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Courts Martial in John Company's India and their help to the Genealogist

A talk given by Peter Bailey to the FIBIS Spring Meeting at the Society of Genealogists on 31st May 2003

Introduction to Courts Martial

The term 'Court Martial' is first found to be used as early as 1571, long before the establishment of a standing army in England. It was evident, however, that a special type of system was necessary to deal with infractions of the special disciplines that applied in the Army, frequently located far away from civil courts.

Following the formation of standing armies by Cromwell and after the Restoration of the Monarchy, it became necessary for the Crown to establish a set of rules and recommended punishments for the maintenance of discipline within its Army. The earliest record found appears to have been that reported in 'Justice and Discipline in Tangier and throughout the British Army' being a report on 'The Tangier Garrison's Court Martial Book 1663-1669'. However, this was followed by the 'Mutiny Act' of 1669, which provided the Army with its first official code of practice. This was succeeded in 1672 by a publication entitled *The English Military Discipline* with abridgements in succeeding years until 1685, when it was accompanied by a 35-page addendum entitled *The Rules and Articles of War*.

The Rules and Articles of War became more formally *The Rules and Articles for the Better Government of Our Horse and Foot Guards and all Our other Forces in Our Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Dominions beyond the Seas and Foreign Parts*. They were revised on a relatively regular basis, generally involving Acts of Parliament.

The East India Company ('John Company') had always based its military practice upon that of the Army of the Crown. This was particularly so as a result of their consultations with Henry Dundas, 1st Viscount Melville, in 1795. Dundas was not only President of the Board of Control for India (1784-1801) but Secretary for War during the early Napoleonic Wars (1794-1801) and so particularly suited to advise on such matters. Included in the Company's regulations was the adoption of Rules and Articles of War for the Better Government of the Officers and Soldiers in the Service of the Honourable East India Company. These were made official by Act of Parliament in 1754 and were essentially identical to those applying to the Sovereign's Army. Small modifications were made to suit conditions in the Company's territories.

One of the Articles stipulates that they be 'read and published once every three months at the Head of every Corps in the East India Company's Service...'. The Articles of War are

particularly long – amounting to many pages of A4 typing. One wonders if this instruction was respected – or if the soldiers fell asleep during its reading! Furthermore, the same Articles of War applied to the Company's Native soldiers.

Contraventions were to be dealt with by Courts Martial of which from early days there were three types, viz:

General Court Martial

These consisted of a President, appointed by the Local Commander-in-Chief, plus not less than 13 commissioned officers both in Great Britain and in India. As few as five commissioned officers could suffice in remoter locations such as Australia, Africa, China, Prince of Wales' Island, Singapore or Malacca. A General Court Martial had the power to try both officers and soldiers and to sentence any officer or soldier to any punishment, including Death or Transportation.

District, or Garrison Court Martial

As their name suggests, these were established, as necessary, at the garrison at which the unit of the accused was stationed and/or where the alleged crime was committed. They consisted of a locally appointed President plus five commissioned officers. They were not empowered to try officers nor to issue sentences of Death or Transportation. Evidently, the crimes considered by these Courts Martial were of less gravity than those deserving a General Court Martial.

Regimental, or Detachment Court Martial

Again, as their name suggests, these Courts Martial were established for less serious disciplinary matters which were deemed more suitable for treatment within a soldier's own regiment. Once more they required a President plus not less than five officers, unless impracticable, in which case three were considered sufficient. They were permitted to sentence any soldier to Corporal Punishment, Imprisonment and Forfeiture of Pay but not empowered to try officers, nor to pass any sentence of Death or Transportation.

Readers may have come across the term 'Drum-head Court Martial'. These were sometimes conducted when it became necessary to charge and, if necessary, discipline a soldier during the course of a military operation and, naturally, remote from barracks or other formal military surroundings. They were traditionally held across an upturned drum, which served as a makeshift table. Hence the term.

The Practice of General Courts Martial

The same Court Martial structure applied to the Native soldiers as to the European soldiers but a distinction is made between European General Courts Martial and Native General Courts Martial.

Furthermore, in India, officers serving on General Courts Martial could be drawn either from the service of the Company or of the Crown and were generally mixed. General Courts Martial in India tried officers and soldiers alike both of the Army of the Crown and of the Company. Indeed as far as one can determine, records of courts martial in India of soldiers of the Crown's Army are better maintained and more readily available in the India Office Records than elsewhere. In addition, it should be noted that the Crown's officers had disciplinary jurisdiction over the Company's recruits whilst they were still in England and before their embarkation for India.

The Articles of War stipulate that a soldier could appeal against the findings, including the sentence of one of the junior Courts and have the case referred to a higher Court up to a General Court Martial. It is not possible to indicate the frequency with which this occurred. One might be tempted to feel that there might have been some penalty applied to soldiers appealing frivolously to a higher court in the hope of reversal of a 'guilty' verdict or of a more lenient sentence. However, in view of the number of cases heard by European Courts Martial in India, which might be regarded as of a less serious nature (drunkenness etc.), this seems not to have been the case.

Punishments

The Articles of War include only the maximum penalties which could be awarded by the various levels of Court Martial. A sentence of Death was permitted for a remarkably wide range of crimes. There is no indication in them as to what punishment should be awarded for any particular crime but a detailed analysis of various punishments dispensed indicates that this was determined by precedent and that they tended to become more lenient in later years. Such analysis was made by Hough in the publication *A Case Book of European and Native General Courts Martial held from 1801 to 1821 on Officers, Non-Commissioned Officers, and Privates in His Majesty's and the Honourable East India Company's Armies* (BL Ref: T 35207). However, the conclusions are not particularly easy to deduce.

I have made my own analysis of European General Courts Martial for the Madras Presidency from 1828 to 1837. This indicates a preponderance of the following general types of crime and their punishment:

Officers:

Most charges for officers were prefaced by words such as 'Scandalous behaviour' or 'Conduct unbecoming a Gentleman and Officer', followed by more particular details of the offence.

Disputes:	These were generally of a 'childish' nature between junior officers caused by boredom and drunkenness. Verdicts of 'not guilty' were common. Punishments varied from reprimands to reductions in seniority to being cashiered.
Defamation of Character:	Frequently one officer accusing another of 'ungentlemanly conduct', etc. Verdicts of 'not guilty' were common but, if found guilty, an officer was usually cashiered.
Embezzlement :	Punishment for a guilty verdict was invariably being cashiered, possibly with restitution of the missing funds.

Soldiers

Drunkenness and Violence:	Easily the most common of crimes, which were generally punished by periods of solitary confinement of up to 12 months
Absence from duty:	This again was usually due to drunkenness and punished by periods of solitary confinement of up to 12 months.
Desertion:	Also punished by periods of solitary confinement of up to 12 months. However for soldiers of the British Army, transportation for 7 years was awarded.
Insubordination:	This again was usually due to drunkenness and punished by periods of solitary confinement of up to 12 months.

Assault of Superior:	This frequently arose when an NCO was trying to restrain a soldier accused of drunkenness and violence. To reduce the frequency of the occurrence of this serious but unnecessary crime, the Commander-in-Chief in 1835 insisted that NCOs only supervised restraint by private soldiers! Punishment could then be by periods of solitary confinement of up to 12 months.
Theft:	Theft was not a very common crime and generally petty. Punishment was once more, solitary confinement. However for this crime soldiers of the British Army were sometimes transported.
Self Mutilation:	It was surprisingly common for soldiers to shoot off two fingers of their left hand. This was supposed to render them unfit for further duty. However, it led to a period of solitary confinement. Research in subsequent Annual Musters shows such men still to be serving with their same unit. Thus their hopes were dashed along with their fingers! But, for some reason they still continued to do it. They were also fined the value of the ball used for its theft!
Wilful Murder:	It appears that all forms of homicide were charged as 'Wilful Murder'. However, if the accused was drunk, or killed without obvious pre-meditation, he was found 'Not Guilty' and simply discharged. Those found guilty were generally sentenced either to be hanged or shot to death. However, the C-in-C commuted many such sentences to transportation.

Where are the Records ?

Records of General Courts Martial, both of European and Native soldiers are to be found in the General Orders by the Presidencies' Commanders-in-Chief series (L/MIL/17) in the India Office Records. Regrettably, no records appear to have survived at IOR for courts martial less prestigious than General Courts Martial. Naturally, the records are summaries rather than complete transcripts but they include the charge(s) – and various instances of the charge(s) – plus the date and place of the alleged crime. They include the finding of the court and the recommended sentence. A report was then sent to the presidency authorities, generally including the Commander-in-Chief, who then confirmed or modified the sentence, sometimes adding comments to be communicated to the court, the prisoner and even, in the case of serious infringements, to the remainder of the army with an enjoiner to soldiers to avoid similar situations in the future. This latter was common in cases of the death penalty, which would generally have to be witnessed by the remainder of the regiment of the condemned man.

