only halfway through construction. Fears grew that the masonry might crumble. Peacock writes that the contractor was finally allowed to proceed after another loan of Rs. 4,000 was secured from the municipality.[3]

Apart from the religions of the two parties, the marriage between John Burke and Rebecca Hopkins was *not* unusual in that it took place within the town's merchant class. From church records it is clear that merchants' children usually married other merchants' children. Margaret Burke had also been the daughter of a merchant, although Rebecca Hopkins was probably a step higher in social status. Even the children of the Powell clan, whose founder had been a member of the prestigious Bengal Staff Corps, married into the merchant class. John Powell, for example, Murree's biggest landlord (photograph 20), married Edith May Hopkins and therefore was the brother-in-law of Rebecca Burke. Class could override religious, social and even economic differences. In such a small community no boundaries were likely to be impermeable. Rebecca's sister Rose Gertrude would marry an engineer from the public works department in Kohat.[4] Social class and marriage also did not necessarily coincide with friendships; no patterns emerge among those whose marriages and baptisms Baker and Burke and their family members witnessed.

Rebecca Hopkins probably grew up in Murree and may have attended St. Deny's School in preference to the Catholic asylum. One Rebecca Hopkins once attracted attention for a "wonderful performance" during a play shown in the halls at Lawrence Asylum.[5] F. B. Hopkins remained an important player in Murree and Rawalpindi until he died in 1900. He was buried in Murree. Rebecca's mother, Jane Hopkins, died in Murree during another cholera epidemic in 1892.[6]

Three years after John Burke's marriage, his son William Henry was married on October 2 at the same church in Murree to a woman with the same name as his mother, Margaret Russell. Born in Murree in 1865, she was the daughter of Thomas Russell, a tailor of Peshawar and Murree. William Henry listed himself as "Photographer" in the marriage record and the same year is listed for the first time in *Thacker's Indian Directory* as an assistant in his father's Murree studio. He is shown as working for his father until 1889. In 1890 he leaves his father's employ and becomes J. Craddock & Co.'s Lahore branch manager, together with one of Baker's sons, Charlie Parkhouse Baker. Whether or not he left his father's studio because of personal differences is unclear. William Henry's life was not free of tragedy: on October 15, 1892, his first son, Arthur Hayes, died at birth in Murree. A Roman Catholic chaplain officiated at the burial.

Page 140
89 [John Burke and clan]
Photographer unknown, Murree, Punjab, 1883–86
Courtesy of Alan T. Colquhoun

This is the only known photograph of Burke. It was taken in front of Kinturk, which from 1880 served as both his house and studio. Like Nutwood, it was one of the largest mansions in Murree. The property covered nearly 4 acres. It was on a hilltop just above the Holy Trinity Church (photograph 18), towering over the main commercial properties on the Mall and the old Baker's Buildings. Burke never seems to have owned any property in Murree but his ability to rent and maintain properties like Kinturk and Nutwood testifies to the success of his photographic business.

The photograph was inherited by the late Dorothy Watkins (née Burke, 1916–94), his granddaughter through Oswald John Burke and his wife, Mary, whom he married in Dalhousie in 1911. Oswald John is apparently the little boy seated in the front right holding a stick. He seems to be six or seven years old, placing this photograph in the mid-1880s.

Burke is apparently the man in the fur coat who is holding the arrows at this costume party. He looks much larger than the slim man shown in the engravings in the *Graphic* (photographs 72 and 73) but it could well be due to the costume and fur coat. It is unlikely that Burke would have been as heavy as the coat suggests; at the time, he was an avid horse racer who tended to win races (photograph 90). Dorothy Watkins remembered her mother, Mary Burke, telling her that John Burke was an evil man, "a Henry the Eighth-type character" known for his womanising. Although her mother had little good to say about him, she did keep a large photograph of her father-in-law on the wall in her bedroom long after his death and that of her husband, who may have placed his father's photograph there. According to Dorothy Watkins, her father's home life was very unhappy. He clashed repeatedly with his stepmother and left home in the 1890s because of her.[1]

It is difficult to identify any of the other characters. Rebecca could be the woman just behind and to the left of Burke; she could also be the woman next to him. Another possible identification is of the man on the right with the sword and hand above his head, who looks similar to Burke in the *Graphic* engravings. It could be William Henry Burke, who would have been in his early to mid-20s at the time of this photograph. Besides Oswald John, the children in front probably do not belong to John Burke. They are too old to have been among the six children born to Rebecca.

Costume parties, theatre and make-believe were essential to deflect what some called the monotonous grind of hill-station life. In Murree, the Depot Theatre presented seasonal performances for local or visiting troupes. Two of Rebecca's sisters acted there, as did F. B. Hopkins himself, who is probably in the picture, perhaps the older man to the right of Burke. Hopkins was once the star of what a reporter in the *Civil and Military Gazette* described as the "laughable nigger sketch That Boy Pete, which kept the house in roars of laughter from beginning until the end." Rose Gertrude, probably one of the girls in the foreground, also acquitted herself well the same year by playing the lovesick maid in *Girls of the Period*.[2]

Four of John and Rebecca Burke's children were baptised in Murree: Maria Edith (March 6, 1884), Helena Alice (1887), Dorothy Sybel Hopkins (May 9, 1890) and Katharine May (June 9, 1894). The fact that they were baptised at the Church of the Seven Sorrows shows that Catholicism remained important to Burke despite his marriage to a Protestant. The importance of religion in the family can be inferred from the later lives of three of the daughters.

The three eldest would attend the Convent of Jesus and Mary on Pindi Point in Murree. Helena Alice, the second eldest, also known as "Paddy," was born with a deformed arm and would depend on Maria and Dorothy for the rest of her life. The two of them stayed on at the convent by becoming sisters in the Sacred Order of Jesus and Mary. They appear in Ipswich, England, the headquarters of the order, by approximately 1917. Paddy went with them and lived just outside the convent, where she worked doing menial chores during the day. Upon taking their vows, Maria Edith renamed herself as Sister Godfrey and Dorothy became Sister St. Barbara. Both were still remembered by sisters who studied with them in the 1920s. Sister St. Barbara was said to have had a beautiful voice and an artistic temperament. Sister Godfrey is described as "very ordinary, with no particular capabilities at all" and Paddy is recalled as being "very sad." She died in Ipswich in the 1930s; Sister Godfrey followed in 1971 and Sister Dorothy in 1977.[3]

Many reasons may have contributed to the girls' decision to become religious; it was certainly a common alternative for daughters, often for economic reasons, though no such evidence exists in the Burke case. One might also imagine what it was like growing up in Kinturk with a much older stepbrother, William, a slightly older illegitimate stepbrother, Oswald, an impaired sister, a young mother and an often absent father.

Kinturk, known as the Ritz Hotel, is still standing, hardly changed or improved upon since Burke's time. A magnificent wooden staircase leads up to huge rooms now subdivided for tourists from the Punjab. Rooms on the outside of the house take in poorer visitors. The property has also been subdivided. On a plot next to the main house the municipality recently constructed the new Murree Arts Council Building.

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90 "Murree, The Flats"
John Burke, Murree, Punjab, 1880–90
The Alkazi Collection of Photography

Whatever John Burke's reputation, he was a popular and active member of his local community and he established a reputation that brought him honour and recognition within the wider colonial society.

On May 14, 1886, he made a "Private Entrance" at the viceroy's annual levee at the Viceregal Lodge in Simla. The viceroy and governor-general of India was Frederick Temple Hamilton Temple Blackwood, also known as Lord Dufferin (1826–1902). An introduction on this occasion was a way for the queen to show recognition for an individual's services and was a very high honour in public life. Of the 100 or so men presented in this manner that year, three-quarters of them were army officers, including Lt. Francis Younghusband (photograph 27). Complete lists of honours were published annually in the newspapers, which took the event very seriously, even publishing a "List of Gentlemen who were unavoidably prevented from attending the Levee."[1]

Looking back over other annual lists, one is hard-pressed to find another photographer similarly honoured; indeed, hardly a civilian merchant is found. An exception that year was Mr. O'Meara, the long-time travelling dentist who probably treated every European in Simla, Lahore, Delhi, Mussoorie and Peshawar during the 19th century. A photographer belonged to the tiny colonial merchant class, yet he could be honoured for achievements in ways that butchers and real estate agents certainly could not be. In Burke's case it was likely a combination of his long-time status as photographer to many prominent British officials in the Punjab and the Frontier and the reputation of his Afghan War album that earned for him this recognition.

In Murree Burke seems to have been an active and successful sportsman. Most sporting events took place at The Flats, an appropriately named hilltop where horse-racing was staged and cricket played. On September 24, 1881, for example, during the annual Murree Gymkhana, Burke rode his Picolo to first place in the flat race for ponies. It was one of the most exciting races of the evening, Picolo pulled away from Kaleidoscope only in the last breath. Burke had less luck that day with another of his horses, Banshee, which finished last in the steeplechase for all beaten ponies of the day after a "regrettable" accident, according to the *Civil and Military Gazette* correspondent.[2] He managed to redeem himself later as jockey for Colonel Hall's Sapphire, finishing second in the Gharial Derby, which was named after a military camp near Murree.

However, he was never far from controversy. Another summer, Burke rode as a jockey on a horse called Chamba, which belonged to the rajah of Chamba (photograph 117), one of the larger princely hill states of the Punjab that bordered Kashmir. One of the Baker & Burke catalogue shots of Murree was called *A Peep Through the Forest, towards Chumba* (#832). Burke won but the race took place in pouring rain. According to a reporter present at the scene, Burke's victory may not have been quite proper:

> *His rider weighed out several pounds heavier than he weighed in, owing to being drenched, and there were objections made on this score; but they were given in his favour.*[3]

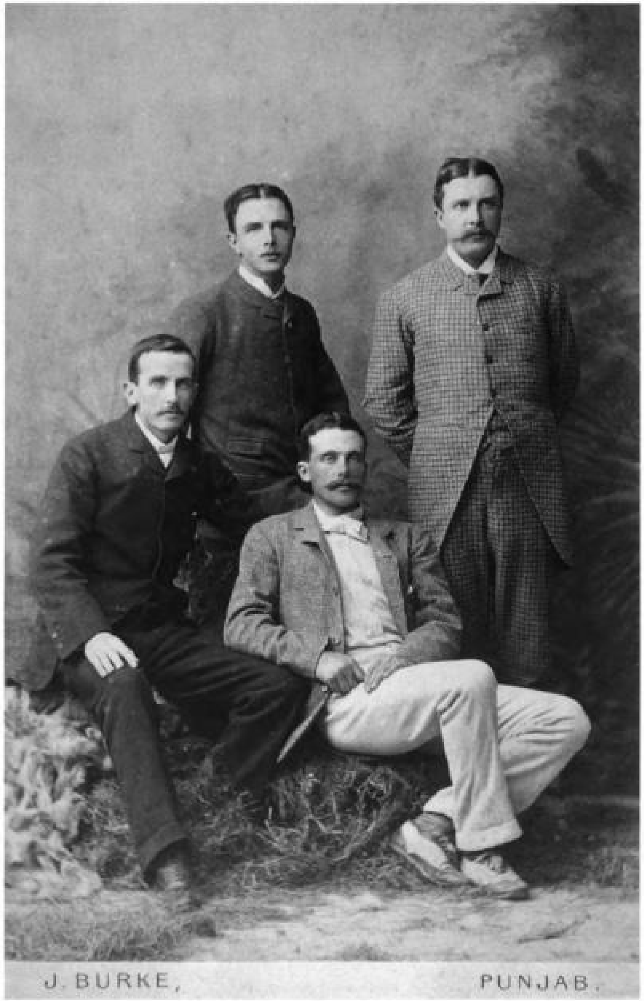
On Friday, July 2, 1886, when he was about 43 years old, Burke participated in all four horse competitions at the Murree Sky Races. He rode Chamba to victory in one race, second place in another and third place in the third race. He also rode Miranda to victory for one Captain Beresford. The next day, he rode Haphazard to victory for the captain and Chamba to victory in another race for the rajah.[4] Clearly, he was a rider in high demand.

William Henry shared his father's enthusiasm for horse-racing, though with less success. On August 26 he rode his father's horse Picolo to no result in one race and was dead last in a field of nine riding his own horse Ruby in another race. Between William Henry's two races, John Burke rode Praps to victory for one Mr. O'Reilly.[5] He was similarly successful in the races next month.

John Burke's other great passion seems to have been cricket. During May 14–15, 1886, just before the wedding of his son William Henry, for example, he played as part of "The World" against "Murree Depot and Gharial." Although far down in the batting line-up, Burke still managed to score 27 runs in the first innings. William Henry, opening batsman for the opposing side, only managed four runs.[6]

Burke also occasionally appears in the *Civil and Military Gazette* as one of many who owed the paper money for subscriptions or advertisements. On November 18, 1880, it was announced that his arrears amounted to Rs. 89. Other times he could be a generous donor. For an Annual Rifle Meeting of the First Punjab Battalion, he donated Rs. 115 towards the prize money. The next highest donor was the lieutenant-governor at Rs. 100, followed by two other large merchants at Rs. 60 each.[7]

91 [Egerton brothers]
J. Burke & Co., cabinet card #10739, Murree, Punjab, 1886–90



92 [Baby in oval]
J. Burke & Co., carte de visite
#5597, Punjab, 1886–90

93 [Unidentified man]
Baker & Burke, carte de visite,
Punjab, 1880–84

94 [Unidentified man in studio]
Baker & Burke, carte de visite, *Punjab, 1880–84*

95 Kathleen McCulloch
J. Burke & Co., carte de visite, *Murree, Punjab, 1886–90*
Courtesy of Lieutenant Colonel Ian McCulloch

One of the staple product lines at Burke's Kinturk studio was portrait photography of civilians. These often became *cartes de visite* and cabinet cards, which people kept and shared with their friends and relatives. Academic history of photography regards them somewhat contemptuously but *cartes de visite* were essential to the spread of photography. Out of nowhere, a few hundred million of them were suddenly sold annually in England starting in 1861.[1] They gave the working and middle classes access to the medium and became the bread and butter of most commercial photographers. Standardisation of size, cardboard, glues, mounting and printing made them an early international commodity.

Like photography in general, they came to India almost immediately. Early prominent producers include Bourne & Shepherd, Sache & Murray, Sache & Westfield and Schwarzschild & Co. of Calcutta and Hurrychund Chintamon and Lindley & Warren of Bombay.[2] W. Baker & Co. also began publishing *cartes de visite* in the 1860s—in the early part of the decade when the portrait sizes were very small due to the lenses and high paper and chemical expenses (photograph 94).

Cartes de visite were invented by a Frenchman, A. A. Disderi, in late 1854 as a means of producing multiple images from a single negative. The fixed dimensions of 2.125-by-$3^1/_2$-in were a function of the way a $6^1/_2$-by-$8^1/_2$-in sheet of photographic paper could be cut into eight pieces.[3]

Disderi coined the term but their use as "visiting cards" was never what made them popular. Rather, the convenience, the price and their emotional value, which shaped the collectable nature of these objects, turned them into a great fad. The impetus was said to have been Napoleon III's visit to Disderi's studio in 1859. The inventor sold thousands of copies of the French emperor's image. By the end of the following year, they had swept through the United States and England. Queen Victoria had her own portraits made and collected them in albums:

94

95

Within weeks, the well-to-do, merchants, clergymen, soldiers, writers, the great and the near-great joined the ranks of the photographed. Now for a few cents anyone could have his likeness taken, and, what was more persuasive, could have half a dozen or more copies that could be placed in envelopes and mailed to distant relatives and friends.[4]

Wars like the American Civil War in the early 1860s also heightened their use as reminders of loved ones. The same dynamic would make British soldiers in India eager patrons of first Baker's and then Burke's studios. In 1866 the larger 4-$^1/_2$-by-6-in cabinet card was introduced (photograph 91) and it became very popular. Coupled with improvements in the camera lenses, they could show more of a face and more detailed scenic views. The "universality of the portrait"[5] was one consequence of the *carte de visite* that we take for granted today. Portraits of family members and friends became common and *cartes de visite* of authors, rulers, religious figures and actresses helped facilitate the birth of celebrityhood.

Photographers and publishers developed elaborate emblems and logos to illustrate the back and the front of the cards. Sometimes a piece of translucent tissue covered the portrait side. This, like the back, could also be branded with inscriptions, which provide a wealth of information. W. Baker & Co., Baker & Burke and later J. Burke & Co. seemed to have used a combination of their own and stock imagery on their cards (see page 17). The backs of these cards also illustrate how the monogram of Burke's firm changed, with the "Late Baker & Burke" reminder disappearing towards the end of the decade. Space was also provided to write numbers, so sitters could order more copies and photographers could maintain relationships and increase business with their customers. Photographers then, like today, kept numbered negatives of portraits, enabling them to make copies on demand at a later time.

Burke clearly had access to the highest ranking officers of the Raj. The cabinet card of the Egerton brothers, for example, includes, standing on the right, Sir Robert Eyles Egerton (1827–1906). He served as lieutenant-governor of the Punjab between 1878 and 1882. A major road in Lahore, Egerton Road, is still named after him. His brother Philip Henry (1824–93) began his service in India in 1842 and in the late 1860s was commissioner of Rawalpindi District. He published *Journal of a Tour Through Spiti* in 1864.

The numbers on the back of these images also provide a crude way of measuring the annual income of Burke's Kinturk studio. The numbers of the negatives for this sampling of portraits taken by J. Burke & Co. (photographs 91–95) suggest that Kinturk was processing 1,000–2,000 portraits from cabinet size negatives each year during the 1880s. Assuming an average order of Rs. 15 for a handful of copies, this would mean Rs. 15,000–30,000 per season from one line of photography alone. Smaller *cartes de visite* could have provided an even larger annual revenue stream.

Not all of this was profit. Material expenses would have been significant, as paper and chemicals were imported from Europe. Some of Burke's *cartes de visite*, like those of J. Craddock & Co., for example, used branded card backing made by Marion, an elite and expensive supplier in Paris. Money was also needed to maintain assistants and crew. *Cartes de visite* and cabinet cards, as staple products of photographic studios, would often have been made by assistants, except in the case of prominent persons for whom the main photographer would probably have done the honours. Burke's studio seems to have employed numerous European photographers over the years besides his son William Henry. At least 12 assistants are recorded in *Thacker's Indian Directory* as having worked for J. Burke & Co.'s Murree and Rawalpindi studios during the 1880s and early 1890s. Ten of them were European and would have commanded reasonable salaries. Many were active in both branches. In 1887 two of them were local, Atta Mohammad and Qazi Hussain. Another, Karim Baksh, worked at the Rawalpindi branch between 1890 and 1893. It is fair to surmise that Burke had some affection for his local assistants: the first numbered photograph of his Afghan War album shows, standing in front of Jumrud Fort, men who must have accompanied him into Afghanistan.

Whereas local assistants often later set up their own studios in a town and catered to the non-European population, but for Europeans, photographic assistant was an itinerant profession. The same assistants can often be traced over the years in *Thacker's Indian Directory* to studios in Simla or elsewhere in the Raj. The available evidence does not suggest that Burke was highly successful at retaining those who worked for him. However, the experience of Bourne & Shepherd or J. Craddock & Co. does not seem to differ greatly. At the same time, the circulation of assistants meant that lessons and practices learned at one studio were being spread elsewhere, homogenising and improving the craft.