Value to Genealogists

So, what about the genealogical value of Courts Martial reports? Generally, they add significantly to the background of the life of an ancestor accused of a crime – or, indeed, the victim of one. They also provide some insight into life in barracks at the time an ancestor was serving. Also important, for soldiers, is the information that it provides as to the location of the particular Company or Detachment of the accused at the time of the alleged crime. Each accused soldier has his Name and Company given in the citation, and generally, his regimental number, as well as the place and location of his misdemeanour.

It is generally extremely difficult to know in which Company a particular man served since the Annual Muster Lists provide only his Regiment, Brigade or Battalion. Knowledge of a man's Company provided directly, as in the case of a Court Martial, or indirectly, if your ancestor was an associate of the accused, can help you to determine where he was stationed at a given date and if he fought in a particular campaign or not. Given the incomplete status of the Baptismal, Marriage and Burial records, especially for Roman Catholics who, almost entirely Irishmen,

comprised some fifty percent of European soldiers in the armies, it may be of paramount importance to narrow the search to know where an ancestor was serving at the time of his marriage, baptism of his child, etc.

In my study I have focused my attention on the Madras Army since it has marginally more problems in the identification of the locations of its various corps. In particular for the Artillery, I have found no document, nor periodical, which routinely provides the location of its Companies year by year until 1845. This is not so for the Bengal and Bombay Armies: the stations of its various units are given in their respective almanacs from earlier dates.

European Courts Martial in the Madras Presidency

Summary of Punishments (1827 – 1836)

Cat-o'-Nine Tails	4%
Death (Hanging or Shooting)	6% down to 3%* (commuted to transportation by the C-in-C)
Cashiered or Discharged	10%
Solitary Confinement	40%
Transportation	9% up to 12%*
Other	31%

Part Summary of Courts Martial – Madras Presidency (1827 – 1836)

Surname	Chr. Names	Rank	Regiment	Charge	Place	D-M-Y	Findings
Aikens	James	Private	HM 54th Ft.	Assault with bayonet	Cannanore	8 Mar 1830	Guilty
Aldridge	James	Pte.	Mad. Eur. Regt.	Aided Shooting Native	Carara	27 Dec 1833	Not Guilty
Anderson	Thomas	Cpt/Act.QM	4th Lt. Cav.	False Returns	Secunderabad	1 Apr 1833	Guilty
Annesley	William Richard	Ensign	38th N.I.	Conduct Prejudicial	Kamptee	9 Aug 1834	Guilty
Arthur	George Munro	Captain	20th N. I.	Scandalous Conduct	Coorg/Bang're	6 Apr 1834	Not Guilty
Ashcroft	Thomas	Pte. 93	Gren. Co. M.E.R.	Mutiny / Murder	Kamptee	22 Sep 1832	Guilty
Babington	William Knox	Lieut.	17th N.I.	Murder	Cannanore	29 Aug 1829	Not Guilty
Babington	Chas. H. St. J.	Ensign	Late 2d Eur. Rgt.	Scandalous Behaviour (5)	Kamptee	8 Sep 1829	Guilty
Baird	Samuel	Pte.	HM 39th Ft.	Induced Desertion	Bangalore	12 Aug 1834	Not Guilty
Baker	Robert	Gunner 73	C' Co. 1st Bn. Art	AWOL / Self Mutilation	Bangalore	9 Jan 1828	Guilty
Baker	John	Pte. 494	'7' Co. HM 41st Ft.	Striking Superior Officer	Arnee		Guilty
Baldwin	Thomas	Gunner	'A' Co. 3rd Bn. Art.	Struck NCO	Bangalore	14 Apr 1831	Guilty
Barnes	John	Snr. Asst. Apothecary		Embezzlement x 2	Cannanore	Oct	Guilty
Barrett	Thomas	Pte.	HM 55th Ft.	Drunk / Threats	Bellary	15 May 1835	Guilty
Baxter	James	Pte. 57	'A' Co. 2nd Eur.Rgt.	Retaking Clothes (5)	Kamptee	28 Jan 1828	Guilty
Baxter	James	Private	'F' Co. M. Eur. Rgt.	Drunk / Insubordination	Kamptee	12 Feb 1830	Guilty
Beaver	John Napleton	Capt.	6th NI	Insubordination	Bangalore	8 Jun 1827	Guilty
Beck	James	Gunner	'D' Co. 3d Bn. Art	AWOL & Threat to Kill	St Thomas Mt	15 Dec 1828	Guilty
Beggan	Patrick	Pte.	HM 54th Ft.	Murder of Colleague	Trichinopoly	17 Oct 1834	Not Guilty
Bell	Thomas	Captain	47th N.I.	Conduct prejudicial	Kamptee	21 Dec 1828	Guilty
Bell	Thomas	Captain	47th N.I.	Con. unbec / break arrest	Kamptee	2/7 Mar 1829	Guilty

Bennett	John	Havildar	42nd N. I.	Wilful Murder– Manslaughter	Kamptee	10 Aug 1835	Guilty
Benson	Andrew	Private	'F' Co. M. Eur Rgt.	Drunk / Abuse / Threat	Kamptee	15 Feb 1830	Guilty
Benson	Andrew	Pte. 665	'F' Co. M.E.R.	Insolence / Assault	Camp Singtee	4 Jun 1833	Guilty
Biles	Joseph	Gunner	'C' Co. 3d Bn. Art	Drunk on duty / quit post	St Thomas Mt	22 Aug 1829	Guilty
Birley	Daniel	Lieut.	27th N.I.	Assault / Unlawful Entry	Madras	5 Nov 1831	Not G

An Introduction to The Public Works Department and its records at the India Office Records

By Anthony West

Our Editor asked me to write this article on the PWD in the hope that it might help readers in their quest for a long lost ancestor. The more one researches the PWD, the more one realises what a complex and ever changing animal it was, and how difficult it can be to locate a particular individual merely because he worked for the PWD. Ideally the researcher needs to have an idea of the particular discipline in which their missing ancestor was employed, and as ever Thacker and other almanacs can often provide the clue. These of course are on the open shelves at the British Library at St. Pancras.



The South Indian Railway's Madras Egmore Station.

During its lifetime, the Public Works Department in India was vast and diverse in the scope and range of its operations. It existed from 1839 to 1926, although it should not be assumed that there were no public works prior to 1839 or indeed after 1926. The Department grew from the activities of the military, and Public Works in the early days usually meant that the Army, either British or Company, were building something for their own needs. Long after 1839 it was commonplace for military personnel, both Officers and NCOs, to be seconded to the PWD for long periods of time, and many 'time expired' men from British Army Regiments stationed in India declined to return to Britain and stayed on with the PWD or with the Railways. As well as the 'Imperial' PWD which was a Department of the imperial Government of India, it should be remembered that each province in India also had a PWD to deal with its lesser and more parochial projects, all of which would have employed legions of people, both native and European. A quick look at Thackers for the 1880/1890 period will show the numerous levels of clerks and minor officials employed in the Writers Building in Calcutta. There are PWD references in the P series [Proceedings and Consultations of the Government of India and of the Presidencies and Provinces 1702 to 1945] These amount to some 46,500 volumes relating

to a myriad of topics – the PWD references appearing to relate to projects and activities rather than to individual PWD employees.

The prime records of the Public Works Department at the IOR at the British Library are filed under the L/PWD series and comprise some 4516 volumes and files, plus one box. These records also include records of earlier departments, which it absorbed over time, and they include The Railway and Telegraph Department [1858-1861], The Public Works Department of the Examiner's Office [1856-1858], and the Railway and Telegraph Department of the Secretary's Office [1849-1858]. Also included in the series are the records of the Indo-European Telegraph Department [1865-1931], which ran the telegraph 'twixt Karachi, Iran and the Gulf to Europe, and the Royal Indian Engineering College at Coopers Hill [1871-1905], which was responsible for the training of railway and public works engineers, and from 1883 forestry officers.

It is almost impossible to list all the activities undertaken by the PWD in the course of its life, but the general areas covered by the Department embraced the following activities:-

Bridges	Municipal Engineering
Canals	Ports and Harbours
Civil Aviation [from 1919]	Post Office Services [from 1914]
Civil Engineering	Public Buildings
Eastern Mail Services [from 1914]	Railways
Fisheries	Roads
Forestry [1861-1863]	Royal Indian Engineering College
Indo-European Telegraph	Telegraphs
Irrigation	Wireless Telegraphy
Military Works	



Jumna Bridge, Delhi, carrying the main lines to Calcutta and the North-West.