Sometimes assistants became competitors, too. According to *Thacker's Indian Directory*, one of Burke's assistants, Thomas Winter, served with his studio in Murree between 1873 and 1883. He then started his own photography studio in Murree and Rawalpindi, which survived until just after World War I. On May 11, 1878, at Holy Trinity Church, Winter married Frederica Volkers, his own assistant and daughter of one of Murree's first merchants, who was also the former chemist at Lawrence Asylum (photograph 20), F. Volkers. Thomas Winter is listed with Burke in 1883 as one of Murree's two resident photographers.[6]

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96 "Subedar Major Bahadur Mial Singh Rattray's Sikhs Oct. 1880"
John Burke, NWFP, 1880
By permission of The British Library

Although the market for *cartes de visite* was largely European, they were by no means the exclusive clients for these precious objects. To remember friends and as gifts, Indian soldiers, for one, would have bought these images themselves and British soldiers would have had such potraits made for their subordinates. However, their images often do not survive. Larger portraits were also commissioned and Burke continued to excel in this capacity even when the sitter was not an amir, as this remarkable photograph shows.

One version of this portrait of Subedar Major Bahadur Mial Singh of the 45th Sikhs, also known as Rattray's Sikhs, has a cryptic note on the back: "Sikh's head. Present from John Burke the photographer. Burn it or do anything else with it when [seen?]." Burke gave this photograph as a gift. The note, perhaps a joke, could be in his handwriting but it might have been written by the person who received it. It certainly suggests that Burke was proud of this finely etched portrait of an a 80-year old veteran of Rattray's Sikhs.

Rattray's Sikhs was among the oldest and most honoured detachments of native soldiers. In 1856 Capt. Thomas Rattray toured villages in the Punjab, offering to wrestle with any man on condition that he would sign up to join the British army if he lost. Rattray recruited over 1,500 men who distinguished themselves the very next year by being one of only two regiments between Calcutta and Benares to remain loyal to the British during the Mutiny. (Mial Singh was probably one of Rattray's original recruits.) Rattray's Sikhs also performed heroically during the Second Afghan War, in one case charging a much larger force repeatedly until they succeeded. *Subedar* major was the highest rank a native officer could aspire to in the British Indian army; the title is still used in the Indian and Pakistani armies for junior commissioned officers.

The portrait is also a reminder that the might of the British army on the Frontier was due to many brave and obedient Indian soldiers. At the Kabul Memorial in Mardan, in memory of the Guides who fell with the residency on September 3, 1879 (photograph 75), the names of 31 Singhs and numerous Khans, Shahs, Ahmeds and Hassans appear with those of only three British officers.

Following page
97 [Old cemetery, Mardan]
John Burke #31(unknown series), Mardan, NWFP, 1880?

The story of Wigram Battye's death did not end with his burial in Jalalabad on April 2, 1879 (photograph 64); he was later reburied in Mardan. His grave is pictured in this photograph. Burke took a number of cemetery photographs with clearly identifiable graves in various cantonments, including Kohat and Mardan. He sold some of them in the market. This photograph must have been taken on one of his many trips to Mardan, where he had served as a regular photographer to the Guides since at least 1875–76. This photograph illustrates both Burke's skill as a photographer and how deeply Wigram Battye's death played a part in the Frontier saga. It is unusual for the quiet and reverence with which the photographer beholds the centre of attention, the partly obscured cross in the middle right. The indirectness may have to do with the almost sacred nature of Wigram Battye's grave site for the men of the Guides and their contemporaries.

Battye's first grave in Afghanistan was described as "a very sacred spot at Jalalabad where rest the remains of Wigram Battye, a hero whose praises fill every mouth. I lately overtook a Sepoy of the Guides proceeding to the grave to water the flowers with which the affection of his devoted comrades and soldiers has embellished it."[1]

After the Treaty of Gandamak was signed with Amir Yakub Khan in May 1879, Jalalabad was returned to Afghanistan. Wigram Battye's body was not considered safe on Afghan soil. The decision was made to exhume his coffin and take it down the Kabul River on a risky expedition for reburial in Mardan. The normal land route could not be taken, the Grand Trunk Road from Peshawar to Kabul being thick with cholera and dust that summer. For the journey, the Bengal Sappers and Miners hooked up over 200 rafts. Boatsmen who knew every turn of a treacherous river that passed through hostile Afghan and tribal territory were procured with great difficulty. Five Guides volunteered for the journey. Two months after his original burial, Wigram Battye's coffin was exhumed, cleaned and wrapped before being floated on a raft in the Kabul River, which was brimming with water from melting mountain snow.[2]

The journey was harrowing. Rapids soon tossed the boats against narrow cavern walls. The men on board were drenched and terrified, crouching behind the coffin. The rafts disentangled. When they did emerge from the rapids, they found themselves under fire from the

hillsides. One man was killed; another wounded. Two bullets pierced Wigram's body. They barely made it around the next bend.

When they finally reached safety, the remaining rafts, amid the stench from the corpse, floated down the Peshawar plain. They landed in Nowshera and Wigram's body was met by another of his brothers serving with the Guides, Frederick Drummond (photograph 64). The body was taken to the little cemetery in Mardan where Wigram was reburied. The memorial tablet reads:

> *I.H.S. Sacred to the Memory of Wigram Battye Major in the "Queen's Own" Corps of Guides born 13th May 1842. Died in the discharge of duty near Futtehbad, Afghanistan 2nd April 1879, admired for his soldier-like and loved for his amiable qualities by all who knew him. "Thy brother shall rise again." "I am the resurrection and the life, he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live."*[3]

Another brother, Richmond, is buried in Abbottabad. He fell on the Frontier in 1888 when serving in one of the Black Mountain Campaigns (photograph 113) with the Fifth Gurkhas, raised in 1858 and based in Abbottabad. Their efforts with General Roberts's Kurram Valley Field Force in a night attack won them a number of Indian troops Orders of Merit. Seven years after Richmond's death, the plot next to Wigram Battye was filled by Frederick, who died on April 13, 1895, once again at the start of a significant conflict.

In the spring of 1895 a leader called Umra Khan had slain the hereditary ruler of Chitral, a nominally independent mountain kingdom. The 400 Indian troops garrisoned there and a handful of British officers were besieged in the fort. A force of 15,000 men was collected to help them. This included Frederick, who was in command of the Guides. He led troops that crossed a river before nightfall, leaving the bulk of the men on the other side. In the darkness the river swelled and the bridge was broken. The Guides suddenly found themselves forced to cross the river elsewhere. As they started crossing, a few thousand Swati and Utman Khel tribesmen attacked them. The Guides executed some brilliant manoeuvers and under Frederick's direction were evacuating their positions when he was hit and killed. In their fury, the Guides are said to have counter-attacked, killing hundreds of tribesmen for the loss of three sepoys.[4]

By all accounts, he too seems to have been a very popular soldier. His epitaph reads: "He died a noble death leaving behind him the reputation of being a valiant and skillful soldier; a devoted friend; and under all circumstances faithful unto death."[5] His grave is identical to that of his brother. Nearly all the other men buried around them in the small old cemetery at Mardan died during the Ambela Campaigns of 1863.

The deaths of four Battye brothers became a legend of selfless devotion among the British. Several of the six surviving brothers rose to high positions before returning or retiring to England.

Following page

98 "Street in Rawalpindi"

John Burke, Rawalpindi, Punjab, 1883–87

By permission of The British Library

Throughout his career, Burke maintained close connections and a branch office in the cantonment town of Rawalpindi. Surrounded by ancient sites—Taxila, the Gandharan capital of India, is a few miles away—the city barracks had been set up by the British to garrison troops in 1849. Out of this barracks, in a few decades, grew the largest military station in the Punjab. Baker's 87th Regiment was based here from 1854 until 1856. In the 1880s the town of Rawalpindi had a population of around 75,000 and was said to be the cleanest town in northern British India.[1] This made it a favourite first stop for new troops from England. Rawalpindi District as a whole had nearly 250,000 persons and was a prime recruiting ground for Indian soldiers as well. About 5,000 troops were quartered in the cantonment and the town of Rawalpindi was built to suit the needs of the military, although its growth was also spurred by the construction of the railway and the occurrence of famines in Kashmir, which attracted migrant labour in search of jobs. Next to the cantonment, the vibrant *sadar*, main bazaar, shown here, flourished with "numerous good Parsi and other shops."[2]

Burke must have been well known in the British Pindi community (as Rawalpindi was known to locals). In 1888, writing about the Rawalpindi horse-races, the *Civil and Military Gazette* correspondent added that "Mr. J. Burke was starter and gave great satisfaction."[3] That Burke spent significant amounts of time in Rawalpindi can also be inferred from a baptism entry at St. Joseph's Cathedral recording the birth of another illegitimate child, Hilda Grace, in 1888, on three different occasions: August 25, November 3, 1888, and in January 1889 (once again, the first two entries were crossed out and the exact date of the third entry is unclear). The mother's name was originally listed as "Mary" but was later crossed out and replaced by "Hilda Grace." No witnesses were

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recorded, which shows how extraordinary these entries are. No one else seems to have fathered two illegitimate children, baptised in two different Catholic churches, in northern Punjab during the 19th century.

But before this happened, in the spring of 1885, for a brief moment, the eyes of the world were focussed on an extraordinary event in Rawalpindi. The outcome of a durbar taking place here would determine whether a war would break out between imperial Britain and czarist Russia. The key was the disposition of Afghan Amir Abdur Rehman, who had been in power for five years (photograph 85). At the time of his ascension, he had signed a mutual defense treaty with the British. He nonetheless remained a distant ally, careful not to offend the Russians to the north and very conscious of not appearing too friendly to the British.

The precipitating factor of the crisis that led to the Rawalpindi Durbar was the Russian takeover of the city of Merv in Turkmenistan, part of a continued expansionist wave by czarist Russia over Central Asia. Merv was just north of Herat in western Afghanistan. From the British point of view, a move towards Herat would likely be the next step taken by Russia, opening the road to the long-feared Russian invasion of India. No other explanation of the Russian action seemed to fit. Proponents of a Forward Policy were again ascendant.

The immediate flashpoint for the durbar was Panjdeh, a tiny town to the west of Merv. Located on the Afghan side of the Khost River —the geographical border between czarist Central Asia and Afghanistan— Panjdeh found itself threatened by Russian troops in early 1885. The British, obliged to defend Afghanistan by virtue of their treaty with Abdur Rehman, sent reinforcements. The stand-off began.

In March Abdur Rehman made his way to Rawalpindi to discuss the next steps at the durbar. This was his first visit to British India as the amir. By virtue of the treaty, he could insist on British retaliation if an invasion occurred. But he also had serious differences with his hosts on matters like the independence of the Swat, Dir and Bajaur principalities— mountainous valleys between British India and his kingdom, where he vied for influence over local chiefs and tribes and upon which he did not want to see the British encroach.

Once again, the Great Game looked like it would lead to the conflict it was meant to forestall. The prospect of war between the two European giants over Afghanistan "rocked Wall Street"[4] and had "become the theme of comment all over Europe."[5]

John Burke was present with his camera, as were many other photographers. Rudyard Kipling was working as a young correspondent in Lahore for the *Civil and Military Gazette*, already writing some of the early short stories he would publish in that newspaper. Covering the durbar was one of his first big assignments. Later, he would even write a short story about Abdur Rehman. The Rawalpindi Durbar was one of the great moments in Frontier history. Due to its worldwide historical implications, it was even more notable than the visit of the Afghan amir to the Amballa Durbar in 1869 (photographs 58 and 59).

Following pages

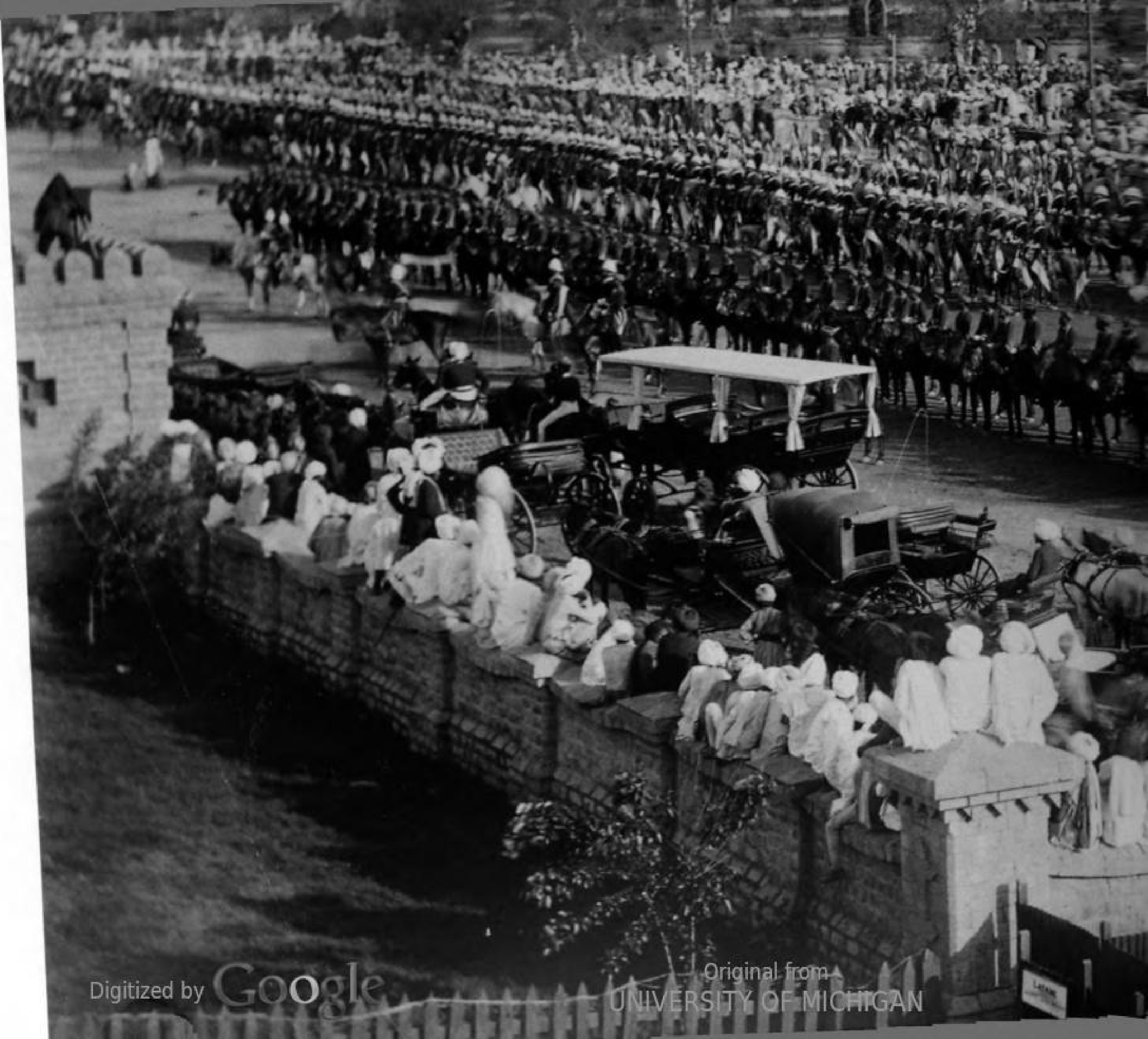
99–100 "Waiting for the Viceroy Rawalpindi Station, 1885"

John Burke, Rawalpindi, Punjab, March 27, 1885

By permission of The British Library

Viceroy Lord Dufferin, Lt.-Gov. Charles Aitchison, the visiting Duke of Connaught and the feudal rulers from the Punjab gathered in Rawalpindi to receive Amir Abdur Rehman. This panorama of Rawalpindi station on March 27, 1885, depicts the crowd and dignitaries gathered for the viceroy's arrival. The image was also published in the *Illustrated London News* as an engraving on May 2, 1885. The interlude between event and publication shows that there was still a significant gap between photojournalism's ability to catch up with distant events and the time taken by telegraphic news to feed the stories. At the same time, the quicker exposure times that resulted from improved photographic papers and chemicals made crowd shots like this one possible with minimal blurring.

If the amir was the critical single actor in this drama, Viceroy Lord Dufferin was one of the most important British players. Frederick Temple Hamilton Temple Blackwood was an Irish nobleman who was educated at Oxford but did not finish his degree. His mother was a humorous writer and he became known as a great wit himself. He first made a name for himself in 1860, at the age of 24, with a popular narrative of a yatch trip to Iceland called "Letters from High Latitudes." That year he was sent as British commissioner to Syria and he began a long, successful career as a diplomat and administrator. He was ambassador to the czar and to Turkey and Egypt. Just before coming to India, he served as governor-general of Canada where he initiated many notable reforms. According to some observers, the viceroy was a dedicated civil servant who knew how to bend with sensibilities in London.




Burke 2

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101 "H.M. [His Majesty] Abdur Rehman"

John Burke, Rawalpindi, Punjab, April 1885
By permission of The British Library

Abdur Rehman was a complex character to the British. Officially, they considered him to be a capable ruler, a man of "considerable intelligence and force of personality,"[1] who ruled "with a rod of iron."[2] Unofficially, during the durbar they were as unsure as ever whether he would turn out to be an ally or an enemy. A deep British legacy of perceptions, prejudices and mistrust of Afghans persisted. Rudyard Kipling was assigned to cover the durbar as a "special correspondent" for the first time. At the time, he wrote an unusual—in that it used a real name—short story called "The Amir's Homily." It is one of his poorest and more racist stories and was never published in the *Civil and Military Gazette*. It was later included near the end of his best-selling short story collection *Life's Handicap: Being Stories of My Own People*, which was published in 1891. The story begins:

> *His Royal Highness Abdur Rehman, Amir of Afghanistan, G.C.S.I., and trusted ally of Her Imperial Majesty the Queen of England and Empress of India, is a gentleman for whom all right thinking people should have a profound regard. Like most other rulers, he governs not as he would, but as he can, and the mantle of his authority covers the most turbulent race under the stars. To the Afghan, neither life, property, law, nor kinship are sacred when his own lusts propel him to rebel. His is a thief by instinct, a murderer by heredity and training, and frankly and bestially immoral by all three. None the less he has his own crooked notions of honour, and his character is fascinating to study.*[3]

"G.C.S.I." after his name refers to Knight Grand Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India, an honorary title bestowed upon him at the durbar. The story goes on to describe a man who is brought before the amir for stealing food to feed his starving family. So severe and uncompromising is the amir's sense of justice that he nonetheless sentences the man to death.

The amir arrived in Rawalpindi on March 31. Events in Panjdeh were moving fast. The day before, the Russians had attacked the Frontier outpost. They overran the Afghans, killing hundreds of soldiers with minimal casualties. Two battalions of Afghans were said in the press to have been bayoneted on the spot.[4] The British were not involved in the fighting. News of the disaster at Panjdeh reached the durbar a few days later. The British immediately reinforced Quetta in Baluchistan with 25,000 troops. In the wake of the defeat of General Gordon at Khartoum in Sudan in 1884—when one of their most famous generals and his troops were wiped out—the British were not in the mood for another humiliation.

One can sense the tension on Abdur Rehman's face in photographs taken during the durbar. He also suffered from a serious case of gout and could barely walk. Here he is seen leaning on a cane.

102 "Uzbeg Cavalry The Amir's Escort"

John Burke #11 (Rawalpindi Darbar series?), Rawalpindi, Punjab, April 1885
By permission of The British Library

According to eyewitnesses, Abdur Rehman took rather well the news of the fall of Panjdeh to the Russians.[1] Contrary to expectations, he did not insist on a British response nor did he turn against the British and side with the Russians. He was clearly not interested in seeing his country become the battlefield of a war between England and Russia and apparently made concerted efforts to cool British nerves. One account had him showing "great forbearance" during the durbar.[2] Viceroy Lord Dufferin later wrote:

> *But for the accidental circumstance of the Amir being in my camp at Rawalpindi, and the fortunate fact of his being a prince of great capacity, experience and calm judgement, the incident at Pandjeh alone, in the strained condition of the relations which then existed between Russia and ourselves, might in itself have proved the occasion of a long and miserable war.*[3]

Another eyewitness, G. R. Elsmie, a long-time senior civil servant and judge, suggests another explanation for events, pointing to a circumstance that must have challenged photographers of the durbar. Describing the arrival of the amir on March 31, Elsmie wrote:

> *Rain to meet the arrival of a guest in India is regarded as a most auspicious omen. It is the welcome of Heaven to the blessed footsteps of the stranger. In this case, the omen was, to say the least, portentous. The rain, which fell during the first two days of Abdul Rehman's visit to Rawal Pindi, may now be regarded as historic, and no one who experienced it and survives until now can have forgotten its abundance.*[4]

The extent of the rains can be recognised in the condition of the grounds and the wetness visible on the ground in most photographs. Elsmie's diary entries for the next days continue in the same vein: "April 1—A very miserable day. We were all made fools of by the rain and wind. . . . In the afternoon . . . [there was] a great thunderstorm, followed by very heavy rain."[5] Parades of thousands of troops in the rain or on soggy grounds slowed the finest battalions to a messy—and for bystanders often amusing—crawl.

Meanwhile, the dignitaries shuffled between their tents to change and dry their clothes. The amir was the only one staying in a mansion, lent to him for the occasion by Maharajah Ranbir Singh of Kashmir (photograph 34). The adherence to protocol and ceremony occupied many staff members and helped govern the photographers' arrangements of groups.

Durbars were of course the epitome of representing power through stagecraft and ceremony. In this case each side wanted very much to impress the other with its might during negotiations. Amir Abdur Rehman brought with him 2,000 men. Among them were his own version of the Guides, his Uzbeg Cavalry. Uzbeg fighters, originally from an area north of Afghanistan in Central Asia, were known for their tremendous ferocity. Their woolly caps and countenance evoked consternation and comment among the British. "They are picturesque—immensely so. The Usbeg lancers, in their mustard-hued coats, shaggy caps and strange accoutrements, would make an artist's fortune," according to Kipling.[6] This photograph appears in many albums.

The British also borrowed from Indian traditions in their display of large animals. The camel carriage of the lieutenant-governor of the Punjab, specifically the one assigned to his wife—an unusual perk that set the chief official of the Punjab apart from peers elsewhere in India—was paraded and photographed.

Elephants, the most imposing of all parade animals, were also brought out. A 56-elephant parade was ready to greet and carry the amir and his officials upon his arrival. Abdur Rehman, however, broke protocol by insisting that he travel by carriage. Perhaps he remembered or had heard about the tragedy that struck a former lieutenant-governor, Sir Henry Durand. In 1871 when riding an elephant in Tank, a town near the Afghan Frontier, Durand was to pass between two ceremonial gates. His elephant panicked and charged at the second gate, which was barely high enough to accommodate the procession. He and the nawab were thrown with their podiums to the ground. The lieutenant-governor died the next day, New Year's Day, of his injuries. His son Sir Mortimer Durand was the foreign secretary to the Government of India in 1885 and led the talks with the amir at the Rawalpindi Durbar.

Sir Mortimer later claimed that when he received the news in the evening of the fall of Panjdeh and went to tell the amir about it, the amir "begged me not to be troubled . . . and said that the loss of two hundred or two thousand men was a mere nothing," and that of their commander "was less than nothing."[7]

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103 **"Durbar Punjab Chiefs 1885"**
John Burke, Rawalpindi, Punjab, April 4, 1885
By permission of The British Library

The Rawalpindi Durbar involved numerous official dinners and semi-official events (*Abdur Rehman's Private Visit to the Viceroy* was the caption to one Burke photograph).[1] One of these events was a mini-durbar, known as the Durbar of Punjab Chiefs.

Sitting on the throne in the photograph is Sir Charles Umphertson Aitchison (1832–92) of Edinburgh, Scotland, one of the most formidable early governors of the Punjab. He began his career in India in 1856 and was nearly killed in Hissar, Punjab, the next year. He later became foreign secretary of the Government of India. Like his mentor Henry Lawrence, he was in opposition to the Second Afghan War and felt it was inadvisable for the British to move west toward Central Asia. After serving in Burma in the early 1880s, he became lieutenant-governor of the Punjab in 1882. After the viceroy, he was the most important official from India attending the durbar.

His tenure as lieutenant-governor in Lahore from 1882 to 1888 closely matches that of Kipling. The young *Civil and Military Gazette* reporter covered the highlights of Aitchison's iron-fisted tenure, from the foundation stone laying of what is now Aitchison College in 1886 (see photograph 110) to the celebration of Queen Victoria's jubilee three years later. Kipling knew how comfortable Aitchison would have felt to be surrounded by princely rulers (one of the books Aitchison later wrote was titled *The Native States of India*). Yet the young reporter also understood the strains of officialdom: "A Lieutenant-Governor in a Jubilee is much to be pitied. His Honour had just time to breathe before turning around again and coming down the Mall."[2]

The Durbar of Punjab Chiefs involved the display of the armies of feudal states in the Punjab, effectively conveying the fact that their rulers had placed them at the disposal of the British in case of war with Russia. The maharajah of Pattiala, the nawab of Bahawalpur, the maharajahs of Jind, Nabba, Kapurthala (on the left of Charles Aitchison), Faridkote (on the right) and Chamba all attended. By all accounts, the displays would have been spectacular. As Kipling reported: "Finally, one loses all idea that the living waves in front are composed of men. It has no will, no individuality—nothing, it seems, save the power of moving forward in a mathematically straight line till the end of time."[3]

On April 4, when this photograph was taken, the princely rulers in the Punjab pledged their joint might to any potential conflict in Afghanistan. Abdur Rehman's surprise at the strength of their troops was surmised by Kipling, who wrote:

> *The site [of their armies] must shock the Ameer exceedingly. When he was driving from the station on his arrival in Pindi, he asked several questions regarding the native contingents, and expressed utmost surprise that the British Government dare to allow the dragon's teeth to be sown anywhere but in her own borders. But they took part in the last Afghan War, said the officer with him. "Ah! And were killed off that way," was the Ameer's reply. "No, they kept our lines of communication open in the Kurram Valley." "Did they? I should have sent them where they might be thinned a little." Evidently His Highness does not approve of armies within armies, and the close of the review must shock him exceedingly. Here are contingents of well-drilled, well-armed men in a conquered country, playing their bands, giving their words of command, and above all dragging their artillery, the deadly guns of the English, under the very noses of their rulers. And truly the native contingents are magnificent troops to look at. A little ragged in their dressing here and there, and below comparison with English batteries, as regards their artillery, but still magnificent men. I am unable to say which are which, for field glasses are of no avail here; a catholic taste in buttons preventing accuracy of observation.*[4]

Fortunately, the troops were not needed, and just as war seemed imminent, reason prevailed. A flurry of cables was sent between Queen Victoria in London and Czar Alexander in Moscow. The czar, apparently, may not have been fully apprised of the decisions his faraway commanders were making on the ground, including the aggressive action at Panjdeh. A joint boundary commission between the Russians and the British was subsequently established. When it finished its work two years later, the commission awarded Panjdeh to the Russians anyway, although they soon exchanged it for a mountain pass that brought them even closer to Herat. The turns of the Game could be confusing, even to its participants.

Nonetheless, consequences did arise. Just as the Second Afghan War had shown the Tories to be too aggressive for the British public, this incident, after General Gordon's defeat in Khartoum, showed the Liberals to be too compromising for British voters. It helped lead to their ouster from government in the elections of August 1886. Abdur Rehman managed to extend his influence around the Khyber Pass. Viceroy Lord Dufferin allowed him to also exert authority over a number of tribal areas that continued to fuel uneasiness on the Frontier for years to come.

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104 **"The Three Commanders in Chief at Rawal Pindi"**
John Burke, Rawalpindi, Punjab, April 1885
By permission of The British Library

The Rawalpindi Durbar presented 85,000 British army troops for review to the amir, a fitting occasion for the three commanders-in-chief in India to meet. Seated on the left is General Sir Donald Martin Stewart (1824–1900), commander-in-chief of the British army in India. Standing just behind him is General Sir Frederick Sleigh Roberts, commander-in-chief of the Madras Army. In a few months, Stewart would retire and General Roberts would replace him. The third man, alone on the sofa and the only one wearing a hat, is General Sir Arthur Edward Hardinge (1828–92), commander-in-chief of the Bombay Army.

Seated in the middle of the photograph, behind a book, is Boyce Comb, a young adjutant. Standing behind him are Paul Caruer and Neville Chamberlain. Chamberlain was Roberts's ADC, aide-de-camp, or chief assistant, who served with him in the Second Afghan War and later helped reorganise the maharajah's Kashmir army (1890–97). He would also lead a Khyber force in 1899, one of the many forces the British put together to subdue tribesmen on the Frontier during the Black Mountain or other campaigns. Another Afghan War veteran and Frontier officer, Ian Hamilton, is holding his riding crop.

The presence of the three commanders was intended to emphasise their commitment to the troops being sent to Quetta for possible reinforcement of the amir's southern flank. Roberts was in charge of an army corps ready to march and defend Herat, if needed. They had also been brought together because they shared a great deal of history in Afghanistan and would have been well known to the amir.

Sir Donald was the overall commander of British forces in Afghanistan in 1879–80. He spent much of his career on the Frontier. He led forces in Peshawar in 1854–55, served in 1857 at Lucknow and took over Peshawar District in 1869. He was active in lesser battles against the Afridis and during the Second Afghan War he served with the Guides. Later, he became ADC to Queen Victoria. Miraculously, his career survived the fact that he was chief commissioner of the Andaman Islands when Lord Mayo was assassinated there on February 8, 1872 (photograph 13).

General Roberts received the Victoria Cross in 1858 for fearlessly pursuing a standard and saving another man's life. He participated in the Ambela Campaigns and led the Kabul Field Force that took Kabul in 1879. His vindictive conduct in Kabul was forgotten after the battle of Kandahar and he became the top military man in India by the end of 1885. He was one of the most prominent British generals of his time and personified the military for colonists in India for the latter half of the 19th century. He was seen as the guarantor of British safety—the one soldier everyone could count on. Even Stewart knew enough to step aside and let Roberts lead the march to Kandahar. A tribute by George Younghusband, who served with the Guides, claimed:

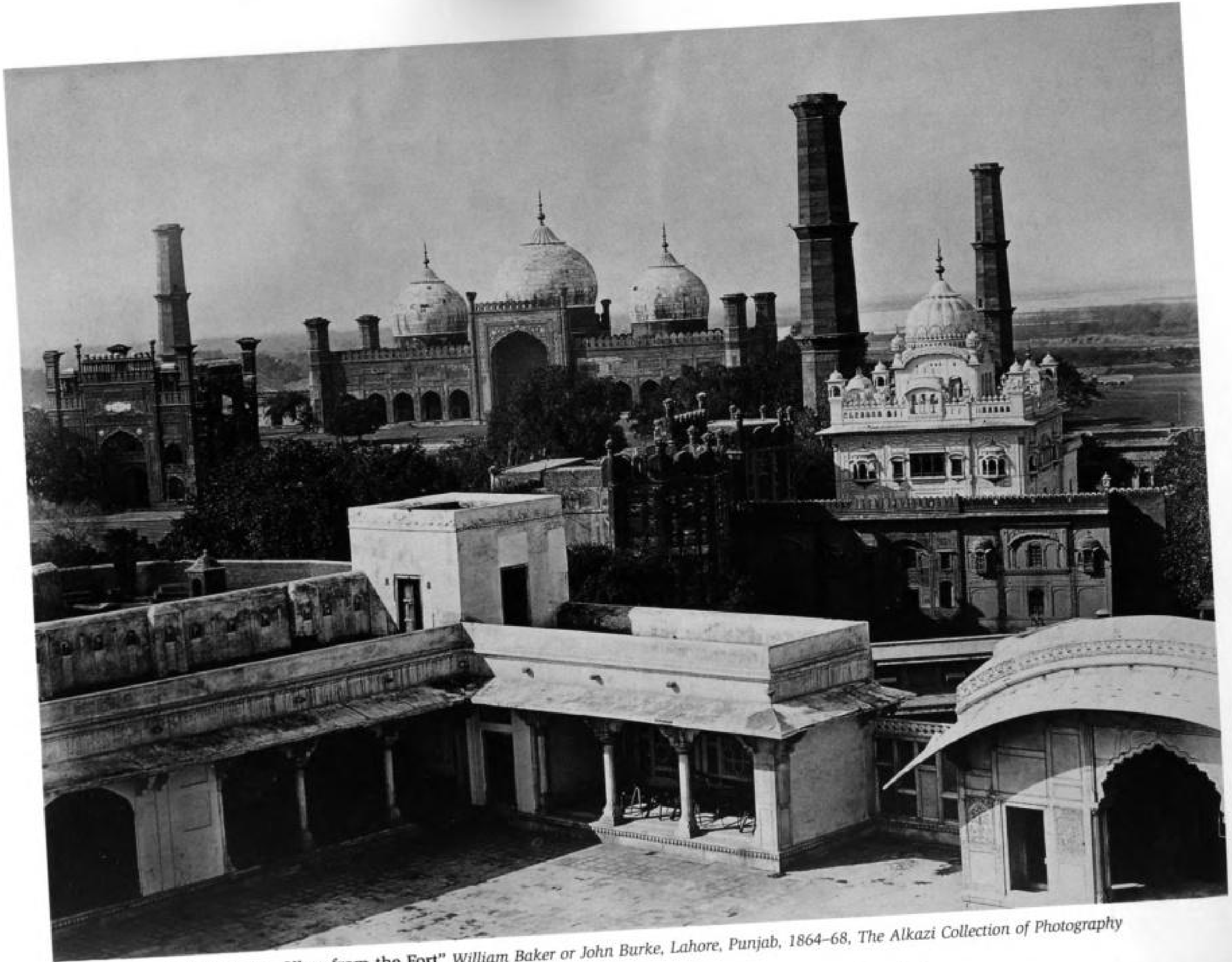
> *It is given to few men to gain the affection and soldierly respect of all, but Roberts possessed the two great merits in the eyes of the simple Indian soldier. He was always kind and considerate, though firm as a rock, and always brave . . . never forgetting a friend however humble, and always remembering those little soldier courtesies which count for so much.*[1]

On the imperial level, Roberts was also seen as the proponent of a certain kind of soldiering in British militarist ideology. As one young man wrote in a letter to his father in 1884 about the three leading generals of the time, "The *Pioneer* says of our three generals, 'One likes to fight with very young soldiers [Viscount Wolseley], the second likes old soldiers [General Roberts], the third likes to fight his battles without any soldiers at all [General Charles "Chinese" Gordon].'"[2] The Guides, full of aging but experienced veterans, exemplified the Roberts soldier.[3] Still, Roberts also knew the value of young soldiers, as most veterans of the Guides had been when they joined. Of youth, wrote Younghusband, "He [Roberts] concluded that they in their inexperience knew not danger or fear."[4]

Roberts only enhanced his reputation when he left India for South Africa in 1893, where he helped turn around the Boer War. He wrote a memoir, *My Forty-One Years in India*, much of it about the events of 1857. Roberts became the last commander-in-chief of the entire British army (1901–04) before the London based post was abolished. He died in 1914 when visiting troops on the front line in France at the outbreak of World War I.

The Honorable Sir Arthur Edward Hardinge, on the sofa, was the son of a viscount. Educated at Eton, he was active in the First Sikh War in 1845–46. He served in the Crimea and then with the British royal family before returning to Bengal in 1873. Soon after this picture was taken, he served as governor in Gibraltar. He died from injuries sustained in a carriage accident in 1892.

This photograph made its way into a number of albums not only for the important moment and personages it depicts but perhaps also for its sharp composition and the brilliant white lighting. The arch helps pull the people under it, yet the highest-ranking officer, Sir Donald, sits off-centre outside the oval. The orderly behind him is so stiff that he seems to mock the act of posing. Burke stitched his own credit into the carpet.



105. "Lahore—View from the Fort" *William Baker or John Burke, Lahore, Punjab, 1864–68, The Alkazi Collection of Photography*

CHAPTER 7

LAHORE: WITNESS TO EMPIRE

On July 14, 1885, a month after the Rawalpindi Durbar ended, J. Burke & Co. advertised the opening of a new branch in Lahore in the *Civil and Military Gazette*. The move might have been long in planning, though it was unusual to have opened a studio in the capital of the Punjab at the height of summer. If a confluence of reasons were behind Burke's decision, one of them would surely have been the growth of the civilian Raj. As the weight of the British Empire in India shifted westward from Calcutta, the army was becoming only one of many colonial institutions the photographer could service. In Lahore many people were involved in overseeing the railways and agricultural projects. The presence of a growing provincial government, a large merchant class including Indians, the residences of many feudal rulers of the Punjab and a steady flow of travellers also significantly widened the customer base.

Gradually, Lahore became the headquarters of John Burke's photographic practice. Along with Murree, it was a place where his children would be born and go to school. The move to Lahore, a far larger city than Burke had ever before worked in, was certainly a big step commercially and socially. Close to 200,000 people lived in the city of Lahore and the population in the surrounding district was five times the size of Rawalpindi District. It was also the first real Mughal city in which John Burke lived.

Lahore was formally annexed by the British in 1849 from the dying Sikh Empire, at which time it became the capital of the Punjab. The city's roots go back further than has been measured but it was during the Mughal period that "gardens, tombs, mosques, and pavilions sprang up in every direction," and "suburbs arose until the city became, in the language of Mughal chronicler Abul-Fazl, 'the grand resort of people of all nations.'"[1]

The first British cantonment was located in Anarkali, an open area to one side of Lahore Fort. Here the first churches were built and British Resident Henry Lawrence, later lieutenant-governors and other civil officials held court. But the weather in Anarkali was too hot, with a mortality rate approaching that of Peshawar. A new cantonment was selected a few miles away in Mian Mir.