Many of these records contain information of a technical nature, and include maps and plans which tend to relate to the physical activity of that particular part of the Department. They do of course make reference to individuals, but there is no real way of easily finding a particular person unless you know that they worked on some particular project. They do however provide an insight into what people did, the trials, the difficulties, and the tribulations that they faced –

and their successes. This can often prove an interesting canvas onto which you can paint your ancestor.

The PWD records are divided into eight groups, and for the family historian some will prove to be more interesting than others. L/PWD 1 to 5 relate to committee minutes, correspondence, and miscellaneous records. A possible source, but researching them will be very time consuming.

L/PWD/6 relates to departmental papers; and annual files 1880 to 1926 and are indexed at Z/L/PWD/6.

L/PWD/7 relates to the Indo-European Telegraph Department [1865-1931] and does hold personal files but only those that originated in the London office – presumably they relate to people recruited in Britain, and not in India.

It should be remembered that the Indo-European Telegraph tended to operate as a separate entity from the inland telegraph. Between 1865 and 1887 the IETD was managed and controlled directly from London. Briefly, from 1887 control shifted to India, only to return to the Secretary of State for India in London in 1893. Many of the IETD staff were in fact military personnel on secondment – no doubt for security reasons. These papers are indexed under Z/L/PWD/7.

L/PWD/8 records relate to the Royal Indian Engineering College at Coopers Hill [1869-1906] and include student application forms and certificates. Indexed under Z/L/PWD/8.

In the event that none of the above main sources proves to be of help to the family historian, there are other sources – sometimes obscure – but useful !

One such source is the Services and General Department Records. There are 11 groups of records in this series, each may be of interest, but the one that might bear fruit is L/SG/11. This comprises 34 files and 32 boxes of annual confidential reports on members of the following services between 1907 and 1955:-

India:	Civil; Forest; Political; Public works; Veterinary; Great India Peninsula Railway.
Burma:	Civil; Engineers; Forest; Frontier; Police; Posts and Telegraphs; Railways; Veterinary.

L/F/8 consists of some 20 boxes containing contracts and agreements [1855 to 1946] relating to recruitment in Britain of people for the PWD, Government Railways, and Telegraphs in India. These I would surmise are for more senior posts. A list of these files can be viewed on the A2A (Access to Archives) website (www.a2a.pro.gov.uk).

L/F/10 consists of some 252 volumes relating to records of service [1702 to 1928], with annual lists including lists of employees of the Forest Department, Public Works, and Post Office, as well as the Burma Railway Company.

It must be remembered that the Railways of India were always controlled, and at times built directly and owned, by the British Government of India. Many PWD employees were railwaymen on what are known as 'Government Railways' or 'State Railways'. When the railway was built by the government the PWD had a large input into the engineering side of the project, although the contractor doing the work also had its own engineers. Initially, the local PWD engineers had a good understanding of conditions in India but little understanding of building railways, whilst the engineers from England working for the contractors knew all about building railways but nothing of conditions in India. From about 1890 State railway construction became the responsibility of the PWDs – imperial and provincial – and engineers moved

among various works of civil engineering. In the construction of roads and canals they would usually use the departmental system of construction, rather than employing contractors.

V/12 series gives histories of service on State Railways [1884-1953].

V/13 series gives PWD Civil lists [1861-1904] of State Railways Officers and workmen.

So remember, where you are seeking an employee of the PWD you need to have an open mind as to what work that person did. By pursuing the actual activity, be it railways, telegraphs, engineering or whatever, you will have a better chance of finding him – and remember also that many men who were with the PWD were on secondment from the Company or Indian Army and they may well be mentioned in the L/MIL series, or if the British Army at the National Archives (PRO) at Kew.

Some suggested reading:

A General Guide to the India Office Records by Martin Moir (British Library 1996)

A Brief Guide to Biographical Sources by Ian A Baxter (British Library 2nd edition, reprinted 1994; a 3rd edition is shortly to be published by FIBIS)

Anglo-Indian Legacy by George Gabb (published by the author]

Building the Railways of the Raj [1850-1900] by Ian J Kerr (OUP 1997)

Railways of the Raj by Michael Satow and Ray Desmond. (Scolar Press 1980)

A Tale of Two Storeys ?

By Ed Storey and Lawrie Butler

Ed Storey (No 352) joined FIBIS in April 2002 and was eager to find out why his g-grandfather Edwin A Storey had been out in India. Living in Texas and working intermittently in China, Ed wrote that he was looking for someone to do research for him. I (Lawrie Butler) suggested that he should try and get whatever he could via the Society and then having reached the proverbial 'brick wall' he should contact a Researcher on the IOR List. The initial research proved so interesting and intriguing that I was 'hooked' and have since traced his ancestry back to his roots in England and his Indian research is complete except for minor details. The research has been particularly expedited by a posting on the India List by Gordon Barlow in July 2002.

Background Information

Ed wrote that his elderly aunt told him that his great-grandfather was born in Lahore in 1843 and was sent to school in England at the age of seven. His name was Edwin A Storey (Alexander or Andrew). He later married and went to the United States where in Indiana in 1876 a son was born. The US Censuses for 1880, 1900 and 1910 all state that Edwin and his wife were both English and that Edwin was born in India-East.

Early Research

I checked Bengal Baptisms at the IOR but while I found a Storey baptism in Meerut in 1842, the boy was a Thomas! Assuming that Edwin left India at seven, it seemed worthwhile to check the other Presidencies for the period 1840 - 1850. My first stop was Madras where in 1843, I found the baptisms of Edwin Alexander Storey & Alfred Henry Storey⁽¹⁾, sons of George Munro Aiskell and Elizabeth Hester Storey, both living in Black Town, the native city of Madras, as distinct from the Fort and southern suburbs. I then thought I would look at Madras Marriages and found that on 22 June 1836 George Munro Aiskell Storey⁽²⁾, bachelor, bookkeeper of the House of Line Boyd & Co married Elizabeth Hester Barrett, spinster, in Black Town Chapel by permission of the Right Honourable the Governor of Fort St George. Unfortunately, marriage records of this period are so limited that parents' details are not shown.

With such an early marriage, relative to Edwin's birth, I then had to look at the Baptisms again and located baptisms of George William⁽³⁾ (on 21st Jun 1839) and Charles Goldie⁽⁴⁾ (on 22nd Sep 1841). I was puzzled by the gap 1836-1839 with no children so I checked Madras deaths. These showed that George⁽⁵⁾, infant son was buried on 2nd July 1837 and that George William⁽⁶⁾ also was buried on the 25th May 1840. Having tried twice to perpetuate the name George, the Storeys changed the name of the next boy! I emailed Ed saying that "Here we have a Scotsman, a bookkeeper to a Shipping Company, Agents for Lloyds of London, etc., in Madras. With his position, it is likely that he could have found a passage for his son(s) to England where school could have been attended from the home of a relative or close friend." Ed queried why I had suggested a Scotsman since he had found numerous Storeys in Northern England⁽⁷⁾. I replied that Munro, Aiskell (and indeed Goldie) all appeared to be of Scottish origin. I suggested that for Edwin A's parents he might check the IGI and the Mormons' Family Search Web site⁽⁸⁾. He replied that he had just done that and had found the baptism in St Matthews, Bethnal Green, Middlesex⁽⁹⁾ of GMA Story along with the names of his parents, Joseph and Anne. When he sent me a copy of the Bethnal Green Parish Register, the bottom entry on page 235 in fact read: -

<i>When baptised</i>	<i>Child's Christian name</i>	<i>Parent's names</i>		<i>Abode</i>	<i>Quality, Trade or Profession</i>	<i>By whom the Ceremony was performed</i>
		<i>Christian</i>	<i>Surname</i>			
1815 Octr 5	George Munro Aiskell	Joseph & Anne	Storey	Bond's Place	Gent.	JG MacGregor AM Offg Minr
No 1880	Born Sep 3, 1807					

The significant features of this entry were the birth date, Sept 3rd 1807 and the fact that the father called himself a 'Gent'(leman). A 'Gentleman'⁽¹⁰⁾ was usually a man with money or property. Retired professionals would often call themselves 'Gentlemen'. Army & Naval officers and Barristers were regarded as 'Gentlemen'. And yet a study of a London atlas of the time⁽¹¹⁾ indicated that 'Bond's Place' was a row of terrace houses. Had this 'Gentleman' fallen on hard times?

And there the research might have become protracted or even ended had it not been for a posting on the India List web site.

The value of the India List⁽¹²⁾

'Subscription' to the India-L is really a 'must' for any one who has email facilities and is interested in tracing one's Indian roots. I had asked Ed if he had subscribed to it and he said that he had, but had unsubscribed since he had found he received 20 or more emails a day about trivial details. I tend to agree there are many trivia and meaningless discussions BUT every so often there is a 'gem' of information (as well as answers to queries that may be of interest to others). Trivia to one person may be gems for others. I myself have received two or three of these 'gems', information that I would have been most unlikely to have found anywhere else. And so in July 2002 there was 'a Storey gem'...