Over the next two decades, Lahore's importance grew with its proximity to the Afghan Frontier and the implementation of giant irrigation projects to the west and the south of the city. As the *Gazetteer of the Lahore District* noted in 1884:

> *With the opening of the Railway and the Bari Doab Canal, the extension of public works, and the creation of new offices under Government, the population, both European and Native, in the neighbourhood of Lahore has increased enormously of late years . . . and although new houses are springing up every day, Europeans are finding it almost as difficult as ever to obtain house accommodation.*[2]

Claiming to be the premiere photography firm in the Punjab, it may have become impossible for J. Burke & Co. to stay out of the growing provincial capital. It can also be supposed that the new technologies flooding the field of photography and changing the professional photographer's role made establishing a studio in a large market a strategic decision.

Nonetheless, Burke managed to maintain his ties to the military. He continued to photograph more campaigns over the years on the Frontier, from which he produced campaign albums, and he journeyed regularly to Mardan to photograph the Guides. He also never abandoned his Murree and Rawalpindi studios.

105

The Badshahi Mosque (on the left), built by Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb in 1674, was until recently the largest in the world. Next to it is the tomb of Maharajah Ranjit Singh. Although unfinished at the time of the British takeover, the tomb was completed under Sir Henry Lawrence as a goodwill gesture. In the foreground of the photograph is the *naulakha*, a marble pavilion, constructed during Aurangzeb's reign. The name refers to Rs. 900,000, or nine lakh rupees, which was the amount spent to construct the delicate marble building complete with inlaid flowers and precious stones. It is adjacent to Shish Mahal, Palace of Mirrors, located inside the fort and from where this photograph was taken.

106

106 "View of the Fort of Lahore"

William Baker or John Burke, Lahore, Punjab, 1864–68

By permission of The British Library

Burke's 1885 summer opening may have been an initial foray, for it is not until the following winter that he begins advertising his new branch in earnest. On November 30, 1886, Burke announced himself to Lahore's seasonal winter population with the advertisement below in the *Civil and Military Gazette.*

> PHOTOGRAPHY
>
> **Mr. J. BURKE'S Photo Studio (late Baker & Burke)**
> Is now OPEN for the Winter, on the Mall, opposite the
> "CIVIL AND MILITARY GAZETTE" PRESS
> PORTRAITS in every style, also GROUPS, HORSES, and Out-door Work of every description,
>
> **Studio open daily from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m.**
> A Splendid Collection of VIEWS of INDIA, KASHMIR, KABUL, and AFGHANISTAN.
> *Catalogues on application.*
> ALSO
> A Set of 24 Large-sized PHOTOGRAPHS, GROUPS, & c., of the recent Durbar.
> N.B.—Development, Re-touching and Printing done for Amateurs at moderate rates
> and
> Lessons if required.
> Lahore, 30th November 1886. (519-t.f.)

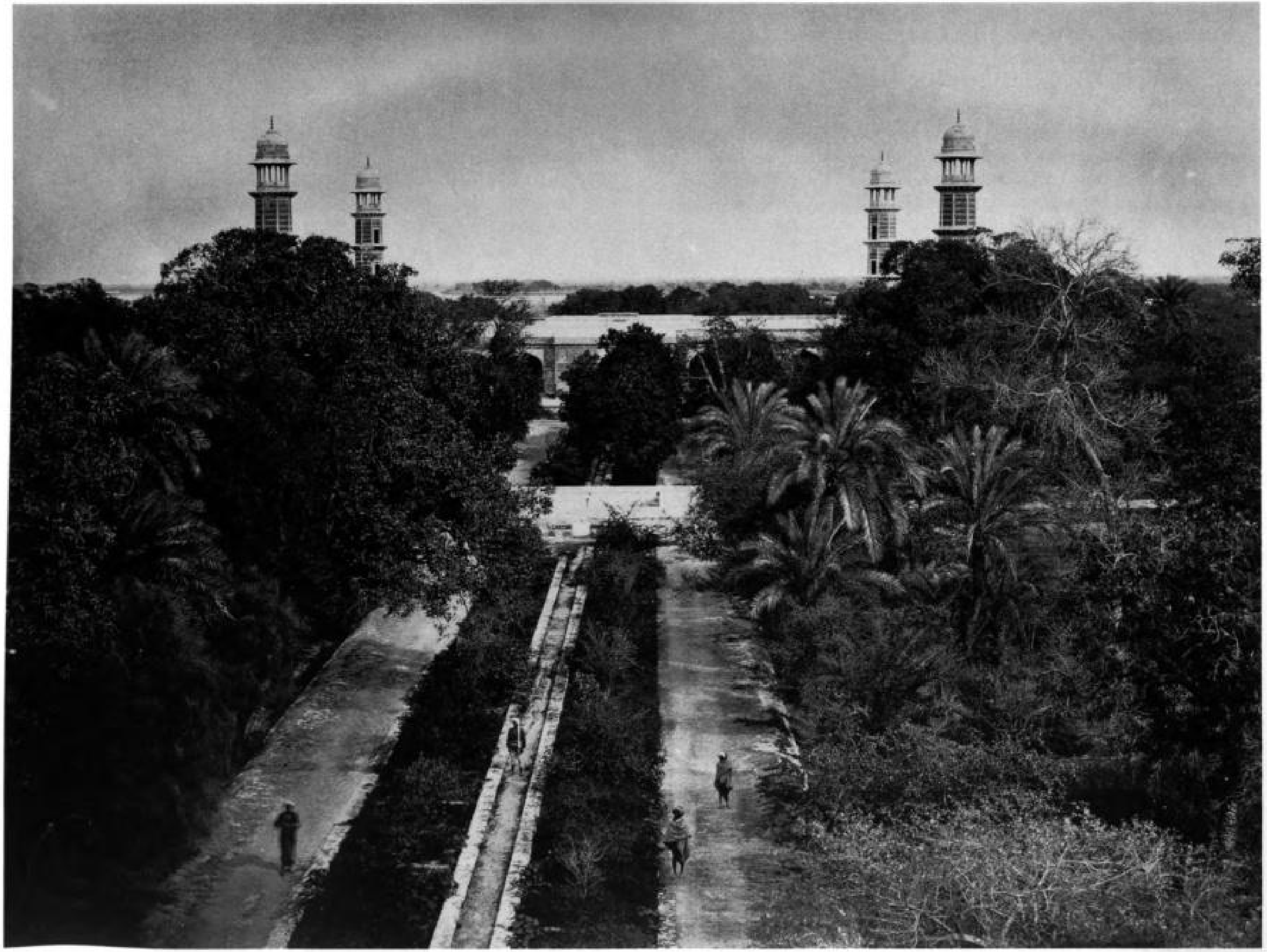
His choice of office location, across from the city's leading newspaper on a central stretch of the Mall, shows his commitment to the new branch. The Mall was a direct 5 mile road between Anarkali and the new barracks at Mian Mir. Along it were scattered leading commercial structures and major British establishments built during the course of the 19th century. Clearly, Burke could afford to rent expensive space in Lahore. The advertisement is interesting for a number of other reasons. The phrase "late Baker & Burke" remains prominent, testifying to the goodwill remaining in Baker's name 14 years after the partnership dissolved. Not a word about military work appears; with its offer of portraits, groups and horses, the appeal is largely to civilians. The description of photographs for sale is very broad, ranging from the whole of India to Kashmir and Kabul. One can presume that Burke's customers in Lahore were more closely connected to the rest of the Raj than were customers in Peshawar or Murree.

Burke's offer to develop and print photographs for amateurs and to teach them the practice of photography shows the popularity in Lahore of new technologies like the dry-plate so soon after their introduction in the United States and Europe. Burke appears to have tried to ride the wave of technological change; perhaps he didn't even think of it as a threat. Indeed, from all accounts—the *New York Times* compared the spread of photography in the mid-1880s to a cholera plague[1]—many people wanted to learn photography. Offering instruction apparently did not undermine Burke's own professional business.

It is clear that new technologies and developments in Lahore were transforming the photographer's business. Burke's advertisement appears as part of an unusual burst of advertising among Lahore photographers in 1886. Another recent arrival, Alfred Sache, offered his "instantaneous photography"—a reference to quickly developed dry-plates.[2] James Craddock had been working seasonally in Lahore since the 1870s. His assistant for the previous seven years, George Craddock, who was also his nephew, had just left J. Craddock & Co. in 1886 and was engaged in an acrimonious newspaper exchange with his former employer. George Craddock could claim the coveted status "By Appointment to the Honorable Lt. Governor of the Punjab."[3]

Despite the flurry of competitive photographic activity that year, Lahore was strangely devoid of a dominant photographer, reported long-time resident and historian H. R. Goulding.[4] Indeed, a letter to the editor of the *Civil and Military Gazette* in 1881 had requested a well-known photographer to set up shop in Lahore, invoking Craddock or the well-known Lucknow photographers John Sache and G. W. Lawrie to respond.[5] The oldest photographer, J. A. Barthelemy, was a senior apothecary and a semi-official photographer who ran a studio in Lahore Fort where he "did quite a good business."[6] However, he does not seem to have left behind a body of work like other Raj photographers who had worked for a long period of time in a certain place. Burke may well have sensed an opportunity.

This photograph was taken from the steps of Badshahi Mosque (photograph 105) and shows the square and pavilion in front of the main gate of Lahore Fort. The garden in front of the gates is Huzuri Bagh, Royal Gardens. The beautiful marble pavilion was built by Ranjit Singh from materials stripped from the Mughal tombs of Emperor Jehanghir and his brother-in-law Asaf Khan (photograph 107) in Shahdara on Lahore's outskirts. Ranjit Singh used to hold *kutcheri*, court, in this pavilion, which had underground rooms to escape the heat. He used the mosque facing the fort as an ammunition store.



107

107 Shadrah, The Tomb of Jehangir

William Baker #806, Lahore, Punjab, 1864–68
By permission of The British Library

Jehangir is the only Mughal emperor buried in Lahore, which together with Srinagar was his favourite residence. When he died in 1627 in Rajaori, Kashmir, his body was taken to Lahore. His favourite wife, Nur Jehan designed and had built his tomb, a prime example of the classic Indo-Mughal style: perfect proportions, lattice marble windows, red and white sandstone and tile work. She and her brother Asaf Khan are buried near Jehangir. She chose a much simpler but still elegant version of Jehangir's tomb for herself.

Following page

108 The Exhibition Building or "Lahore Exhibition 1864"

William Baker #810?, Lahore, Punjab, 1864
By permission of The British Library

The earliest firmly dateable shots of Lahore by Baker & Burke are from 1864. It seems quite likely that they were taken around October of that year, when the Punjab Exhibition was opened. The event drew a number of photographers to Punjab's capital, including Bourne, Craddock and, of course, resident photographer Barthelemy.[1] It is probable that this photograph was taken by Baker or Burke. Among other reasons, the similarity between the human "props" in front of the building and those in a signed shot of Jehanghir's tomb (photograph 107) is telling.

The Punjab Exhibition marked the transition from Mughal to British Lahore. It was meant to begin the process of reconciliation in the Punjab after the war of 1857. Manufactured goods and handicrafts from all over the province and the rest of India were put on display. Over 1,000 people per day came to the building during the first months of the exhibition. Originally intended as a temporary structure, the building remained in use, housing the Lahore Museum until 1890. In the 1870s and 1880s the museum's curator was J. Lockwood Kipling, Rudyard Kipling's father. In *Kim* this building was the model for the Aijab Ghar, House of Wonders.

All along the Mall, towards the cantonment of Mian Mir, the British raised their structures around the old walled city and Mughal edifices. The gulf between the new European and the old Muslim, Sikh, Hindu and other worlds was enormous. One of Rudyard Kipling's stories, "The City of Dreadful Night," reaches its finale atop a minaret of Wazir Khan's mosque in the old city. The narrator's description of what he feels, gazing down at the city late at night, defines the vast distance between an Englishman and a Lahori. The story was first published in Lahore's *Civil and Military Gazette* in September 1885, just after Burke first opened his studio in the city:

> *Dore might have drawn it! Zola could describe it—this spectacle of sleeping thousands in the moonlight and shadow of the Moon. The roof-tops are crammed with men, women, and children; and the air is full of undistinguishable noises. They are restless in the City of Dreadful Night; and small wonder. The marvel is that they can even breathe. If you gaze intently at the multitude you can see that they are almost as uneasy as a daylight crowd; but the tumult is subdued. Everywhere, in the strong light, you can watch the sleepers turning to and fro; shifting their beds and again resettling them. In the pit-like courtyards of the houses there is the same movement. The pitiless Moon shows it all.*[2]

After its stint as a museum, the exhibition building became an indoor food market known as Tollinton Market. Parts have been torn down but it remains a popular bazaar. The museum shifted to a new location on the Mall in the early 1890s, where it still stands.

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109

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109 "Montgomery Hall and Lawrence Hall"

William Baker or John Burke?, Lahore, Punjab, 1866–82
By permission of The British Library

Halfway down on the other end of the Mall stood Montgomery and Lawrence halls. The larger former building faced the Mall on the edge of what became the 12-acre Lawrence Gardens, known as "the Kensington Gardens of Lahore."[1] The funds for the smaller Henry Lawrence Hall came from public subscriptions raised in 1861–62 in his memory (photograph 21). The building itself was opened in December 1864.

Lawrence Hall was the centre of colonial public life in Lahore; the main public building was used for concerts, theatricals and "other entertainments" like magic lantern exhibitions.[2] Minstrels, the Great Australian Circus and variety groups were regular visitors. Gilbert and Sullivan operas were performed here. H. R. Goulding, author of *Old Lahore: Reminiscences of a resident*, remembered many events in this hall, including one that would have taken place in the 1880s:

> *One incident, though trifling, may be considered sufficiently amusing to find a place in these recollections. About 45 years ago, a "strong man" who described himself as "The Great Spanish Mushroom," gave a performance in the Lawrence Hall. One of his feats of strength consisted of hanging by his toes from a trapeze and firing off a small cannon which was suspended from chords held in his hands. When the explosion came, every light was extinguished, numerous panes of glass were shattered, and large pieces of stucco moulding fell from the roof. The rapidity with which the audience made its way out was astonishing.*[3]

110 Railway Station—Arrival of T.R.H. the Duke and Duchess of Connaught

John Burke #2, Lahore, Punjab, November 1886
Courtesy of the Director, National Army Museum, London

How could Burke best distinguish himself from the other photographers? One answer was to offer a complete set of photographs of the Lahore Durbar of November 1886. The day his studio's advertisement first appeared in the *Civil and Military Gazette*, on November 30, a red flyer (reproduced on page 172) was enclosed in the newspaper listing 24 photographs of a durbar whose primary purpose was the foundation stone laying of Chief's College, today Aitchison College, one of Pakistan's leading educational institutions. Thanks to new dry-plates, shots of individual speakers reading their addresses were offered. This photograph inside the station would also not have been possible without faster exposure times.

The durbar got underway on November 1, 1886. Viceroy Lord Dufferin and the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, members of the royal family, were the chief guests, as were the princes of the Punjab who were to benefit from the college. Chief's College was the successor to Ward's School of Amballa, established in 1864 for sons of the feudal elite of the Punjab with whom the British would have to negotiate. It marked a major, controversial investment in the education of these wards of the Raj. Kipling was skeptical:

> *The Aitchison College, in which the youthful flower of Punjab nobility is to be educated, may or may not be an institution for which there is an urgent need. There may be a difference of opinion as to the propriety of the "Pauper Province" embarking on so costly an enterprise as the education of Princes; but the financial authorities who form the court of final appeal in such matters may be presumed to have been convinced either of the soundness of the project or the futility of opposition to so determined a will as that of its founder and godfather [Lt.-Gov. Sir Charles Aitchison].*[1]

Kipling's articles consistently poked fun at the activities. On November 5 he wrote that the viceroy and his party on a stage inside Montgomery Hall "looked like shipwrecked Europeans on an island."[2] As for the Duke of Connaught's arrival, he invoked Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland*:

> *The hatter's tea party never finished you know. The Doormouse and the March Hare and the Hatter just moved up a place and started all over again. It was the same with the two receptions on Monday night and Tuesday morning.*[3]

Supplement to the Civil and Military Gazette

PHOTOGRAPHS
OF THE
LAHORE DURBAR 1886.
BY
J. BURKE OF MURREE

1. RAILWAY STATION—Arrival of H.E. The Viceroy.
2. Ditto—Arrival of H.R.H. the Duke and Duchess of Connaught.
3. INTERIOR OF RAILWAY STATION.
4. GUARD OF HONOUR—1ST P.V.R. PRESENTING ARMS.
5. RAILWAY STATION—GENERAL VIEW, EXTERIOR.
6. Government house group—H.E. The Viceroy, H.R.H. The Duke and Duchess of Connaught, H.H. the Lieutenant-Governor and Lady Aitcheson, Lady Helen Blackwood, Miss Thyme, Lord William Beresford, Colonel Sir W. Ridgeway, Mr. MacKenzie Wallace, Colonel Becher, Major & Mrs. Hannay, Captain Dunlop Smith and other Members of the Staffs.
7. GOVERNMENT HOUSE—A Second Group.
8. THE FOUNDATION STONE, AITCHISON COLLEGE.
9. H.E. THE VICEROY AND H.R.H. the Duke of CONNAUGHT reading Inscription.
10. Ditto—Another with larger figures.
11. Ditto—LAYING THE FOUNDATION STONE.
12. GENERAL VIEW OF DURBAR TENT—Showing figures.
13. H.H. the LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR reading Address.
14. Ms. MACKWORTH YOUNG ditto.
15. H.E. THE VICEROY addressing Assemblage.
16. THE CONVOCATION—Interior of Montgomery Hall.
17. GUARD OF HONOUR in the Lawrence and Montgomery Halls.
18. H.E. the VICEROY and H.R.H. the Duke of CONNAUGHT in Carriage leaving the Durbar.
19. BOUNDARY COMMISSION—Native Officers drawn up in front of Government House.
20. Ditto—THE ESCORT WAITING INSPECTION.
21. Ditto being inspected, showing VICEREGAL PARTY (Taken during H.E. the Viceroy's Speech.)
22. Colonel SIR WEST RIDGEWAY and OFFICERS BOUNDARY COMMISSION.
23. INFANTRY ESCORT, BOUNDARY COMMISSION.
24. KASHMIR, in Carriage, leaving Durbar.

Rs. 3 per copy.
A collection of 12—Rs. 24; or the whole order of 24 Photos, unmounted, Rs. 40, V.P.P. Orders are now being registered.
ADDRESS—LAHORE or RAWALPINDI

111 **"Football Team" [Aitchison College]**
John Burke?, Lahore, Punjab, 1886
Naushad Ali Khan Collection

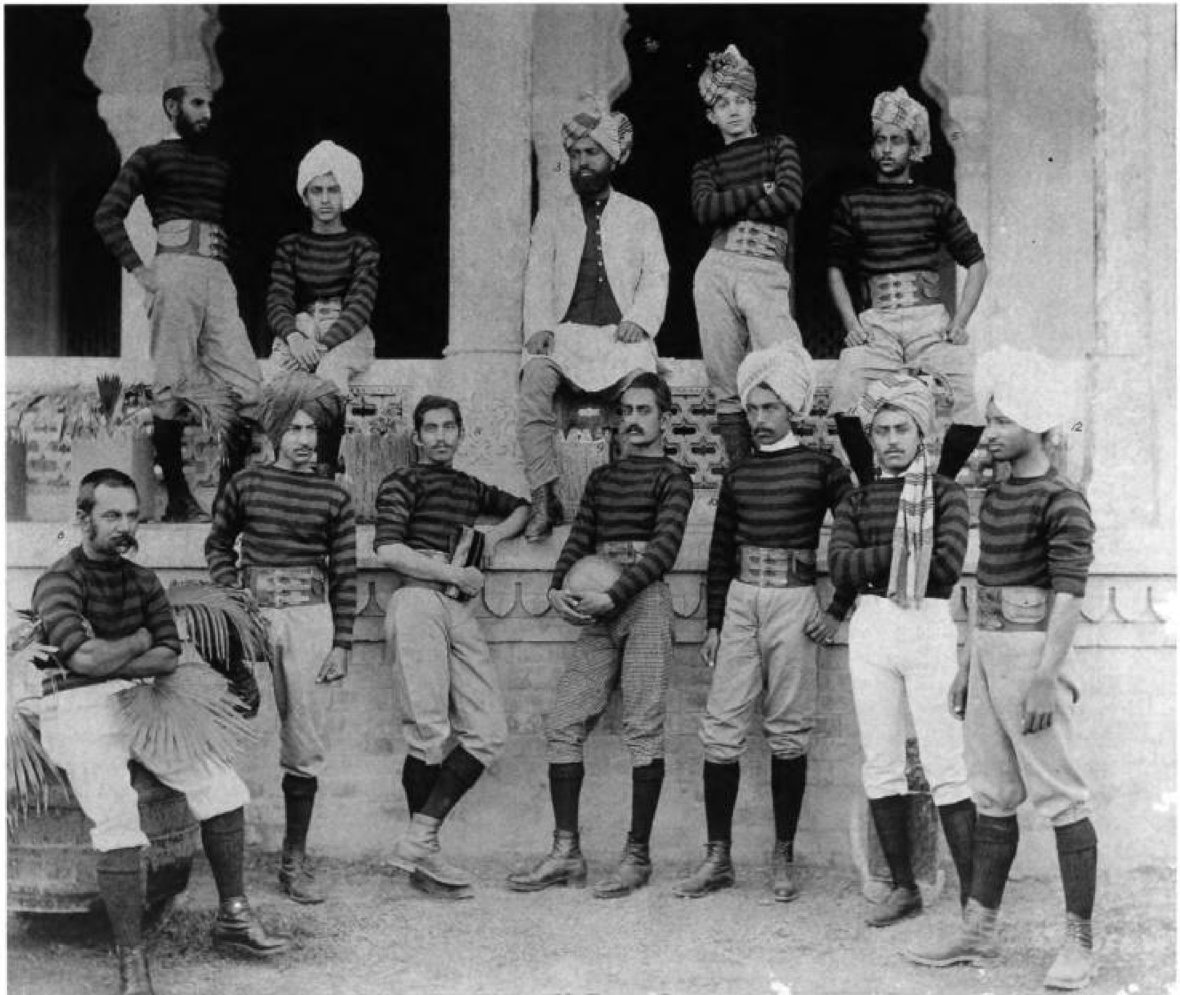
Six days after Burke's series was advertised, Kipling wrote and published the review "A Collection of Photographs." According to the scholar who was able to attribute the review to Kipling, it is a most unusual piece for Kipling to have written.[1] There are few similar reviews of commercial photographs in contemporary papers. This suggests that Kipling thought very highly of Burke's photographs. It also sheds light on what contemporary customers were looking for in photographs:

A Collection of Photographs

Mr. J. Burke, the well known photographer of Lahore and Murree, has made the most of the opportunities afforded by last month's Lahore Gathering; and the result is as fine a collection of photographs as we have ever seen.

Taking the best among many good ones, first, the highest praise should be awarded to a large photo of the Duke and Duchess of Connaught, the Viceroy and Lady Helen Blackwood and Sir Charles and Lady Aitchison, Sir West Rideway, and the Minor Stars of the Ducal and Viceregal Staff, grouped outside Government House. All the likenesses are good, and—since they must have been scores of times photographed—the principal figures have posed themselves naturally—which is a great thing in State pictures. This photo, to people who cannot purchase the entire set—about twenty-four—is the one to be secured as a memento.

The views of the Viceroy's arrival at the Lahore railway station are very good specimens of short exposure without the shutter. First, we have the interior of the Lahore railway station, swept, garnished and decorated for the Viceroy's arrival; next, two or three views of the Guard of Honour and troops outside the station, in which the Lahore Volunteers look remarkably imposing. These two views are taken from opposite ends of the station buildings, and would almost delude the unwary into the belief that the castlemented, battlemented, brick and half structures were massive buildings. Save that here or there a horse has switched a hasty tail, and so blurred himself, these views are practically instantaneous, and it is possible to recognize, one by one, the faces of the Volunteers and their officers.



1. Mohammad Raza Khan.
2. Harbans Singh.
3. Maulvi Rahim Bakhsh.
4. Ghulam Muhayuddin Khan.
5. Sultan Mohammad Khan.
6. Mr Kirkee Singh.
7. Balwant Singh.
8. Mumtaz Hussain Khan.
9. Talib Mehdi Khan.
10. Zulfiqar Ali Khan.
11. Mohammad Shah.
12. Autar Singh.

111

Mr. Burke has taken at least half a dozen photos of the ceremony of laying the foundation stone of the Punjab Chief's College. The best of all, a front view of the brilliant gathering under the big Shamiana [decorated tent], and full in the foreground, the white dust of Mian Mir on his boots, stands a soldier of the 5th Fusiliers, the man who was later knocked over by the sun, staring with drawn face and fixed eyes. Whether intended or not, the contrast between the Private, and the Prince plumed and decorated in a silver chair just behind, is a most artistic one. The photos of the actual ceremony of laying of the stone are all that could be wished for in the matter of portraiture, the many ropes and chains attached to the stone being kept out of the groups, thus securing a clear photo.

In the view of the Montgomery Hall, crammed and double crammed at the Punjab University Convocation, we have a grand picture, though marred in places by too strong a light, and the peculiar perspective of the central chandelier, which thrusts itself as it were into the bosom of the assembly. All the likenesses, minute as the faces are, have come out almost faultlessly. As good as, if not better than the photo of the Viceregal Party and Royal party, is the one of the Afghan Boundary Commission—native and English officers in their camp. It is to be noted that the tanned, brown hands of the Englishmen show almost as darkly as the hands of the natives and in one case, specially, the demarcation between a bronzed face and a white turban-protected forehead is curiously distinct.

The Inspection of the Commission by the Viceroy is wonderfully good, and Mr. Burke has availed himself of a chance not seldom offered to a photographer—that of photographing a rival. Now a man with his head inside the black velvet of a camera, and his legs much astraddle, is neither a comely nor dignified object, and his appearance just behind the lines of the Commission Escort is very funny.

There are, besides the photos we have mentioned, many smaller ones of minor incidents during the Lahore Gathering and the series should form a valuable and interesting memento of some great and notable ceremonies.[2]

This photograph, not part of Burke's series but taken around the same time, shows that the young men at Chief's College had mastered football and much else besides. Note the football uniforms and shoes unlike those of today. This portrait looks like a familiar Burke composition. These heirs to the thrones of the Punjab are listed by name in a calligraphist's handwriting but the title "Football Team" could be in Burke's own hand.

112 "Our Drawing Room in Lahore, India"
John Burke?, Lahore, Punjab, 1883–87
By permission of The British Library

Kipling appreciated the subtlety of Burke's photographs. His own short stories often dealt with themes he may have seen in them, whether it concerned the lives of soldiers or the temptations of confusing the races. Kipling was probably familiar with Burke's Afghan war photographs, for they showed him areas and events about which he wrote but never witnessed.

Born in Bombay in 1865, Rudyard Kipling was sent by his parents to a miserable boarding school in England. His father, John Lockwood Kipling, served for a decade with the Bombay School of Art before taking over Lahore's Mayo School of Art and becoming the curator of the Lahore Museum from 1875 until 1893 (photograph 108).[1] He was a learned man, with deep appreciation for local arts and crafts, as well as a fine artist, writer and engraver, who with great mastery depicted local people of the Punjab going about their everyday lives. Kipling was 17 years old when he returned to Lahore and took up a job as a reporter at the *Civil and Military Gazette*. Apparently, Kipling "was disqualified for any of the public services by reason of his defective eyesight."[2] His father had prevailed upon the paper's owner to hire the young boy. Kipling's editor Edward Kay Robinson recognised the young writer's genius and soon left him in complete charge of putting out daily issues of the paper.

Although he wrote much about army life, Kipling was not a reliable private in "B" Company of Lahore's First Punjab Volunteers, for he was apparently never seen on parade.[3] He later had to pay to make amends. Instead, he and his family were busy writing; one Christmas the entire family produced a special edition of the *Civil and Military Gazette* called the *Quartette*, which included fiction by Kipling and by his parents and sisters.

Kipling's years in Lahore were among his most formative. In 1886 he published *Departmental Ditties*, humorous and poignant songs meant for common British soldiers in India. The next year *Plain Tales from the Hills* came out, many of its stories having first appeared in his Lahore newspaper. The two books brought him instant world fame. Kipling left Lahore in 1887 to work for the parent newspaper the *Pioneer* in Allahabad. Two years later he left India altogether. He was on the verge of becoming one of the most popular writers for the next half century and a key interpreter of India for Western audiences. His first popular collection of stories, *Life's Handicap: Being Stories of My Own People*, was dedicated to Edward Kay Robinson.

This picture from Robinson's personal album provides a rare glimpse of a colonial Victorian interior. It was probably taken by Burke, who seems to have excelled in taking indoor shots during this period, especially in Lahore.[4] Many of these shots have distinct slightly overexposed white areas (photographs 104 and 110). Also, the portrait above the bookcase has a rounded top, which is Burke's characteristic style.

The photographer whose work most closely paralleled that of Burke in Lahore and the Punjab, in terms of prestige and longevity, was James Craddock. He established his first studio in Simla in 1859[5] and spent winter months in Peshawar during the 1860s.[6] Like Baker and Burke, Craddock was an early commercial photographer of Kashmir and his work also found its way into the London weeklies.[7] He left Peshawar around 1870, apparently for the Amballa cantonment—yet another example of how concentrations of British troops helped support an early photographer's business.[8] He seems to have shown renewed interest in his Lahore studio when the J. Burke & Co. branch office opened. In 1886 Craddock advertised his own series of only four durbar shots in the paper three weeks before Burke did.[9] Personal elements were also associated with any rivalry with Burke. According to *Thacker's Indian Directory*, not only William Henry Burke but also one of Baker's sons, Charlie Parkhouse, served as the manager and assistant manager, respectively, of Craddock's Lahore studio in the early 1890s, although William Henry spent 1892–93 serving as manager of his father's Lahore studio.

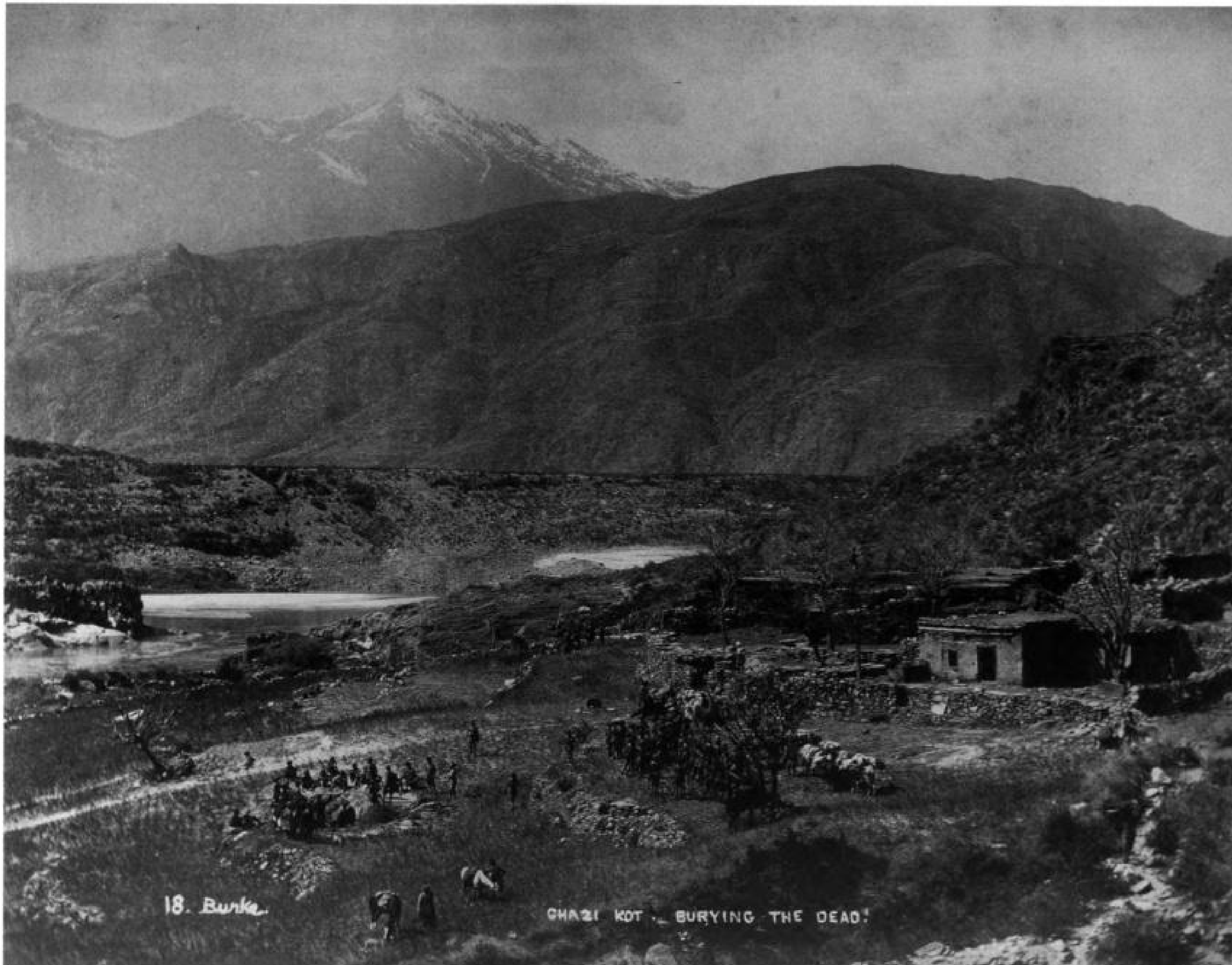
One difference between the two men was that Craddock was Protestant and perhaps better connected with the ruling elite, especially in Lahore. He was also a Freemason, often photographing Masonic groups in the city. Much of the city's elite were part of the "Hope and Perseverance" Lodge in the city, which also had a branch in Murree; the Lahore Freemasons later built a large building at Charing Cross, one of the Mall's main intersections.

By then, John and Rebecca Burke had established deeper roots in the city. A son, Fredericus Middleton (March 3, 1893), and a daughter, Rebecca Josephina (August 4, 1896), were baptised at Lahore's Roman Catholic cathedral. Burke's children were apparently schooled here as well. Oswald John (photograph 89) attended St. Patrick's School. By 1894 Oswald was working as an assistant at his father's studio in Rawalpindi.[10] Certainly, the practice of photography during this period was dominated by a small entrenched group of people who knew each other only too well.

113 Ghazi Kot: Burying the Dead

John Burke #18 (Black Mountain album), Buner, NWFP, 1891
Courtesy of the Director, National Army Museum, London

Even as a civilian Raj was taking hold in Lahore, the North-West Frontier continued to cause trouble for the British. Every year or two, another major military campaign was waged in a remote set of valleys; the old campaigns never really ended. The Frontier was the training ground for the British army in India, the only area with regular action and a laboratory for finding methods to pacify intransigent opponents of imperial rule. As one writer put it, "A newly-arrived battalion learned more in a week of Frontier operations than in months of maneuvers at home or in the cantonments of the subcontinent."[1] Many of these campaigns fall into the category another author called "Queen Victoria's Little Wars."[2] From 1849 until 1897 the British Indian army fought 46 different military campaigns on the North-West Frontier.



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Regular trouble spots were the forbidding snowcapped hills and mountains of Buner District next to Swat State. The Black Mountain Campaign of 1891—one of many campaigns with this name—was actually a long delayed follow-up to the Ambela Campaigns of 1863, which were photographed by Baker (photographs 1 and 9). At the end of the Ambela Campaigns, fought largely in Buner District, a group of unyielding Yusufzai fighters settled in Palosi Village on the right bank of the Indus River. They rose again in 1868 and were defeated. Twenty years later, they launched an ill-fated attack on a place called Kot Khai, where 200 men were killed. This led to another Black Mountain Campaign and Palosi was destroyed in 1888.

In 1891 the Yusufzai fighters opposed the British again, this time from a place called Chigharzai to which they had retreated in poverty. Though they would be defeated again, they formed a core of rebellious activity that was never really stamped out, continuing until independence was won from the British in 1947.

Burke created what is possibly his first major war album since those of the Second Afghan War with 142 shots of the Black Mountain Campaign of 1891.[3] Unlike the Afghan War albums, of which a number of copies can still be found, few copies of the Black Mountain album are known to exist. Burke was 50 years old when he made these photographs, suggesting that he remained in good physical shape at an age many European men in India would have been thankful to reach. Accompanying troops in areas with few roads and risking the constant danger of attack would have been arduous.

This burial photograph was taken at Ghazi Kot, the first major scene of battle. British Indian forces were surprised during the night, but by using new breech loading rifles, they were able to repel a heavy Yusufzai attack. Assuming the burials were made the next day, the photograph shows that, like in the Second Afghan War, Burke could get close to the action.

This photograph is also quite unlike the Afghan war shots. It seemed inconceivable then to have shown burial or death, despite the fact that the Second Afghan War had been bloodier and led to many more British casualties. Melancholic photographs taken during that time are more abstract (photograph 68), when the heroism of war seems to have more completely dominated British consciousness. The inclusion of this photograph in the Black Mountain album 20 years later might suggest greater frankness about the realities of warfare.

Following pages, left

114 Burning Village of Biran Below Chittabul

John Burke #42 (Black Mountain album), Buner, NWFP, 1891

Courtesy of the Director, National Army Museum, London

These photographs, with their smoke clouds, would also have been impossible during the Second Afghan War when exposure times were much longer. The burning of entire villages, a form of collective punishment, was standard practice well into the 1930s. Official British policy regarded the destruction of civilian property to be an essential tool in Frontier operations; the villagers lived from crop to crop and would not soon forget such punishment. It did, however, often lead to debate in the press and was by no means uniformly supported by the British.

Following pages, right

115 "Buner and Swat Jirgah, 3 April 1891"

John Burke #35 (Black Mountain album), NWFP, 1891

Courtesy of the Director, National Army Museum, London

All these campaigns in the Frontier invariably ended with a *jirgah*, gathering of elders, in front of the British commanding officer, who read out treaty terms. Villagers usually had to pay a heavy fine, possibly provide hostages and promise not to wage further warfare in exchange for British withdrawal from their areas.