On the 9th July 2002, following emails relating to the Army mutiny of 1809 in Madras, Gordon Barlow posted the following list of 21 officers selected for punishment in 1809. Most were dismissed but some were restored later.

John Bell, Madras Artillery
Joseph Storey, 19th NI
John Doveton, 7th Native Cavalry
Robert Munro, 15th NI
D C Kenny, 19th NI
T F de Havilland, Engineers
George Cadell
Hugh McIntosh 8th NI
F K Aiskell, 15th NI
Augustus Andrews, Madras European Regt
etc., etc.

I was surprised to see a Joseph **Storey's** name and excited when I read Robert **Munro's** name but amazed when I saw the name of F K **Aiskell**! It was immediately obvious that Joseph Storey appeared to have named his first born son after two of his closest friends in the Mutiny!!

But how could I **prove** that this was indeed the case? It was back to the IOR for more research.

Joseph Storey's Passage to India

His cadet papers are limited⁽¹³⁾. His baptism certificate⁽¹⁴⁾ reads as follows: -

'1774 March 6th

Joseph son of John Storey of Twizle, Farmer & Jane his wife

This is a true copy of Baptismal Register taken from the Parish Book in Chester le Street in the County of Durham, this 21st day of Feb 1792'

The Cadet Register⁽¹⁵⁾ shows that he was appointed to the Madras Infantry in 1791, having been nominated by Mr Hunter (Deputy Chairman of the E.I.C.) and was approved on the 28th February 1792. He departed for India via the ship 'Contractor'⁽¹⁶⁾. This ship according to its log left the Downs (a 'holding' area off the Kent Coast) on the 6th Apr 1792 arriving Madras on the 5th August 1792. His name is not recognisable in the log since this is in a very dilapidated condition.

The White Mutiny of 1809⁽¹⁷⁾

Its appropriate here to outline the circumstances that led to Joseph Storey finding himself in a terrace cottage in Bethnal Green.

The White Mutiny of 1809 (of European Officers of Indian regiments) was not the first in India and certainly not the first in Madras. Civil governments in countries as remote as India were always liable to be overthrown by military force, especially in the midst of a newly founded empire. The problems were made worse by the apparent poor selection of officers for the newly formed EIC regiments. Around 1786, the Court of Directors declared that all future selection of officers would be in their own hands but even so the evolution of good military discipline as existed in the British Army was slow. Agitation among ill-disciplined officers frequently resulted in substantial concessions from the Company. It was hoped that the reorganisation of 1796, recognising the claim of officers to furlough and the right to a retiring allowance while at the same time dispensing with various irregular and improper allowances would do away with the causes of discontent.

But grounds for agitation still existed, such as the difference in allowances between Bengal and Madras and most importantly the entitlement of a King's Officer to supersede and take command of any officer of the same rank, however senior in age and standing. Orders had been issued in 1788 to put company officers of the same rank on the same footing as those of the King's regiments, but this had not been fully implemented even by 1807. Another cause for discontent was the temporary or brevet promotion of King's officers while on service in India so local company officers felt superseded. Further the reorganisation of 1796 had necessarily increased the number of junior officers relative to senior ones so that there were diminished prospects of promotions. Finally the civil administration was becoming more regularised and new civilian officials were being introduced leading to some civilian salaries doubling those of officers.

Such was the background to the White Mutiny, the first act of which was brought about by an order from the Madras Government to supply soldiers from the European Regiment at Masulipatam for use as marines on board ship, despite orders recently received from London prohibiting this kind of employment. This action was interpreted as a move by the local Government to disband the Regiment. Major Joseph Storey of the 1st battalion of the 19th Native Infantry tried to persuade Colonel Innes, the senior officer at Masulipatam, to rescind the

order but failed and with support immediately put the Colonel under arrest. This action definitely began the mutiny. This spread to Secunderabad, Jaulna and areas north and Seringapatam. But almost as quickly as the Mutiny started so it finished. The consequences of persistence in their mutinous opposition to the Government were laid clearly before the officers at Secunderabad and they capitulated. Their submission was a blow to the mutineers at Jaulna who also submitted. Then the leaders of the mutiny at Masulipatam, Major Storey and Capt Andrews admitted that they could no longer oppose the measures of the Government. By the end of August, all the mutinous officers had submitted and signed a declaration of support for the authority of the Governor at Fort St George.

All that remained was to allot punishment. The Governor-General arrived from Calcutta and published his conclusions on the mutiny in a Governor-General's Order of the 25th Sept 1809⁽¹⁸⁾ and his decisions were marked by great leniency. 21 officers were selected for punishment of whom only three, including Major Storey, were ordered to be tried by court martial. The volume on 'Personal Records'⁽¹⁹⁾ gives full details of Major Storey's trial: -

'Major Storey was charged, 1st with mutiny in having put Colonel Innes under arrest; 2nd for having mutinously assumed the command of the garrison at Masulipatam and ordering the troops to hold themselves in readiness for field service, with a view to oppose the existing Govt of Madras; and 3rd for having, in conjunction with Capt Andrews, affixed his name to a paper purporting to be an address from the garrison to the Governor General and for transmitting the same to General Pater to be forwarded to the G.G.

The Court found him guilty of the 1st charge, of the 1st part of the second charge and of the 3rd charge and sentenced him to be cashiered but unanimously recommended him to mercy on the ground of some facts which came out at the trial and other palliatory circumstances, none of which are however stated.

On the sentence on Major Storey, Lord Minto (G.G.) remarks that he doubt not it will appear not less inadequate to the offence than that on Colonel Bell; – that the pardon granted by General Pater, of which Major Storey claimed the benefit, was not only unauthorised but directly contrary to his instructions; – that the Mutiny at Masulipatam, of which Major Storey was the leader, was the first overt act, and became the pretence, if not the foundation of the general revolt which followed.

The insolent tone and manner of his defence, the spirit of insubordination which it breathes and his avowed adherence to the general cause, were great aggravations of his crime, and rendered his mitigated sentence and the unanimous recommendation of the Court to favour, still more objectionable.'

He was sentenced to be cashiered but the further clause declaring him unfit to be ever employed in the Company's service was omitted and the Court sent a letter to the C-in-C specially recommending the prisoner to mercy. From the verdicts on all it was obvious that the officers who sat on the courts martial had far too much sympathy with the mutineers to sentence any to capital punishment. And Lord Minto's comments above indicate that in different circumstances, he would have changed the verdict.

Few of the officers sentenced appeared to have been affected long term by their sentences. One eventually became a full General, a G.C.B and a Director of the E.I.C. while two others became Lt. Gens and three, Maj. Gens. As for Major Storey he was reinstated and became a Lt Col before an early demise.

Joseph Storey's marital status

It is unfortunate that there is not a Hodson⁽²⁰⁾ type volume for Madras, listing the progress of officers from birth to grave. Hodson's Card Index for officers in all-India is available at the National Army Museum, Chelsea but details are not as complete as in ref 22 below. There is Dodwell's volume⁽²¹⁾ covering all India but its scope is merely the promotion ladder plus the occasional comment on the officer's exit from the service or his demise from whatever cause. So the first check was to view the volume in the IOR listing the Officers' Families Pension Records in the Madras Military Fund⁽²²⁾. This is a volume on the open shelves containing these details in the form of 'visitors cards' all printed several to a page. The one for Joseph Storey reads: -

Joseph Storey

Madras Army bap. 6.3.1774 d. 13 Oct 1818

m. Mary (d. 11 June 1881)

she remarried 10 Apr 1823

Children Charles b. 14 Jan 1813

Emma b. 5. Jan 1815

Henry b. 8. May 1817

There is no mention here of a wife Anne or of a child G M A Storey!!

Reference to the files on which the above is based, reveals a little more:

Vol. 1⁽²³⁾ details of subscriber. Ref 1328/2462 Story J.

Date of admission Nov 6th 1818; date of birth / baptism 6th March 1774

Cadet 1791; Ensign Apr 1793; Lt. Aug 1794; Capt July 1801; Maj Aug 1806; Lt Col Apr 1812 Died Oct 13th 1818

Vol 2⁽²⁴⁾ details of wife & family. Ref 1328/2462

Storey, Mary, entered 1808; date of entering as widow 14th Oct 1818

Date of withdrawal 10th Apr 1823 (m.); (2) 28th May 1851; death 11th June 1881

Children

Charles (m) dob 14 Jan 1813; withdrew at 18 years Jan 1831

Emma (f) dob 5 Jan 1815

Henry (m) dob 8 May 1817; withdrew at 21 years 1838

So now we have 'The Tale of Two Storeys', one shown in Bethnal Green Records as having married Anne, presumably before 1807 and with one child and the other shown above as being officially married to Mary with three children! The aim of all further research was to find a record that related Major Joseph Storey of the Madras Army to Joseph Storey, father of George Munro Aiskell Storey.