Burke's original title for this beautiful photograph seems to have been scratched out; only "Jirgah . . . and others" is clearly legible. Note the removed shoes, as if the men were sitting in a familiar or sacred space. The man appearing with pen and paper must be holding the peace treaty or terms that he had just signed.

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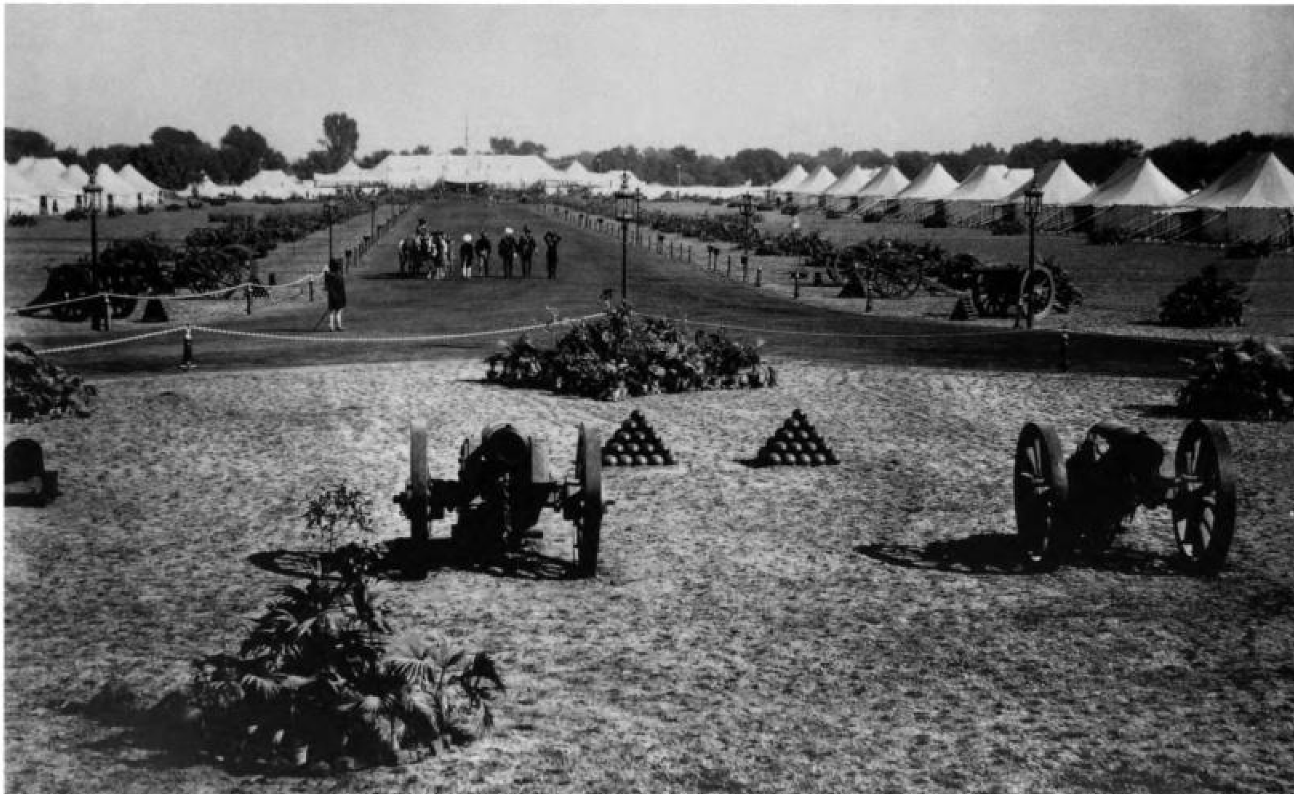
116 "Viceroy's Camp, Lahore"
John Burke, Lahore, Punjab, November 24, 1894
By permission of The British Library

On November 1, 1894, "J. Burke & Co., Photographers & Artists" and "Owners of 13 Gold and Silver Medals" opened for the season "in their old premises, Hall Road, near the Cathedral."[1] Later that month, Burke also accompanied Viceroy Lord Lansdowne (1845–1927) on the autumn tour from Peshawar to Rawalpindi and Lahore. It was his final tour as viceroy. Lord Lansdowne, whose term had begun in 1888, reigned during a period of relative peace and the first stirrings of democratic progress with the election of a few members of provincial legislative councils. Nonetheless, pomp still ruled as is suggested by the excitement in the press surrounding the viceroy's visit, a rare event in the Punjab. As the "Latest Indian Telegram" from Peshawar put it: "After photographic groups had been taken by Mr. Burke, the Viceroy left."[2] The camera was an integral part of the unfolding of the durbar.

The long military shadow over the Raj can be gleaned in this composition of the camp that was established in Lahore during the tour.



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117 "H.H. The Rajah of Chumba. Lahore Durbar 1894"
John Burke #3 (Autumn Tour series), Lahore, Punjab, November 1894
The Alkazi Collection of Photography

The photograph on the left is of the carriage that belonged to Burke's friend the rajah of Chamba, a princely state in the Punjab (photograph 90). The Rajah of Chamba seems to have enjoyed good relations with many British officials as well. Emily Younghusband's album features a photograph of his installation as Rajah in Lahore in 1873, possibly taken by Burke. Chamba was one of the oldest princely states in India, dating back over 1000 years. Its capital, Chamba, lies on the river Ravi about 40 miles from Dalhousie and is famous for its medieval Hindu temples and antiquities. Today, it is part of Himachal Pradesh state in India.

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118 **"Retired Native Officers at Lahore"**
John Burke, Lahore, Punjab, 1897
By permission of The British Library

Following page
119 **"Bridge of Boats, Khushalgarh"**
John Burke #1314 (unknown series), Punjab, NWFP, 1897
By permission of The British Library

Burke took a photograph in Lahore of retired Indian officers who had gathered for the viceroy's visit during his autumn tour (photograph 118). Many of them were from the Corps of Guides. It became among the most famous regiments in India mainly due to the extensive action the Guides saw on the Frontier. The men represented here each served for decades and saw nearly continuous warfare during their careers; thus they were confronted with regular opportunities to win medals. Burke once managed to photograph 34 men who had won the Order of Merit, the highest award open to an Indian. All the men had once served with the Guides. Among these winners were Pathans, Sikhs, Punjabi Hindus and Muslims, Persians, Dogras, Gurkhas, Afghans and even Turkomans. A number of Guides had originally been outlaws or some of the fiercest foes of the British on the battlefield. Once they were recognised for their bravery, the British then invited them to join the Guides.

Burke's longest army relationship was with the Guides. Going by the photographs in their albums, he seems to have served as their photographer for 30 of their first 50 years. Burke's last known trip to photograph them was in March 1897 (photograph 120). His photographs also fill in gaps in the major history of the Guides as written by its former officers.[1]

Burke possibly also took photographs of the large-scale military operations waged on the Frontier in 1897—later they became known as the Tirah Campaigns—as this shot of the Khushalgarh bridge across the Indus suggests in an album of photographs of that campaign (although a complete Burke album has not been located). Photographs by one "Mr. Bourke, Jelalabad" were published in the *Illustrated London News* on September 4, 1897. Only a few years had passed since the establishment of the half-tone process, which rendered photographs more directly than wood engravings and allowed for much easier reproductions of photographs in print.[2] The process survives until today in the print world.

Besides the Afghan wars, the 1897–98 campaigns were unlike any Frontier campaign that had ever before been seen. One historian wrote:

> *From Tochi to Malakand, from Malakand to Shabkadar, from Shabkadar to the Khyber, from the Khyber to Kohat, the Kurram Valley, and the Samana range of outposts the fiery cross spread with unparalleled swiftness, and almost before we knew the tribes were discontented lo! We find the entire frontier line ablaze with armed men.*[3]

During the conflict, the Afridis were able to retake the Khyber Pass. Colonel Warburton (photograph 84), who had just retired as political officer from the area, would refer to this as the "Khyber Debacle." The moment struck terror into the hearts of every British Great Gamer. It also led to the last phase of the war, a massive British operation that resulted in the destruction of the Afridi home in Tirah in December 1897. Two years later, after he saw his life's work undone, Warburton tried to explain with frankness unusual among British officers:

> *I may be in error, but to the best of my knowledge no Governor of the Punjab has ever been able to converse with the border people in both Persian and Pashtu, and without this colloquial knowledge, no man should be allowed to remain permanently in the trans-Indus districts or be chief over them.*[4]

Of the 109 Indian Order of Merit medals awarded to the Guides in the 19th century, 31 were earned in 1897–98. This is one more than was awarded for the war of 1857 and 10 more than for the Second Afghan War. The Guides were nearly constantly employed during the two years, often in situations with continuous hand-to-hand fighting where they distinguished themselves. Most of the award recipients were Pathans: eight Khattaks, six Afridis and two Yusufzais. Six Sikh Jats, five Punjabi Muslims and one Dogra Hindu made up other recipients. Gurkhas were also Merit winners as was a Durrani Afghan.[5]

The Guides had become a Royal Regiment in 1876 (Queen's Own), and by 1914 they were renamed Queen Victoria's Own Corps of Guides and the cavalry and infantry units were officially separated. The Guides served in Iraq and Persia in World War I and II and were at El Alamein in Egypt in 1942. The Guides' Cavalry became an armoured regiment and served on the Frontier after World War II. In 1947 it was one of six among 18 armoured regiments of the Indian Army that was deployed to Pakistan.


Burke 1314

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Previous page
120 "Indian Officers Guides Infantry"
John Burke, Mardan, NWFP, 1896–98
Courtesy of the Director, National Army Museum, London

121 "Cliffden Garden, 1897"
J. Burke & Co., Murree, Punjab, 1897
Courtesy of Lieutenant Colonel Ian McCulloch

Despite the growing importance of the Lahore studio in the 1890s, Burke continued to spend a great deal of time in Murree, which remained the official headquarters of the firm at least until the middle of the decade. He remained "J. Burke of Murree," as he had identified himself in the advertisement for his photographs of the Lahore Durbar of 1886 (photograph 110). Burke is listed in *Thacker's Indian Directory* as head of the J. Burke & Co. studios at the hill-station, although the assistants at the three offices continued to change regularly. The head assistant in Murree in 1896 was listed as "William W. Baker," one of Baker's sons whose baptism Burke had witnessed in Rawalpindi in 1866.[1] Another of Baker's sons and a former Burke assistant, Charles Parkhouse, was now also an independent commercial photographer in Rawalpindi.

Burke is listed as a Murree resident but not a homeowner or renter in such lists published in the 1890s. This could be because his family stayed with his father-in-law, F. B. Hopkins, at the Khyber Lodge, the Viewforth Hotel or at another of his properties. Kinturk was turned over to the Commercial and Land Mortgage Bank that decade; it is unlikely that Burke ever owned the property. His family probably continued to spend a great deal of time in Murree; his daughter Katharine May was born and baptised there in 1894.

A total of 24 assistants worked for J. Burke & Co.'s Murree offices during the 1890s but it still seems as if this portrait were taken by Burke himself. The composition on a hill, the criss-cross gazes, the delicate placement of props and the sense that the people are being fused with their surroundings all seem to betray his hand.

The McCulloch family lived in Cliffden House (then Cliffden Farm) and their story is representative of many a British Indian family whose members would be born and raised in the subcontinent over more than one generation. Patriarch James Charles McCulloch (1829–1908, with the white beard), arrived in 1859 from Scotland. He became a police

superintendent in Calcutta. He and his wife, Emily Ellen, or "Julia" (1838–1920), came to Murree in 1876, even though he continued to work in distant Bengal. The elder McCulloch was apparently a "stubborn, cantankerous man who inflicted mental anguish upon his wife," according to one relative. According to another, he was a kind old gentleman.[2] He is buried in Murree.

Julia was the daughter of a baker who had found gold in Australia in the 1850s but then perished on the way home when Julia was 15 years old. After her husband retired in the early 1880s, they settled in Murree and he supplemented his retirement pay with the income from Cliffden Farm.

Their eldest son, Dr. Henry Daniel McCulloch (1859–1914), seated between them, had an interesting career. He was born in Calcutta and 20 years later went to Scotland—a stranger of sorts among his own people, given his Indian upbringing—to study medicine. After completing his studies, he returned to India in 1884 to work for the maharajah of Kashmir. He was attached to the medical department of the Gilgit Transport Service in one of the most remote parts of the state. As a result, he was caught up in the Hunza-Nagar war of 1891 (which brought this area under British control after the maharajah of Kashmir's influence waned). He later served as superintendent of vaccinations in Srinagar and then worked for the ruling feudal families in Gwalior and Hyderabad before going to England and re-establishing his professional career from scratch. He ended up with a high-end practice in Mayfair and published a number of research papers on medical subjects, which earned the respect of his colleagues.[3]

In the back row are James's daughter-in-law Jeanie McCulloch (née Cruikshank), her husband, Charles William McCulloch, and James's daughter "Ettie" McCulloch. Ettie married a Powell and was therefore indirectly related to the Hopkins family and even to John Burke. Murree was a small closed community by the end of the century. The major landlords in 1899 were much the same as in the 1860s (G. Holman, W. Housden, F. B. Hopkins and members of the Powell family). At this time, the municipal committee consisted of eight members elected from the town's local and British landlords and had only four ex-officio members. A handful of army officers had retired there, including, briefly before his death, Colonel Warburton. Many of the residents, employees, merchants and younger officials were now the children of the original settlers.

Although after 1876 the hill-station never grew as fast as it had earlier—the population actually declined in the 1880s—the economic base it afforded for at least part of the year was substantial.[4] The town's population quadrupled in the summers during the 1890s to about 8,000 residents, perhaps in part because the roads were constantly being improved. The many visitors likely helped the photography business. Although he was not the only photographer in town, in 1897 J. Burke & Co.'s Murree branch employed as many assistants as ever, including four—Bhansi Dhur, L. M. Mall, H. B. Scott and J. Collins—who were not family members.[5]

Following page

122 "Government House"

John Burke, Lahore, Punjab, 1880–90

Courtesy of the Director, National Army Museum, London

Sometime during the Frontier campaigns of 1897–98, John Burke officially reorganised the ownership of J. Burke & Co. in Lahore—its legal headquarters at the time—and named his children as its owners. This fact is probably related to the mention in a late 1897 newspaper advertisement that the firm was "Under special management."[1]

The new owners of J. Burke & Co., as listed in *Thacker's Indian Directory* in 1898, are "R. J. Burke, M. E. Burke, C. E. Burke, D. S. H. Burke and F. M. J. Burke." John Burke is listed as general manager. The last two initials are certainly those of Fredericus Middleton and Dorothy Sybel; "M. E." must be Maria Edith and "R. J." Rebecca Josephina. "C. E." Burke is harder to place. Two of Rebecca's children do not appear on the listing: Helena Alice ("Paddy," possibly intentionally left out, see photograph 89) and Katharine May. It is quite possible that the reason for Katharine's exclusion can be traced to the directory, in which initials were often typeset improperly. If so, the new ownership listing includes all of Rebecca and John Burke's fully able children, or there may be other Burke children whose records have not been traced. For example, on December 27, 1884, Burke witnessed the marriage of Ellen Burke, apparently his daughter, to William Stanislaus Pope, the headmaster of St. James's School, at the Roman Catholic church in Anarkali. It is unclear where or when she was born or who her mother was. St. James's School was an orphanage for poor Eurasians and Europeans.[2] This union reinforces the impression that Burke's family had close ties to the Catholic Church. "Ellen" could also be a candidate for the missing "C. E." if she had dropped her first name in ordinary usage.

In any case, why did Burke transfer ownership so visibly? One explanation is that Burke's health was failing, or that he had just recovered

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from illness. However, he was able to travel to Mardan in early 1897, possibly to photograph at least some of a military campaign, and he witnessed a marriage in November of the same year.[3] Perhaps the reorganisation was simply prudence. That it may have had something to do with a business crisis, however, is suggested by the term "Under special management." Did the firm run up large debts it was unable to repay? What makes this somewhat unlikely is that the firm continued to retain the services of seven assistants in its three studios: C. P. Baker, E. H. R. Rogers, Bhansi Dur, L. G. Hall, F. Waite, J. Colliers and H. Scott. It had never had more employees than it did in 1898, assuming the directory listings are exhaustive.

No major differences emerged in the larger environment for photographers. James Craddock and Alfred Sache were no longer around, but George Craddock was, as well as a branch of Jadu Krishen, who also had offices in Delhi, Simla and Kashmir.[4] Two other European photographers had set up shop in Lahore in the 1890s: Fred Bremner and John Blees. One does not get the sense of a large crisis in Lahore photography, although the steady encroachment of amateurs on the profession and the flood of new technologies continued unabated.

One of John Burke's newspaper advertisements from 1897 reveals how consistently and enthusiastically he embraced new technologies deep into a long career. It specifically shows that the photochemical processes with which J. Burke & Co. worked included carbon, bromide and platinum in addition to silver.[5] This reflects both the wide variety of public tastes at the turn of the century and real technological ferment as a variety of innovations began replacing the labour-intensive handiwork of albumen plate and print production.

Burke actually had prints produced on carbon paper as early as 1868 (photographs 48–50) but the process was uncommon until the late 1870s when it was revived as the "Lambertype." Queen Victoria, who could afford the high cost, made it her official process.[6] It received another push in the 1890s as "Aristotype," another deluxe consumer print category. Platinum was one of the choicest materials with which to work but it was very difficult to handle. It was patented in the United States in the 1870s and a decade later the famous photographer Alfred Stieglitz started using it. But it wasn't until "Platinotypes" were sold in the 1890s that its use became widespread. The year of Burke's advertisement, the introduction of new platinum papers would make the process even more popular. Platinum and carbon in particular overcame some of the inherent weaknesses of albumen prints: propensity to fade and develop the appearance of cracks over time and their yellow versus a more neutral hue. However, the carbon process remained too complex to truly threaten silver based photographic prints.[7] Platinum was equally hard to work with and was also far too expensive. Due to its highly delicate tones, it remained popular with artistic photographers even if general commercial use was limited. The bromide print also dates back to the 1850s. Its development was initially hindered by patent struggles and it was not used widely as a paper until the 1890s. Although it was more affordable, for many photographers it was too light sensitive. Its use was therefore restricted to enlargements, which needed fast exposure time to be made from small negatives.

If nothing else, Burke's embrace of all these forms shows broad expertise and the willingness to satisfy every customer—wealthy or price conscious. The many processes offered were probably also designed to help professional photographers maintain their craft and differentiation in the face of amateurs in an age when hotels advertised "Photographic Darkroom For Use Of Visitors."[8]

The British rebuilt Government House in the early 1850s, when it was the deputy commissioner's residence. It later evolved into that of the lieutenant-governor. Today, the governor of the Punjab Province of Pakistan resides here. Originally, a Sikh prince had converted it into a private residence from the tomb of one of Emperor Akbar's cousins.

Following page

123 "The Officers XVII Bengal Cavalry Mian Mir, January 1899"
John Burke #2 (Regimental series), Lahore, Punjab, January 1899
Naushad Ali Khan Collection

Burke's photography of Lahore during the 1890s was apparently extensive, though it can be difficult to correctly attribute photographs when many photographers were working at the same time. The number of photographs that were taken of new buildings, like Government College, town hall and other British contributions to Lahore's architectural scene, suggests that Burke covered many an opening event.[1] Syed Muhammad Latif's monumental publication on Lahore includes 100 engravings of the city's landmarks, many of which were newly constructed by the British, leading the author to exclaim: "What a marvelous change has the comparatively short period of British rule brought about!"[2] At least one engraving in Latif's work, of the interiors of the Lahore Town Hall in 1893, seems to be based on a signed photograph taken by Burke in 1890.[3]


Burke & Co.
Capt. E.W. Boudier
Capt. J. Hayward I.M.S.
Lt. R.A. Steel
"Daniel"
Lt. Col. F.G. Atkinson 2nd Comdt.
Lt. R.C. Smith
Lt. Col. C.W. Muir Comdt.
Capt. E.B. Burton
Jem. Azim Khan
Capt. E.W. Wall
Ressr. Ghulam Mohiudin Khan
Lt. R.W. Henderson
The Officers XVII Bengal Cavalry

On May 31, 1900, the note below appeared on the front page of the *Civil and Military Gazette*. Little can be gleaned from the entry except for a strong sense of Irish identity.

> **DEATH**
>
> BURKE—At Lahore, on 27th May,
> John Burke, Photographer, aged 57 years,
> formerly of Co. Wicklow, Ireland,
> deeply regretted. R.I.P.
>
> Irish and Indian papers please copy.

The record of Burke's death at the Catholic cathedral in Lahore is more helpful. It lists "1. cirrhosis of the liver" and "2. acute dysentery" as causes of death. The first suggests excessive drinking but could have stemmed from other medical causes as well. The age of death is given as 57. If this is correct, then his age at the time of his first marriage in January 1861 would have been 18 and not 20 as was entered into the record (photograph 3). This also ties in better with the record of Burke having been in India during the war of 1857.[4] Burke was apparently buried in the Roman Catholic cemetery at Taxali Gate adjacent to the old city in Lahore.

Two months after his death, a legal notice appears in the *Civil and Military Gazette* stating that probate had been granted by the Chief Court of the Punjab.[5] A month later, on September 4, 1900, another notice appeared announcing that J. Burke & Co. had been sold to E. H. R. Rogers, who had been an assistant during the previous two years. The firm's offices were in Mela Ram's buildings at Charing Cross, a prime commercial location opposite the large Freemason lodge on the Mall.[6] The new owners undertook to receive all the continuing business of the firm. They retained the name J. Burke & Co., which they continued to prefer for all orders.

E. H. R. Rogers may have bought the business from Rebecca Burke, who would have been guardian for the underage children listed as partial owners in 1898. Burke's photographer sons, William Henry and Oswald John, were experienced and old enough to take over the firm had they been able or had they wanted to. Charlie Parkhouse Baker's name had appeared in the *Thacker's Indian Directory* listing before Rogers's name was listed as an assistant in 1899, but how and why Rogers took control is unclear. J. Burke & Co. could have been in distress, although there is no clear evidence of this and the firm's commercial location was maintained. Rogers could have purchased the assets and goodwill in installments from other assistants and family members or been a co-owner of the firm.

J. Burke & Co. does not seem to have survived under that name beyond 1903. From then on, the firm and E. H. R. Rogers disappear from Lahore, Murree and Rawalpindi listings in the directory. The firm could simply have discontinued its listing, changed its name or gone out of business. Either way, the trail goes cold.

Rebecca Burke is said to have married a colonel. She left Lahore with the younger children for Australia sometime early in the 20th century, apparently after 1906 but before 1911.[7]

This photograph of the 17th Bengal Cavalry is the last known firmly dateable photograph by John Burke taken in Lahore's cantonment area. His standard striped cloth is on the ground beneath the soldiers. Ironically, the photograph was taken of a regiment that would rise against the British 20 years later during the Khilafat Movement (1919–21), when scattered groups of Indian troops revolted. As punishment, the entire regiment was disbanded. The regimental album found its way to the streets of Lahore where a collector purchased it.

Following page

124 The Club House from the Church
John Burke #937, Murree, Punjab, 1868
The Alkazi Collection of Photography


Burke 937

The Burke and Baker story does not end completely with the death of Burke. His son William Henry, born in Peshawar in 1861, went on to establish a flourishing career. After working for James Craddock in the 1890s, "Willie" Burke, as he became known, finally left the Punjab for South India sometime before 1913, when he first appears in Madras.[1] He set up a studio there and in the hill-station of Ootacamund (Ooty) in what is today the state of Tamil Nadu. He seems to have done quite well, photographing leading British officials and important buildings. He once applied to the Madras Cricket Club to be taken on as their official photographer.[2] An anecdote about him does survive. He is known to have sent his half-brother Oswald John's family a crate of *chilghozas*, pine nuts, from Ooty every year through the 1920s.

After having worked with his father for several years, Oswald John Burke (photograph 87) ended up in Dalhousie, another hill-station in the Punjab, around 1910. He seems to have stopped working for his father after 1895. As his late daughter Dorothy Watkins remembered, he was unable to secure a lease on a studio in Dalhousie for want of being a Freemason.[3] He married there in 1911 and then moved to Quetta, Baluchistan, with his wife, Mary. He found the photography business difficult and instead opened a hotel for British troops. His wife was apparently as fierce a woman as he was soft-spoken. She opened another hotel for civilians in the cantonment, which he later joined. He was very religious and they named their hotel Lourdes Hotel, after Our Lady of Lourdes. It became the premier hotel in town. It remains, much expanded and under the same name, a leading Quetta hotel.

Oswald John died in 1924 and was buried in the Quetta cemetery under a large statue of Our Lady of Lourdes. His daughter Dorothy grew up in Quetta. Mary Burke continued to manage the hotel until the earthquake of May 31, 1935, which flattened nearly the entire city. She and one of their daughters were killed that night. A piece of local lore relates that the statue above Oswald John's grave moved to indicate the place next to him where she is buried. Dorothy was educated at the Convent of Jesus and Mary in Murree, married in Mhow in central India and moved back to England in the 1920s. Dorothy Watkins, as she became, had two sons, Alan and Richard Colquhoun, both of whom live today in England. Alan is an amateur photographer. A stepsister of hers, from an earlier marriage of her mother and who also survived the Quetta earthquake, went to Australia. Her niece Sister Bernadette works at the Presentation Convent in Iona.

Rebecca Burke went to Australia with their son Fredericus Middleton (born in Lahore in 1893). He later ran in local elections and died childless.[4] Three of Rebecca and John Burke's children worked with the Presentation Convent in India and then in Ipswich, England (photograph 89).

Baker's family has been harder to trace but a cryptic note in an album offers a clue to the fate of its members. Two of his sons stayed and worked as photographers in the Punjab but traces of the family in Rawalpindi and Murree seem to disappear around the 1920s. A note handwritten in 1961 by Randolph Holmes, Peshawar photographer and successor of sorts to Burke on the Frontier from 1895 until 1947, reads: "Baker (photographers) was an est. Peshawar firm that has now gone (apparently to Australia) and fairly recently."[5]

William Baker was buried in a Peshawar cemetery on Jamrud Road. It is one of the best-preserved Christian grave sites in Pakistan. Unfortunately, all but three of the gravestones in Baker's section have long been lost. One of them is for two of his infant children who died in the 1870s. It is likely that he and his second wife, Elizabeth, were buried next to them.

John Burke was buried in a tiny Christian sanctuary in one of the most crowded parts of Lahore. The cemetery itself is now a public playground and sleeping area for the poor. Cricket is played in the areas that have been cleared. Some of the elaborate Victorian graves still stand; others have been hollowed out and serve as illicit dens.

Burke's and Baker's tradition of making war albums was followed by various photographers on the Frontier, especially in Peshawar, during the next 50 years until Independence: Randolph and William Holmes, K. C. Mehra, Mela Ram, Shastri and Tundan. They tracked the many Frontier struggles that continued until 1947, including the brief Third Afghan War in 1919.[6]

Few of John Burke's or William Baker's photographs survive in Pakistan or India. Most of their surviving photographs are found in albums in museums and private collections across the world, especially in England and the United States. Often, a particular collection contains the only known print of a photograph; today's positives can be as precious as the negatives once were.

Introduction

1 In the following chapters, the names consistently appear in the logical order Baker and Burke, due to Baker's initial position as senior photographer and the name of their joint photography firm.
2 Photographs #303, #339, #292 and #289 of Burke's Afghan War catalogue (see the introduction to chapter 5).
3 Sikhism is a monotheistic religion that was founded in the Punjab in the 15th century. The word *Sikh* means disciple of God who follows the teaching of 10 Sikh gurus in the holy scripture Granth Sahib.
4 Mehra, *Modern Indian History*, p. 224.
5 Ibid., p. 226.
6 Ibid., p. 644.
7 Guy and Boyden, *Soldiers of the Raj*, p. 13.
8 Falconer, "19th Century Photography in India," p. 267.
9 See Aijazuddin, *Lahore Illustrated Views*, p. 66, for a salt print of the Badshahi Mosque in Lahore taken by McCosh in 1848.
10 Parsees are followers of Zoroastrianism. The word especially refers to descendents of the Zoroastrians who fled to India from Muslim persecution in Persia during 600–700 C.E.
11 See Thomas, *History of Photography in India*, p. 16.
12 "Introductory Address."
13 For some of these early photographs, see Worswick and Ainslee, *Last Empire*, pp. 13, 63–64, 76; Pohlmann and Siegert, *Sieben Jahre Indien*, pp. 243–49.
14 Collodion is a form of cellulose nitrate mixed with alcohol and ether that was developed in the 1850s. It was used to bind light-sensitive materials (sodium chloride and silver nitrate) to glass plates during a photographic exposure.
15 James, *Photographic Prints*, pp. 4–6.
16 Kipling, "A Collection of Photographs."
17 Both catalogues can be found in BL, Department of Prints and Photographs, Oriental and India Office Collections.

Chapter 1

1. Bridge of boats and Fort

1 NWFP was formally separated from the Punjab under a chief commissioner in 1901 and became a full province in 1932. Since 1947 it has been part of Pakistan.
2 Quoted in *Gazetteer of the Peshawar District*, PRO (Public Records Office), p. 82.
3 *Graphic*, October 26, 1878.

2. Peshawar Fort and surroundings from Jail

1 Information on baptisms, marriages and deaths has been collected from corresponding church record books.
2 Musters of the 87th Foot, 1849–60, PRO (Public Records Office), WO 12/8991–9000.
3 Cunliffe, *Fusiliers*.
4 *Lahore Chronicle*, November 10, 1866.
5 Ibid., May 20, 1868.
6 See, for example, *Mofussilite* (Meerut), March 5, 1858.
7 Photographs that date as far back as 1856 exist, which may have been taken by Baker but clear proof is lacking. These include shots of the "Rawalpindi Coffee Shop" that can be dated to 1861, if not earlier; the 87th Regiment served in Rawalpindi from 1854 until 1856. See, for example, photograph 647 (20), BL, Department of Prints and Photographs, Oriental and India Office Collections.

3. General View from above 3rd B.C. Mess looking towards the Church

1 See his obituary in the legend to photograph 123.
2 Dorothy Watkins (née Burke), conversation with author, London, February 12, 1991.
3 Mutiny Medal Roll, 87th Foot, PRO, WO 100/39, p. 145.
4 She died on May 5, 1865. The second child, Mary Elizabeth, was born on February 13, 1869, and died the following day.
5 *New Calcutta Directory*, 1857.

4. "D. C. MacNabb's house. Peshawar"

1 *Gazetteer of the Peshawar District*, p. 89.
2 *Lahore Chronicle*, April 16, 1864.
3 Farrington, *Peshawar Cemetery*, p. 33.
4 *Lahore Chronicle*, November 10, 1866.
5 Ibid., May 20, 1868.
6 *Thacker's*, 1867, entry under Murree.

5. "Frontier Eleven at Peshawur 1865"

1 See the Colonel Henry Pelham Close Album (Photo 782), BL, Department of Prints and Photographs, Oriental and India Office Collections.

7. "Mardan. The Fort. Guides HQ"

1 Ramadan is the ninth month of the Muslim lunar calendar, during which time believers abstain from food and water from sunrise to sunset.

9. Stonehenge, Kutar Sung, near Nawakilla

1 *Gazetteer of the Peshawar District*, p. 268.
2 Dr. Abdul Rahman, letter to author, Peshawar, September 1, 1999.

11. "Picnic at Takht-i-Bahi. Mardan"

1 C. Buckland, *Dictionary*, p. 34.
2 Bellew, *Yusufzais*, p. i.
3 Ibid., p. 133.
4 This photograph appears in Baker & Burke's Photographic Views in India catalogue (#519).
5 Bellew, *Yusufzais*, p. 135.

12. "Bazaar. Peshawur"

1 C. Buckland, *Dictionary*, p. 280.

14. Wild Afreedees and Khyberees at Peshawur during Lord Mayo's Visit

1 *Illustrated London News*, June 18, 1872.
2 Elsmie, *Thirty-Five Years*, p. 175
3 Ibid., p. 183
4 *Notes on some of the characteristics of crime and criminals in the Peshawar division of the Punjab: illustrated by selections from the judgments of the Sessions court from 1872 to 1877* (Lahore: n p., 1884).
5 Elsmie, *Thirty-Five Years*, p. 188.
6 Baden-Powell, Robert Stephenson Smyth Baden-Powell, baron, 1857-[from old catalog] *Memories of India*; recollections of soldiering, and sport Philadelphia, D. McKay [1915]
7 Ibid., quoted at http://www.pinetreeweb.com/bp-memories12.htm

Chapter 2

1 Thornton, *Gazetteer of India*, entry for Murree.
2 Murree Municipal Committee, *Centenary Celebrations*, p. 31.
3 Elsmie, *Thirty-five Years*, p. 90.

16. General View from Pindee point

1 *Gazetteer of the Rawalpindi District*, p. 265.
2 Murree Municipal Committee, *Centenary Celebrations*, p. 35.
3 Peacock, *Guide to Murree*, p. 9.
4 Ibid., p. 8.
5 Appearing in a list titled "List of Donors and Subscribers to the Murree Dispensary During the Season of 1870," in Ince, *Murree and Its Environs*, facing the front page.

17. The "Hope", Natural Arch on the Mall, Winter

1 Land Registers, 1851–1904, record for estate 151, Murree Municipal Committee.
2 Sister Bernadette Waring, Presentation Order, conversation with author, February 12, 1991, London.

18. The Bazar [*sic*] and Church, from Barracks

1 *Gazetteer of the Rawalpindi District*, p. 263.
2 Burial Records, Holy Trinity Church and Church of the Seven Sorrows, Murree.
3 Record Book, March 3, 1852, to April 3, 1897, Holy Trinity Church, Murree, p. 50
4 Murree Municipal Committee, *Centenary Celebrations*, p. 36.

20. "Fifty members of the Murree Club 1865"

1 Murree Municipal Committee, *Centenary Celebrations*, p. 38.
2 Peacock, *Guide to Murree*, appendix Houses and Their Occupants.
3 Peacock, *Guide to Murree*, pp. 13–14.
4 Ibid., p. 15.

21. "The Lawrence Asylum Murree"

1 C. Buckland, *Dictionary*, p. 246.
2 Allen, *Soldier Sahibs*, p. 201.
3 Ibid., p. 12.
4 Ibid., p. 339.
5 These include *Some passages in the life of an adventurer in the Punjab* (1842); *Adventures of an officer in the service of Ranjeet Singh* (1845); *Essays: Military and Political* (1859); *Essays in the Indian Army and Oudh* (1859).
6 *Gazetteer of the Rawalpindi District*, p. 228.
7 Ibid.
8 *Pioneer*, April 15, 1872.
9 "Anglo-Indian Congregations," in *Friend of India* (Calcutta), quoted in the *Pioneer*, April 8, 1872.

22. "Punjab. Murree Brewery"

1 Leslie, *History of the "Stewart" Lodge*.
2 *Gazetteer of the Rawalpindi District*, p. 167.

23. "Murree"

1 BL, MSS EUR F 197/37 (14), Younghusband Collection.
2 *Gazetteer of the Rawalpindi District*, p. 264.

26. "Group taken September 1869 on return from the first Yarkhand Journey"

1 Hopkirk, *Great Game*, p. 326.
2 BL, MSS EUR F 197/24, Younghusband Collection.
3 George Hayward to William Croker, May 1, 1870, BL, MSS EUR 421, Croker Collection.
4 BL, MSS EUR F 197/36, Younghusband Collection.
5 Ibid.

27. "Durdens—House in Murree where we spent the seasons of 1874 and 1875"

1 BL, MSS EUR F 197/36, Younghusband Collection.
2 Ibid.
3 Hopkirk, *Great Game*, p. 447.

28. "View of the Bazaar at Murree after the great Fire in May 1875"

1 *Civil and Military Gazette*, May 20, 1875, p. 1.
2 Murree Municipal Committee, *Centenary Celebrations*, p. 38
3 Ibid.
4 Peacock, *Guide to Murree*, p. 17.
5 Ibid., p. 1.
6 Ibid., p. 10.
7 Ibid., p. 6.

Chapter 3

1 Bellew, *Kashmir and Kashghar*, pp. 416–17.
2 *British Journal of Photography* (hereafter, *BJP*), 1861–75.
3 E. Neve, *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, p. 75.

31. Ruins of the Small Temple at Puttan

1 *BJP* (March 1, 1870): 112.
2 Ibid. (March 22, 1872): 135.

34. "Portrait of Maharajah of Kashmir" [Ranbir Singh]

1 W. Lawrence, *Valley of Kashmir*, p. 2.
2 Drew, *Jummoo and Kashmir*, p. 21.
3 W. Lawrence, *Valley of Kashmir*, p. 2.
4 Ibid.
5 Lamb, *Kashmir Problem*, p. 27.
6 Ibid., p. 28.
7 W. Lawrence, *Valley of Kashmir*, p. 2.

36. Akbar's Bridge on the Lake

1 A. Neve, *Picturesque Kashmir*.
2 Lambert, *Trip to Cashmere*, p. 38.
3 Bourne, "Narrative of a Photographic Journey to Kashmir (Cashmere) and Adjacent Districts."
4 *BJP* (February 1, 1864): 51.
5 E. Neve, *Guide to Kashmir*, p. 36.

37. Old Bridge on the Mar Canal

1 E. Neve, *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, p. 41.

40. [Nautch woman]

1 E. Neve, *Guide to Kashmir*, p. 37.
2 Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 620.
3 Views From the East, 1860s–1870s, anonymous hand titled album, 96.36.019/20, The Alkazi Collection of Photography, London.
4 Bourne and Shepherd, *Photographic Views*, #874, p. 18.
5 Ibid.
6 Ujfalvy and Eugen, *westlichen Himalaja*.

43. Group of Bultees, Maharajah's Highlanders

1 *Wiener Zeitung*, 1888–89.

48. Temple on the Road between Uri and Naoshera

1 Gernsheim, *Incunabula*, p. 26.
2 Cole, *Illustrations of Ancient Buildings*, p. A2.
3 Ibid.
4 Ibid., p. 11.
5 Ibid., p. 29.
6 Henry Hardy Cole, *Illustrations of buildings near Muttra and Agra, Showing the mixed Hindu-Mahomedan style of upper India Archaeological Survey of India, North-western Provinces* (London: W. H. Allen and Co., 1873); idem, *Preservation of national monuments, India: Tomb of Jahangir at Shahdara near Lahore* (Calcutta: n. p. 1884).