Passage from India

The Board's Collection of Papers, Part 2, 1810-1820⁽²⁵⁾ indicates that the EIC paid for the passages home of the 21 officers, most of them on the ships William Pitt & Sarah Christiana. The Madras Almanac for 1811 shows that on May 7th 1810, a Mr Joseph Story (sic) left Madras via the 'William Pitt'. Having been cashiered, it is consistent that Mr Story should show no rank. The journal of the 'William Pitt'⁽²⁶⁾ shows Mr Story and child as passengers, Madras to London. It is likely that this child was G M A Story, now about three years old. It is possible that Anne was left in India or may have died in childbirth – certainly no records have been seen in Madras.

Robert Munro is shown leaving via the 'Harriet'⁽²⁷⁾ while FK Aiskell left on March 17th 1811 via the 'Ann'⁽²⁸⁾. One wonders whether the three of them met up in London or even stayed in Bond's Place?

Exile in London

Being cashiered is a more severe punishment than to be dismissed the service since one is disqualified from entering the public service in any capacity. Yet Joseph Storey, having had his sentence recommended to mercy and the disqualification clause omitted must have lived in hope of a quick return to Madras. His first home in Bethnal Green was close to the East India docks and was reasonably close to the offices of the East India Company. We have to assume that in around 1811-12 he married Mary, in an adjacent parish to Bethnal Green since no marriage details are seen in the Bethnal Green records.

The Court Minutes B⁽²⁹⁾ show the very protracted procedure followed by the Court in dealing with the petitions put forward by Joseph Storey. The Minutes are also a very good source of general information. Having been cashiered in 1809, by 1811 he must have become somewhat bored with his life in Bethnal Green and petitioned the Court for restoration: -

Volume B/153 10 May 1811 – The memorial of Joseph Storey Esqre late Major on the Madras Establishment representing his having been cashiered by the sentence of a Court Martial, on certain charges preferred against him, and expatiating thereupon and praying the Court to give effect to the humane recommendation of the Court Martial by the restoration of the memorialist to the service, being read, the Court **Ordered that the said Memorial lie on the Table** (i.e no action was taken).

Volume B/158 28 Jan 1814 – The Chairman drew the attention of the court to the cases of the Madras officers not yet decided upon and proposed that they should now be restored to the Service... the motion being put by the ballot and with 10 voting for, 1 against, 3 declined voting and 1 had earlier withdrawn, it was agreed that Counsel's opinion be taken as to the legal result of the ballot. (Another cause for delay!)

Volume B/158 29 Mar 1814 – Lt Col Storey wrote to the Court reminding them that though the Court had restored him to the Company's Service, he had not received any official intimation. The Court ordered that the letter should be referred to the Committee of Correspondence to examine and report. And so he waited...

Volume B/164 26 Mar 1817 – a further reminder to the Board led to his letter being referred to the Committee of Correspondence again.

Volume B/165 21 May 1817 – the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India approve and agree to the Resolution of the Court for the restoration of Major Storey to the Company's Service.

Volume B/165 10 Dec 1817 – Resolved that a Warrant be paid out for £368.3.8 to Lt Col Joseph Storey being for the pay of his rank from the date of his restoration to the service, vizt 28 March 1817 to the 31 May 1818 (after deducting the proportion of his pension of £125 per annum issued to him between the first mentioned date and the 29 Sep last) the last 6 months of pay being an advance he having taken his passage for the purpose of returning to his duty conformably to the Court's resolution of the 28 March last.

Volume B/166 17 Dec 1817 – Lt Col Storey formally requested permission to return and on the 23 Dec 1817 the Court resolved that he be permitted to return... The court ordered that Lt Col Storey be permitted to take with him to Madras his wife and a European female servant to attend on Mrs Storey and her infant child.

Preparations for return

Consistent with the procedure for dependants and others proceeding to India at that time, it was necessary for a Bond⁽³⁰⁾ to be entered into. On the 1 Jan 1818, on behalf of 'Mrs Mary Storey, infant son Henry Storey and female servant, Susan Roberts, passengers to Fort St George, this was secured in the sum of £600 by Mary Cox, St Matthews Place, Hackney Road, widow and Friend Cregoe, Royal Crescent, Bath, Esquire.'

Return to Madras

'Arrivals' in 1818⁽³¹⁾ list the ship, 'Lady Campbell' in Madras on 2nd June 1818 with passengers Mrs Storey and child, Miss Roberts and Lt Col Storey. Presumably Mary's two other children were left in the care of someone in Bethnal Green, perhaps her Surety, Mary Cox. For Mrs Storey, we can assume this was her first visit but for Joseph after eight years exile the sight of Madras must have been most nostalgic, tempered though it must have been by the passage across the surf in the masulah-boats.

It was most unfortunate for the whole family that Joseph Storey, now Lt Col and commanding the 2nd Battalion of the 20th Regt., died at Samalcottah within four months or so of their return, on the 13th Oct 1818⁽³²⁾. No cause of death is given.

He died intestate⁽³³⁾ and since his widow, Mary, renounced her right to the administration of the estates, a Charles John Cook was appointed to act as Administrator. The Madras inventories of 1822⁽³⁴⁾ do not mention anything of any significance. It is of course obvious that after such an enforced period of non-employment his estate in India would be minimal, the bulk of it being the sum of Star pagodas 2594.19.65 received from H C Treasury in respect of service.

The Decease of G M A Storey

George Munro Aiskell Storey died on 29th Nov 1854 at the age of 46 years & 2 months and was buried at St Mary's Burial Ground, Madras the same day⁽³⁵⁾. His occupation is shown as Clerk. In his Will dated 25th Nov 1853⁽³⁶⁾ he left R 500 to his natural son, William Storey and the same amount to his natural daughter Emma Storey, now Mrs Blair. (Further reference to Madras Births⁽³⁷⁾ reveal that Emma & William were George's children by his first wife Yagatha). The Madras Inventories, filed 17th Sep 1856⁽³⁸⁾, show that GMA Storey was still working as a Clerk for Line & Co at his death. Proceeds of a life insurance totalled 9,978 rupees. After the legacies to William and Emma, a balance of R5,102 was left to the residuary legatee, his widow, Mrs E H Storey.

The Two Storeys become One

Having trawled through Wills, Inventories and Administrations in Madras seeking for clues, I had found very circumstantial evidence but no positive link between Lt Col Storey and GMA Storey. It will be remembered that Ed had located the baptism of GMA Storey as entry 1880 on page 235 of the Bethnal Green, St Matthews Church Parish Registers viewed via LDS records. I decided to inspect these registers again at the Metropolitan Archives⁽³⁹⁾ in London. I first looked for the marriage of Joseph to Mary with no success and it is likely that this took place elsewhere in London (or even in County Durham).

I looked for the baptism of Mary's first child, Charles but did not locate it near its known date of birth. I then turned to Page 235 for the baptism of Anne's child GMA Storey (entry 1880) and on turning the page found the baptisms of Mary's first two children as entries 1881 and 1882 on page 236. Joseph and Mary had in fact presented the three children aged 8 years, 2½ years and 9 months for a multiple baptism on the 5th Oct 1815 !

<i>When baptised</i>	<i>Child's Christian name</i>	<i>Parent's names</i>		<i>Abode</i>	<i>Quality, Trade or Profession</i>	<i>By whom the Ceremony was performed</i>
		<i>Christian</i>	<i>Surname</i>			
1815 Octr 5 No 1881	Charles Robert Born 14th Jany 1813	Joseph & Mary	Storey	Bond's Place	Gent.	JG MacGregor AM Offg Minr
Octr 5 No 1882	Emma Julia Born 5th Jany 1815	Joseph & Mary	Storey	Bond's Place	Gent.	J.G. McG

I then then searched for Henry William and found that he was baptised on the 4th January 1818, one of the last events before their return to Madras. More importantly, the family had moved to a slightly larger property in Matthews Place (the home of one of Mary's sureties) AND the father's profession was shown as Lieut Coll (sic).

<i>When baptised</i>	<i>Child's Christian name</i>	<i>Parent's names</i>		<i>Abode</i>	<i>Quality, Trade or Profession</i>	<i>By whom the Ceremony was performed</i>
		<i>Christian</i>	<i>Surname</i>			
1818 Jany 4 No 1078	Henry William Born 7 May 1817	Joseph & Mary	Storey	Matthew's Place	Lieut. Coll. (sic)	J King Rector

Joseph Storey of Bethnal Green and Lt Col Joseph Storey of Madras had become one and the same Storey !