49. Temple of Marttand, or the Sun

1 E. Neve, *Guide to Kashmir*, p. 78.
2 Ibid., p. 19.
3 W. Lawrence, *Valley of Kashmir*, p. 171.
4 E. Neve, *Guide to Kashmir*, p. 79, quoting T. S. Grouse, *Royal Asiatic Transactions* (n.p., n.d.).
5 Cole, *Illustrations of Ancient Buildings*, p. 21.

50. **Pillar Near the Jumma Musjid in Srinagar**

1 Cole, *Illustrations of Ancient Buildings*, p. 31

51. **The Bridge at Sumbul down the River**

1 "The Exhibition of the Bengal Photographic Society," *BJP* (March 22, 1872): 135.
2 "The Bengal Photographic Society Exhibition," *BJP* (February 28, 1873): 102.
3 Ibid. The photograph number refers to Bourne & Shepherd, *Photographic Views in India.*
4 *BJP* (March 28, 1873): 150.
5 Probably dated around 1868.

Chapter 4

53. **The Great Mosque of Aurangzebe and adjoining Gates**

1 Other Bourne & Shepherd catalogues can be found in BL, Department of Prints and Photographs, Oriental and India Collections.

54. **The Memorial Well. The Marble Statue, by Baron Marochetti, from the entrance**

1 See, for example, Ward, *Our Bones Are Scattered.*

55. **Abbottabad, General View from South**

1 Quoted in Allen, *Soldier Sahibs*, p. 134.
2 Ibid., p. 141.
3 For Baker #904 and #907, see photographs 782 (85) and 782 (84), BL, Department of Prints and Photographs, Oriental and India Office Collections. For Baker #432, see BL, MSS EUR F 197/37, Younghusband Collection.

56. **Shakranallum Sahib Mosque in the Fort**

1 Quoted in Allen, *Soldier Sahibs*, p. 148.
2 Ibid., p. 150
3 Shaw, *Pakistan Handbook*, p. 167.

59. **Group of The Amir Shere Ali Khan, Prince Abdoollah Jan and Sirdars**

1 Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 331.
2 Roberts, *Forty-One Years*, p. 308.
3 Miss F. Gordon Cumming, quoted in *Pall Mall Gazette* (London), March 27, 1885.

60. **Down the River from the 3rd Bridge**

1 *Thacker's*, 1871, 1872, 1873, and 1874, entries under Murree and Rawalpindi.
2 Land Registers, 1851–1904, entry for "Baker's Buildings," June 22, 1873, Murree Municipal Committee.
3 *Thacker's*, 1876, entry under Peshawar, p. 1079.
4 *Civil and Military Gazette*, January 3, 1877.

61. **Group of the Khan [of Kalat] and Personal Sirdars**

1 An early 1879 advertisement listing Peshawar as his base suggests that he maintained some presence there, although this would not be the case a few months later (see legend to photograph 64).
2 A photograph of the interior of Montgomery Hall from that period is sometimes attributed to Burke. See, for example, Aijazuddin, *Lahore: Illustrated Views*, p. 126.
3 *Gazetteer of Baluchistan*, p. 17.
4 C. Buckland, *Dictionary*, p. 373
5 *Pioneer*, February 17, 1877.
6 Wheeler, *history of the imperial assemblage at Delhi.*

Chapter 5

1 Trousdale, *Diary of Sir Charles*, p. 48.
2 This first part of the catalogue, consisting of #A–#G and #1–#108, with an attached list titled Groups Taken during the Campaign (#109–#146), was apparently published in the summer or fall of 1879 with an earlier version in March 1879. Kabul War, 1879–80 added #150–#347. Kabul War, 1880 featured group shots #150–#298 and included unnumbered cabinet portraits and an occasional half-number, e.g., *General Roberts and Headquarters staff No. 2* (#164 ½). Both were published in November 1880.
3 Photographs assembled in albums retained the numbers assigned for the catalogue.

63. **H.H. The Amir Shere Ali Khan, large sized portrait**

1 Quoted in the *Graphic*, November 30, 1878, p. 551.
2 Hopkirk, *Great Game*, p. 384.
3 *Graphic*, May 31, 1879, p. 528; June 7, 1879, pp. 557, 560–61, 564.

64. **Group of British Officers (Q.O.) [Queen's Own] Guides**

1 *Graphic*, May 10, 1879, p. 454.
2 Ibid., April 26, 1879, p. 407.

66. **Halt of Prisoners from Bassaule, with Escort 45th Rattray's Sikhs, on the Khurd Khyber Pass**

1 *Graphic*, April 19, 1879, p. 381; February 8, 1879, p. 140.

68. **The Kabul River Jellalabad scene of the disaster**

1 *Graphic*, May 10, 1879, p. 454.

70. **General View Ispola and Sultan Kheyl Villages, showing Buddhist Tope**

1 Simpson, *Autobiography*, pp. 281–82.
2 The military department first appeared towards the end of the 18th century to organise logistics. In 1834 the head of the department became a member of the governor-general's council. The rise of this department, which controlled army finances, was essentially designed to bring under control the enormous expenditures of various wars and campaigns.
3 Burke to the Under-Secretary to Government of India, April 4, 1879, BL, Military Department Records P/1370 (2987).

71. **Major Cavagnari, C.S.I. and Chief Sirdars with Kunar Syud**

1 Colonel Burne to Burke, April 19, 1879, BL, Military Department Records P/1370 (2988).
2 BL, Military Department Records P/1370 (2988–2990).
3 Sardar, also spelled sirdar, is defined as "Leader, Commander, an Officer, a Chief or Lord," in Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 841.
4 *Graphic*, October 26, 1878, p. 414.
5 Trousdale, *Diary of Sir Charles*, p. 51.
6 *Graphic*, October 26, 1878, p. 414.
7 Trousdale, *Diary of Sir Charles*, pp. 49–50.

72. **Mr. Burke Posing the Ameer**

1 *Graphic*, June 21, 1879, p. 597.
2 *Civil and Military Gazette*, May 14, 1879.
3 *Mr. Burke Posing the Ameer* was republished by the *Graphic* on September 13, 1930, retitled *The Afghan Amir's Portrait*, as part of a "Those Good Old Days" round-up.
4 *Graphic*, July 12, 1879, p. 3.
5 Hopkirk, *Great Game*, p. 386.

74. **Group, The Amir Yakub Khan, General Daod Shah, Habeebula Moustafi with Major Cavagnari C.S.I. and Mr. Jenkyns**

1 *Graphic*, June 21, 1879, p. 597.
2 *Graphic*, September 13, 1879, p. 264.

75. **The Laager and Abattis, north-west corner, Sherpur, looking toward Aliabad Kotal, 5th Punjab Infantry, in position, 23rd December 1879**

1 Quoted in Trousdale, *Diary of Sir Charles*, p. 108.
2 Hensman, *Afghan War*, p. 2.
3 Ibid., p. 3.
4 *Graphic*, September 13, 1879, p. 261.
5 Ibid., September 27, 1879, p. 305.
6 Trousdale, *Diary of Sir Charles*, p. 108.

76. **Quarter-Master General's Group**

1 Charles MacGregor, ed., *The Gazetteer of Central Asia Part II*, 6 vols. (Calcutta: n.p., 1871–75). Others by MacGregor include *The defence of India: A strategical study* (Simla: Government Central Branch Press, 1884); *Wanderings in Balochistan* (London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1882); *Narrative of a Journey through the province of Khorasan and on the N.W. Frontier of Afghanistan in 1875* (London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1879).
2 Trousdale, *Diary of Sir Charles*, p. 173.

79. **Slaves from Kafiristan**

1 The image was later published by the *Graphic* on June 7, 1879, p. 564.

84. **"Warriors against Hillside"**

1 See the *New York Times Book Review*, May 19, 1992.
2 Warburton, *Eighteen Years*, p. 27.
3 Ibid., pp. 342–43.
4 Ibid., Introduction, p. 9.
5 Ibid.

85. **Pari Durrah—Entrance to the Jugdulluck Defile**

1 Hensman, *Afghan War*, p. 289.
2 Quoted in Hopkirk, *Great Game*, p. 397.
3 *Graphic*, August 8, 1880, p. 131.
4 Ibid., p. 422.
5 Bernard Simpson, who served in the Indian Medical Service, took some beautiful shots of the city, as did a handful of anonymous photographers. His photographs are found in the India Office Library, among other places.

Chapter 6

1 For example, Blees (active c. 1870–1917), *Photography in Hindostan*; or Bremner, who left behind *My Forty Years in India*.

86. **"Cherat, Camp"**

1 Roberts, *Forty-One Years*, p. 32.
2 Elsmie, *Thirty-five Years*, p. 221.

87. **"A Picnic Party in 'The Forest' Murree 1863"**

1 *Civil and Military Gazette*, March 3, 1877, p. 1.
2 Trousdale, *Gordon Creeds*, p. 73.
3 Quoted in the *Civil and Military Gazette*, November 3, 1875.

88. **Church, & c., looking towards Observatory Hill**

1 Alfred James Hopkins died at age four of croup on November 5, 1870; Albert George Hayes died at age seven months on November 2, 1874; and Maud Mary Hopkins died shortly after birth on May 31, 1876. Edith May Hopkins and Rose Gertrude Hopkins were born on March 19, 1871, and November 4, 1872, respectively.
2 *Civil and Military Gazette*, May 4, 1898.
3 Peacock, *Guide to Murree*, pp. 12–13.
4 Rose Gertrude married on October 22, 1894, and Edith May married on September 5, 1898.
5 *Civil and Military Gazette*, May 14, 1883.
6 December 22, 1900, and September 17, 1892.

89. **[John Burke and clan]**

1 Watkins, conversation.
2 *Civil and Military Gazette*, October 13, 1891.
3 Sister Dorothy, Convent of Jesus and Mary, conversation with author, Murree, October 1991.

90. **"Murree, The Flats"**

1 *Civil and Military Gazette*, May 16, 1886.
2 Ibid., October 1, 1881.
3 Ibid., July 7, 1886.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid., September 3, 1886.
6 Ibid., May 31 and June 5, 1886.
7 Ibid., February 6, 1895.

95. **Kathleen McCulloch**

1 Darrah, *Cartes de Visite*, p. 4.
2 Ibid., p. 64.
3 Ibid., p. 4.
4 Ibid., p. 6.
5 Ibid., p. 10.
6 Peacock, *Guide to Murree*, pp. 4–5.

97. **[Old cemetery, Mardan]**

1 http://www.redcoat.future.easyspace.com/Afghan79/afghcav.html.
2 Battye, *Fighting Ten*, p. 195.
3 Irving, *List of Inscriptions*, p. 163.
4 Battye, *Fighting Ten*, p. 228.
5 Irving, *List of Inscriptions*, p. 163.

98. **"Street in Rawalpindi"**

1 *Gazetteer of the Rawalpindi District*, p. 253.
2 Ibid., p. 256.
3 *Civil and Military Gazette*, November 20, 1888.
4 Hopkirk, *Great Game*, p. 429.
5 *Illustrated London News*, April 25, 1885.

101. **"H.M. [His Majesty] Abdur Rehman"**

1 *Civil and Military Gazette*, May 16, 1885, p. 486.
2 Ibid., June 8, 1895, p. 704.
3 Kipling, *Life's Handicap*, p. 243.
4 *Graphic*, June 27, 1885, p. 655.

102. **"Uzbeg Cavalry The Amir's Escort"**

1 Hopkirk, *Great Game*, p. 431.
2 C. Buckland, *Dictionary*, p. 5.
3 Quoted in Hopkirk, *Great Game*, p. 431.
4 Elsmie, *Thirty-five Years*, p. 312.
5 Ibid.
6 *Civil and Military Gazette*, April
7 1885, quoted in T. Pinney, *Kipling's India*, p. 96.
7 Quoted in Hopkirk, *Great Game*, p. 431.

103. **"Durbar Punjab Chiefs 1885"**

1 Photograph 473 (a), BL, Department of Prints and Photographs, Oriental and India Collections.
2 Rudyard Kipling, "The Jubilee in Lahore," *Civil and Military Gazette*, February 18, 1887, quoted in T. Pinney, *Kipling's India*, p. 200.
3 Rudyard Kipling, "To Meet the Ameer," *Civil and Military Gazette*, April 8, 1885, quoted in T. Pinney, *Kipling's India*, p. 100.
4 Ibid., p. 103.

104. **"The Three Commanders in Chief at Rawal Pindi"**

1 Younghusband, *Story of the Guides*, p. 118.
2 Yate, *Lieutenant-Colonel John Haughton*, p. 90.
3 Younghusband, *Story of the Guides*, p. 119.
4 Yate, *Lieutenant-Colonel John Haughton*, p. 91.

Chapter 7

1 *Gazetteer of the Lahore District*, p. 21.
2 Ibid., p. 193.

106. "View of the Fort of Lahore"

1 Welling, *Photography in America*, p. 291.
2 *Civil and Military Gazette*, November 2, 1886.
3 Ibid., December 7 and October 26, 1886.
4 Goulding, *Reminiscences of a resident*, p. 50.
5 *Civil and Military Gazette*, December 3, 1886.
6 Ibid.

108. The Exhibition Building or "Lahore Exhibition 1864"

1 Barthelemy's photograph of the exhibition building can be found in Aijazuddin, *Lahore: Illustrated Views*, p. 134.
2 Kipling, "The City of Dreadful Night."

109. "Montgomery Hall and Lawrence Hall"

1 *Gazetteer of the Lahore District*, p. 183.
2 Goulding, *Reminiscences of a resident*, p. 25.
3 Ibid., p. 27.

110. Railway Station—Arrival of T.R.H. the Duke and Duchess of Connaught

1 *Civil and Military Gazette*, November 5, 1886.
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., November 9, 1886.

111. "Football Team" [Aitchison College]

1 Prof. Thomas Pinney, letter to author, June 19, 1991. The review can be found in Sussex Scrapbooks 28/3, p. 58, Kipling Papers, University of Sussex.
2 *Civil and Military Gazette*, December 6, 1886.

112. "Our Drawing Room in Lahore, India"

1 Today, the Mayo School of Art is named the National Academy of Art, Pakistan's premier art school.
2 Goulding, *Reminiscences of a resident*, p. 19.
3 Ibid.
4 See, for example, his shot of the interior of Lahore Town Hall in January 1893 in Aijazuddin, *Lahore: Illustrated Views*, p. 141. Burke may also have taken a popular indoor shot of Montgomery Hall during the visit by the Prince of Wales in 1876 (p. 126).
5 *Civil and Military Gazette*, November 4, 1886.
6 Records at St. John's Church show that James and Mary Emma Craddock's daughter Emily Florence was baptised on December 26, 1866.
7 See, for example, his portrait of Maj. Wigram Battye published as an engraving in the *Graphic*, April 26, 1879, p. 404.
8 *Mofussilite*, March 14, 1871.
9 *Civil and Military Gazette*, November 9, 1886.
10 *Thacker's*, 1894, entry under Rawalpindi.

113. Ghazi Kot: Burying the Dead

1 Barthrop, *North-West Frontier*, p. 96.
2 Farwell, *Little Wars*.
3 Burke may also have photographed the 1868 and 1888 Black Mountain Campaigns.

117. "H.H. The Rajah of Chumba. Lahore Durbar 1894"

1 *Pioneer*, November 1, 1894.
2 Ibid., November 21, 1894.

119. "Bridge of Boats, Khushalgarh"

1 For example, Younghusband, *Story of the Guides*; Anonymous, *History of the Guides*.
2 *Harper's Weekly*, September 4, 1897; they were probably republished from an English source. Burke published an image of a slain officer, Lieutenant Manley, in the *Graphic* on August28, 1897, but the photograph may have been taken earlier.
3 Mills, *Pathan Revolts*, p. 6.
4 Warburton, *Eighteen Years*, p. 339.
5 Anoymous, *History of the Guides*.

121. "Cliffden Garden, 1897"

1 *Thacker's Indian Directory*, which was notorious for spelling errors, listed W. W. Baker under the Murree and Rawalpindi entries in the 1894, 1895 and 1896 publications. It would be reasonable to assume that this refers to W. J. Baker (photograph 4), as no record of the birth of William W. Baker was found in a nearly exhaustive search of church records.
2 McCulloch, *Indian McCullochs*, p. 1.
3 Ibid., p. 14.
4 The population decreased from 2,489 to 1,768, according to *Gazetteer of the Rawalpindi District*, p. 266.
5 *Thacker's*, 1897, entry under Murree.

122. "Government House"

1 *Civil and Military Gazette*, December 11, 1897.
2 *Gazetteer of the Lahore District*, p. 190.
3 That of Reginald Ernest George Pedder at the Roman Catholic cathedral on November 14, 1897.
4 Alfred Sache is listed as deceased in the record of his daughter Ethel May Sache's marriage to Fridolieu Nadig on February 12, 1896, at the Roman Catholic cathedral, Lahore.
5 *Civil and Military Gazette*, December 11, 1897.
6 Welling, *Photography in America*, p. 242.
7 Reilly, *Care and Identification*.
8 For example, on a postcard from the Woodlands Hotel in Darjeeling, circa 1904.

123. "The Officers XVII Bengal Cavalry Mian Mir, January 1899"

1 Some of Burke's photographs of Lahore have been reproduced in Aijazuddin, *Lahore: Illustrated Views*, pp. 81–82; idem, *Historical Images*, p. 111.
2 Latif, *Lahore: Its History*, p. ix.
3 See also Aijazuddin, *Lahore: Illustrated Views*, p. 82.
4 Watkins, conversation.
5 *Civil and Military Gazette*, September 4, 1900.
6 Where the Water and Power Development Authority (WAPDA) building has stood since the 1960s.
7 Watkins, conversation; Waring, conversation. Photographs of Fredericus Middleton Burke are dated until 1906 in Lahore and from 1911 in Australia.

Epilogue

1 *Thacker's*, 1914, entry under Madras.
2 S. Muthiah, letter to author, January 22, 1997.
3 Watkins, interview.
4 Waring, interview.
5 Handwritten on photograph 132, p. 22, BL, Department of Prints and Photographs, Oriental and India Office Collections.
6 Holmes made an album of the 1919 war that echoes Burke's war album. Most photographers in pre-partition Peshawar made albums and postcard series around the various military conflicts. In the 1930s and 1940s, postcard photographs of dead and mutilated Pathan tribesmen ("raiders") even became popular.

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117. **"H.H. The Rajah of Chumba. Lahore Durbar 1894"**
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118. **"Retired Native Officers at Lahore"**
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119. **"Bridge of Boats, Khushalgarh"**
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120. **"Indian Officers Guides Infantry"**
Courtesy of the Director, National Army Museum, London

121. **"Cliffden Garden, 1897"**
Courtesy of Lieutenant Colonel Ian McCulloch

122. **"Government House"**
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123. **"The Officers XVII Bengal Cavalry Mian Mir, January 1899"**
Naushad Ali Khan Collection

124. **The Club House from the Church**
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References to Photographs are printed in italics