References:-

1. Madras Baptisms, N/2/21/3490 & N/2/24/357
2. Madras Marriages, N/2/17/125
3. Madras Baptisms, N/2/19/123
4. Madras Baptisms, N/2/20/340
5. Madras Burials, N/2/18/205
6. Madras Burials, N/2/19/362
7. 1881 British Census
8. www.familysearch.org
9. LDS microfiche No 0855 940
10. The Dictionary of Genealogy – Fitzhugh
11. A-Z of Regency London
12. India-L & India-D @rootsweb.com

Members and readers who are not on the India mailing list, an Internet forum for exchange of information between people researching their European or Anglo Indian ancestors in the former British territories of India (including modern Pakistan, Bangladesh and Burma/Myanmar) and Ceylon, may like to note the

following joining procedure.

Send an email addressed to INDIA-L-request@rootsweb.com with just the command 'subscribe' in the body of the message. If your system insists on a heading, put 'subscribe' there as well. You will be sent an automatic reply. If you find it more convenient to receive one or two composite emails per day, instead of say 20 individual emails, the directions will instruct you how to change to Digest mode. The costs of all receipts and transmissions will be at your cheapest telephone rate as normally used by you for your emails

- 13 L/MIL/9/109
- 14 IOR Neg 1469, f 431
- 15 L/MIL/9/255; 88, 89V.
- 16 Log – L/MAR/B/319E
- 17 The White Mutiny – Sir Alexander Cardew, 1929
- 18 Governor-General Order as detailed in 17 above
- 19 Personal Records – O/6/13
- 20 Major V C P Hodson's List of Officers of the Bengal Army, 1758-1834
- 21 Dodwell & Miles' Officers of the Indian Army, 1838
- 22 Madras Military Fund, Officers' Families, precis of 23 & 24 below. [Ed: This volume is now available on the Access to Archives (A2A) website: www.a2a.pro.gov.uk.]
- 23 L/AG/23/10/1 details of subscribers
- 24 L/AG/23/10/2 details of dependants
- 25 F/4/379, collection 9443
- 26 L/MAR/B/184L
- 27 Madras Almanac 1811
- 28 Madras Almanac 1812
- 29 Court Minutes B, Vols. 153,158,164,165 and 166
- 30 Miscellaneous Bonds Z/O/1/8
- 31 Madras Almanac 1819
- 32 Asiatic Journal, vol vii, p 669, 1819
- 33 L/AG/34/29/219 1819 Administrations
- 34 L/AG/34/27/253 1823 Inventories
- 35 Madras Burials, N/2/33/434
- 36 L/AG/34/29/254 1854 Wills
- 37 Madras Baptisms, N/2/13/112
- 38 L/AG/34/27/343 1856 Inventories
- 39 Tower Hamlets, St Matthew's Church, Bethnal Green

Research In India

By Malcolm Speirs

Last year I went on two research trips to India, in continuation of two years of family history research at the IOR in London. I was tracing the political career of my great-great grandfather, Alexander Speirs, who had joined the HEIC army as a cadet in 1805 and had subsequently transferred to political duties eventually becoming British Resident at Gwalior and later at Nagpur. I also wished to trace whatever details I could find of the three further generations of our family who remained in India until Independence. As I hoped to write a family biography, I was particularly keen to trace the lives of my other g-g-grandfather, Joseph Short and of his sister Mary Short. They came to Lucknow in 1817 and Mary married Ghaziuddin Haidar, the first King of Oudh; after which she was known as Sultan Mariam Begum Sahiba. On Mary's death, Joseph inherited her wasika (a perpetual pension) of 2,500 Rupees per month, and our family are still entitled to receive this wasika (although we are currently prevented from doing so by a recent ruling that wasikas will only be paid in India and to Indian nationals).

My first port of call was to the National Archives of India (situated along Janpath in New Delhi) and I was not particularly expecting to gain much there, as I knew that the records there mainly duplicated the East India Company and British Raj records available at the IOR in the British Library. I had already located and painstakingly transcribed over 1,100 political letters of my ancestor at the IOR, so I did not expect to find much more on his career, nor did I expect to find any data on the other members of my family (who were not in military or political service). However, I was delighted by what I found...

Although the facilities at the National Archives are not a patch on those at the IOR, the main difference is simply in the indexes available. At the IOR, if you want to look up obscure political correspondence in any year, you need to decide which department (e.g. Political, Judicial, Financial etc.) it appears in, then order the appropriate annual index volume for that department. When this arrives, you have to patiently wade through several hundred pages of manuscript entries, all in random order. By contrast, in India the HEIC obviously went to fantastic trouble with their indexes, which are the nearest thing to a computerised system you can get. From 1830 onwards they produced 10-yearly indexes (available on the open shelves), which contain typed entries covering all departments of the Foreign branch, indexed alphabetically according to people's names, locations, subjects, occupations etc. It is simply a case of working out your set of search words and trying them out for each decade. I found more references there in three days than in a month at the IOR. Moreover, you will generally receive **original** consultations (i.e. the actual letters signed by the sender, rather than copies made out into volumes of consultations). So if, like me, you have an ancestor who worked in any HEIC department, you can obtain photocopies of their original letters – much more satisfying than simply having to transcribe the substance of letters as at the IOR.

It was, however, even more pleasing to find unexpected correspondence relating to other family members! Simply by looking up our family surnames in the indexes, I found many references to family members. For example; I discovered that Joseph Short's daughter had reported to Government on the state of affairs in Lucknow during the siege, and had confirmed that the 'English Captives in Oude' were still alive and being cared for by Daroga Mir Wajid Ali. I even came across my grandfather's brother writing to Government asking for details of Alexander Speirs' military career. Clearly, without the comprehensive indexes available at the NAI, I would not have had a chance of discovering this correspondence - even though it is duplicated amongst the thousands of volumes at the IOR. On my second trip to India, I volunteered to look up names for people on the 'Rootsweb India' list. Although I drew blanks in

the case of six out of the seven people I was searching for, at least it only took me an hour or so to confirm that they did not appear in a 40 year period of records. There is no way to do a similar search at the IOR. So I would strongly recommend a trip to the NAI if you are visiting India. If not, why not ask anyone doing research there to check your family surname(s) in these indexes for you – it could be very worthwhile.

I found that in nearly all cases the Political Consultations I looked up at the NAI had the same Consultation number and date in the IOR volumes. So that, for instance, India Political Consultation No 50 on the 1st March 1843 is a letter from my ancestor at both archives – although the IOR has given their volumes a reference (in this case P/196/28) which does not repeat at the NAI. However, in the case of Judicial and Financial Consultations, it is not so simple, and the NAI have files labelled A or B where the A files were of primary importance and the B files were generally destroyed after a set period. This does not repeat at the IOR and I could find no correspondence between their reference numbers. It was infuriating to find that the only letters from another of my ancestors are referenced in the indexes under Judicial and Financial B files – only to find that the originals have been destroyed. But such is life!

One rather frustrating bit of bureaucracy at the NAI is the fact that the staff there only take orders for volumes at three set times during the day (10am, 12.30 and 3pm from memory), and they often take four hours to process your order. So if you miss one of their deadlines, you could be twiddling your thumbs all day! Another frustration, which affects all research in India, is the excessive number of public holidays, when of course all libraries and archives are closed. So I recommend a check on dates of public holidays before finalising any proposed research trip.

To gain admission to any archives in India, you will need to obtain a letter of introduction from your country's High Commission in India. The National Archives require a specific letter addressed to them, whilst other State Archives will accept a photocopied "to whom it may concern" letter. I obtained both of these on my first day in Delhi, from the British High Commission at Chanakyapuri, New Delhi, 1100-21 (Tel: 6872161, Fax: 6872882) for a fee of about £20.

Besides the National Archives, I also visited the State Archives listed below, with relatively low rates of success for my particular research. Whilst at Lucknow, however, I also tried the Wasika Office (this is the office which has assessed claims to wasikas and distributed these perpetual pensions since their inception in 1819). To anyone whose family is entitled to a wasika, I would thoroughly recommend a visit to this office. The fact that these pensions continue forever meant that families were prepared to fight each other tooth and nail to assert their claims. I found several amusing court cases amongst this potentially dry correspondence, and instances where wife-beating, debauchery etc were being cited as reasons to discontinue a particular person's wasika in favour of the claimant! However, I must caution that it is very difficult to get the necessary assistance from the staff there. I often only managed to achieve an hour's work a day at this office – such is the pace of life at Lucknow!

If you want to visit the NAI or any State Archives, you may well have difficulties finding it, as my experience shows that hardly anyone knows of their existence! So, here are precise addresses for those I've visited.

Madhya Pradesh State Archives In two sections, the administrative block (to gain admission) is at D Block, Old Secretariat, Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh (Tel: 0755 540461). The actual record rooms are at C Wing, Upper Basement, New Secretariat, Satpura Bhavan, Bhopal. This Archive includes most of the records of the Nagpore Residency.

West Bengal State Archives In two main sections. For modern records (1901 onwards): Writers Building, Dalhousie Square, Calcutta. Old records (1757-1900): 6 Bhavani Dutta Lane, Calcutta 700073 – this is close to Presidency College, at the University of Calcutta. Well organised with knowledgeable staff.

Uttar Pradesh State Archives *Main office* at: Mandir Marg, Mahanagar, Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh. Almost exclusively records of the Chief Commissioners for both Oudh and NWP. Very few pre-mutiny records and no Residency records. The index system at this archives is a mess!

Sub office: off Lala Sitaram Road, opposite Kulbhasker Ashram Degree College, Allahabad. (this road leads to Govt Central library, turn right) a well organised archives, with helpful staff.

National Archives of India Janpath, New Delhi. From Connaught Square, continue on Janpath to a roundabout with the Meridian Hotel on the right hand side. The National Archives is just after the next roundabout, on the right hand side.

The Headquarters of the Madras Artillery at Saint Thomas's Mount

By Peter Bailey`

Several tens of thousands of our ancestors who joined the Madras Artillery and Royal Artillery lived and served at the headquarters of the Madras Artillery at St. Thomas's Mount, some seven or eight miles south-west of Fort St. George in Madras. Although a number of publications give some details of this particularly important depôt, strangely it is difficult to obtain much of an idea as to what it was like. However, I have managed to find a report, written some time between 1852 and 1861, contained in Major Leslie's *The History of 'A' Company 2nd Battalion, Madras Artillery*. Leslie writes as follows:

"The Head Quarters of the Madras Artillery from 1774, it originated from the recommendation of Colonel James, the then Commandant of Artillery. The following description of the cantonment as it was a century ago¹ may prove interesting.



St. Thomas' Mount Artillery Depôt & Barracks

(Photo taken from top of the Mount c. 1890)

From the entrance from Madras at the Lucky Bungalow to the intersection of the upper and lower roads in the direction of Pallavaram, the extreme length is about a mile, the width varying at various points. To the westward and immediately under the Mount are two ranges of European Barracks for the two battalions of Artillery: one immediately facing the very extensive Parade Ground, which form the wings of the cantonment, and the other, more to the southward fronting the Protestant Church, and the European Hospital. Both barracks have been

¹ Although Leslie indicates that the report from which he quotes was about 100 years old at the time of his writing in 1908, other evidence puts the work much later. Reference, in particular, to the memorial to Major Oakes, once Director of the Artillery Depôt, shows the date must be after 1852 since Oakes died (of sunstroke in Burma!) in that year. He was the only officer of that name ever to serve with the Madras Artillery. Internal evidence indicates that the report was written before the demise of the Company's Artillery in 1861. It can therefore be dated between 1852 and 1861.

considerably improved of late and the ventilation better attended to. Whilst the European Hospital, by the addition of an upper storey, has been made an excellent airy building.

The place of arms of the Golundauze, or Native Artillery, with the native hospital and lines for two companies is to the south-east and quite off the public road. The lines consist of three parallel rows of brick and tiled houses, each with a brick wall running before it.

Lines and a hospital for two troops of Horse Artillery lie at the southern extremity of the Mount and are excellent and airy buildings.

The church is a very neat and well-built structure erected in 1825-26. It was recently struck by lightning on a Thursday evening shortly after the congregation had departed, with but slight damage. The other places of worship at the Mount are a small neat Gothic Wesleyan Chapel at the foot of the Mount steps; a building about 200 yards to the north of it, formerly for the Protestant congregation, now converted to a Roman Catholic chapel, the Portuguese Roman Catholic chapel on the Mount named 'The Expectation of the Blessed Virgin' and a smaller one near the Practice Ground, close to 'Fiddler's Elbow', named 'The Presentation of the Blessed Virgin', built in 1764.

The remaining public buildings are the Artillery Dépôt, which has been greatly enlarged since its foundation in 1824 and now contains a model room and a printing and lithographic press. There is also a percussion cap manufactory on the premises which supplies the whole army of Fort St. George with that indispensable article of equipment.

Immediately to the southward of it lies the Artillery Mess House, acknowledged to be the finest in all India, and able to accommodate a party of eighty at dinner without inconvenience. Erected in the form of a 'double-T' the southern cross contains an excellent library whilst the opposite end is fitted up as a ballroom with the orchestra laid out from its centre. In the compound are the billiards room, the racket court and the smoking divan. The Old Laboratory, in the direction of the practice ground, is now chiefly used as a store room.

The men also have their places of resort for amusement or instruction. Each barrack square contains a ball alley; there is a skittle ground and bagatelle boards in very excellent condition and a fine canteen, which also takes in newspapers and periodicals. There is a school for the cantonment with a considerable number of pupils, and one for adults, being constructed on top of the most southerly range of barracks.

The Kharkhana Lines or Cattle Dépôts for three batteries occupy the vacant space in front of the north face of the Mount; the solitary cells for the European Foot Artillery lie to the right of these, those of the Horse Artillery being perched on a spur of the Mount near their own lines; and immediately in front of these lies the burial ground which, although extensive, has been greatly limited by the number of monuments erected in it.

Of monuments and memorials of distinguished officers of the corps of Artillery, there are the cenotaph to Colonel Dalrymple, at the north-east angle of the parade ground, an obelisk in memory of General Sydenham, in the church compound; a granite column to Colonel Noble C.B., erected by the men of the Horse Artillery on the shoulder of the Mount, overlooking their lines, a magnificent half-length marble bust by Chantry to the same, placed by the officers of the corps in the church, and handsome marble tablets to the memories of Colonel Derville, Major Oakes, Capt. Byam, Lieut. Beadnell, Surgeons Porteous and Grant. The Artillery Mess contains two fine oil paintings hung at either end of the dining room of the present Maj. Gen. Montgomerie C.B. and Col. Noble C.B.

The batteries for the annual practice of the corps are raised on the left of, and in a direct line with the northern wall of the church yard. The butt raises its head at 600 yards in front and to the north and the range may be said to be unequalled in extent being 5,000 yards.

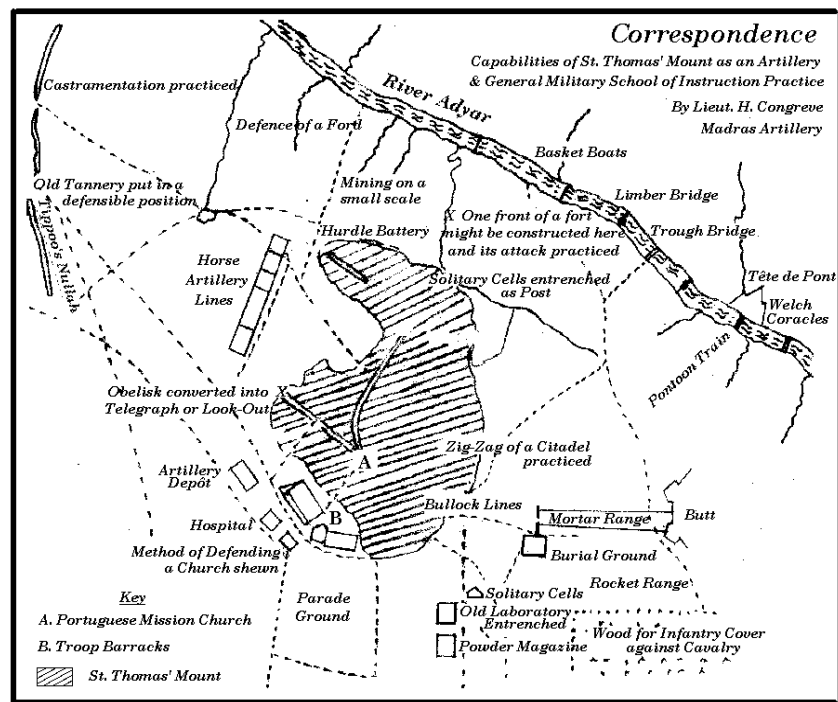
The band plays twice a week (Wednesdays and Saturdays) on the Parade Ground.

The Mount itself, from which the station derives its name, is about 220 feet high and has a signal station on the summit from which vessels approaching from the southward are made out in ordinary weather a considerable time before they are visible from Fort St. George. The climate of the Mount is esteemed salubrious and cholera, although not unknown, does not prevail to the same extent which it does in other parts of the Presidency. When it visits the Mount, it is chiefly confined to the bazaars and the lines of the native followers of the Horse Artillery.

One solitary instance of its adherence to Europeans occurred in 1824 when H.M. 48th Regt., recently arrived from New South Wales, in consequence of suffering from Cholera, was ordered up to the European Barracks for a change in May, the Artillery being marched down to occupy the barracks vacated by them in Fort St. George. Both parties met at the Cenotaph, broke off and freely inter-mingled with each other for half an hour. The Artillery, although moving into barracks which no steps had been taken to purify, had but two cases, both of which recovered; the 48th retained the cholera for three to four months and it was almost wholly confined to the corps. Fever of an obstinate remittent type appears more prevalent than formerly, which may be attributed to the unchecked growth of the hedges.

The accompanying sketch is taken from a presentation, apparently made to the Special Board of Artillery Officers in Calcutta in 1842, by a Lieut. H. Congreve of the Madras Artillery. This must be Harry Congreve who was a Lieutenant between 1st April 1834 and 13th December 1842 when he was promoted to Brevet Captain. It is wondered if he is related to the celebrated Sir William Congreve who developed rockets and the tactics for their operation. In any case it appears to confirm the date of the sketch as between those dates – and probably that it was prepared for the presentation in 1842, just prior to his promotion.

The sketch presented here is my own made from an original so tightly bound into a book as to make photocopying virtually impossible. However, it is the only plan that I have come across, which depicts the layout of the 'Mount' in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The original contains more of Congreve's designs to develop the site into a highly sophisticated practice ground which would have greatly altered it!



It is noteworthy that the sketch depicts only the military installations. The Catholic and Wesleyan chapels are not shown, nor are the houses of the old Portuguese and more recent English communities indicated. All these certainly existed in 1842. Did Congreve have designs on their removal in the interests of longer term military efficiency ?

The Autobiography of David Dinwiddie

Born 1818 Penpont, Scotland – Died 1880 Bangalore, India

A letter written to his brother Alexander, begun in 1864 and finished in 1878, currently in the possession of Brian Duncan and transcribed by Ruth Croft.

Part 2 (1854-1858)

(The first instalment appeared in the previous issue of the Journal and the final part will appear in the next. The story now resumes with Dinwiddie's return to Madras from Burma where he had been serving in the Second Burmese War. A few excisions have been made for the sake of brevity, indicated by a row of three asterisks.)

The vessel which carried the troop back to Madras made slow progress, having stormy weather, with a head-wind all the way. We were obliged to make repeated tacks to gain ground to windward. This had to be done night and day, the soldiers of the troop assisting the sailors who were natives of India.

The distance, as the crow flies is about 1,000 miles from Madras, and instead of being only a ten-days voyage, as it was when we sailed over with a fair wind in 1852, we were just forty days crossing the Bay of Bengal on our return in 1854, with a foul wind. The consequence was we were half starved during the latter part of the voyage, being placed on short rations and water.

Sighting the light-house of Madras on the night of the 12th August, we crossed the surf (in the usual country-boats without a tack in them) the following day, where those dear to us were ready to give us a hearty welcome. On stepping on shore the survivors of the troop had reason to be thankful for their safe return to Madras once more. We marched up to the original Saint Thomas's Mount, a little hill, on which a Portuguese chapel has stood (eight miles distant from Madras) for centuries, and where people, even Bishop Heber, says St. Thomas the evangelist, died a martyr.

At the base of this Hill, the Barracks have been built, and the beautiful bungalows, with gardens attached, of the officers, civil servants of Government writers, pensioners &c., occupy the plain below in a half circle. At the distance of $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile beyond this is cultivated soil, and the open sea again 6 miles off. On the opposite side of the Hill an immense plain extends, and at 70 miles a lofty range of mountains meet the eye. In this direction, which is nearly due north, you may reach Calais opposite the cliffs of Dover by land (merely turning to the left of the Himalayan Mountains, the Northern boundary of India 28,000 feet high), walking through a few shallow rivers, and swimming through a few deep ones to effect this journey. Many other difficulties would have to be encountered, and which I am not disposed to tell you of. You can ascertain this for yourself by looking at the map.

Barring a few casualties amongst some of the families, we had a happy meeting, and "Richard was himself again." I regret to say my little boy James died twenty days after I left him in 1852, about one year old; on the other hand, Thomas David was born during my absence, about seven months after I left, so I lost one and gained another.

On account of my good conduct in Burmah I was promoted to Sergeant-Major a few weeks before leaving Rangoon, and in about a month after our arrival in Madras I was ordered to Bangalore with my family in two bullock carts, and joined my new troop, viz., the E. Troop Horse Artillery (then under command of Captain Grant) in the month of October 1854. This same Captain Grant was the officer who had command of the Horse Artillery recruits, (of which

I was one) on the march from the Mount to Bangalore in 1841. He was then only a recruit himself; a fine-looking, smooth faced, delicate lad, fresh from the highlands of Scotland. At this time, viz., 1854, he had the appearance of a man of forty, being much pitted with small-pox, which he had suffered from since I last met him in 1841 his hair as grey as a badger. On this march which I refer to, the recruits young and wild, like unbroken colts, did as they chose; the consequence was a cart load of leg-irons and hand-cuffs were sent down from Bangalore to meet us, under the charge of an experienced officer, named MacIntyre, of the Horse Artillery, and a sergeant of the same corps, with orders from the Officer Commanding the Horse Brigade to put us all in fetters if necessary. When they arrived and enquired into our conduct, they found that the recruits were more sinned against than sinning, and that it was through the misconduct and mismanagement of half a dozen old soldiers of the Foot Artillery returning from sick leave, and who had the management of the young recruits under the young officer, who were the cause of all our mishaps. The story of this march alone would fill a volume, relating the fun and frolick, fighting single handed ourselves, and in pitched battles with the native villagers on our route.

With my wife and two little ones, Jane and Thomas David, I found myself very comfortable with the increased pay of Sergeant-Major in my new troop. On the 5th August 1855 another son was born, whom I called Robert, after my father, instead of Robert who died in Jaulnah, on the 28th August 1851.

The Crimean War had at this time been going on with heavy loss to the British, and more help was called for from India. The 12th Lancers, a fine body of men, then in Bangalore, were ordered to join Lord Raglan's Army, via the Red Sea, the desert, and Egypt, under the command of Colonel Pole. They had to embark at Mangalore on the Western Coast, on the Peninsula of India, to which Port they had to travel over hills and mountains, 230 miles from Bangalore.

I, having been used to lift horses in and out of ships and boats during my term of service, was selected to assist in embarking the 600 and odd horses of the Lancers. Within twenty-four hours notice, I once more bid my family farewell. Off I went preceding the regiment two days' march, with two men, faithful and true, of my former C. Troop, which had been ordered to garrison at Bangalore soon after I left the Mount the previous year.

This happened in January 1855, and after accomplishing my task with my usual good luck, and all the skin off my hands, pulling and dragging the horses with ropes, I returned with my two men the road I went, having had a narrow escape falling a victim to cholera; and once more joined my family. I did duty, as usual, with my new troop of Native Horse Artillery.

On the 2nd July 1857 Janet was born, and at this period came the Indian mutiny. I was at this time acting Regimental Sergeant-Major as well as Riding Master of the Horse Brigade. At this time also half of my troop was ordered off on field service with other Forces to watch the Rajah of Kurnool about 200 miles north of Bangalore, who was expected to revolt; the other half of the troop was ordered to Bengal, via Madras, where it embarked. A regiment of Native Cavalry of the Madras Presidency was also ordered to embark at the same time, but refused to go on foreign service by sea, and they were in consequence, unhorsed, disarmed, and left to follow the bent of their inclinations, i.e., to rob, to work, or to beg; while my half-troop obeyed like Europeans, disembarked at Calcutta, marched up the country close in the rear of Havelock and Neil, with the 1st Madras Fusiliers and the 78th Highlanders, gaining glory and renown, under Sir Colin Campbell at Lucknow and Cawnpore, besides having many other engagements with the enemy.

Having the important duties of Sergeant-Major and Riding-Master to perform, I was prevented from accompanying either detachment of my troop. In a few weeks, however, I was relieved of my acting appointments, by those who were legitimately entitled to hold them, and was ordered off to join my half-troop, by this time encamped at Secunderabad in the Nizam's Territories, and near the great city of Hyderabad, crowded by Mussulmans watching an opportunity to break out, murder the Europeans, and take possession, if possible, of the whole Peninsula of India, between the river Kistna and Cape Comorin. Secunderabad is 350 miles north of Bangalore, and the half-troop was sent there as soon as the danger was over at Kurnool.

Taking my family with me, I marched from Bangalore in company with the Head-Quarters and Right Wing of Her Majesty's 12th Royal Lancers, which regiment had just returned from the Crimea via the Cape of Good Hope. This was the same regiment I assisted in embarking at Bangalore in 1855.

Marching in company with the Lancers, I had the command of about thirty Europeans (Horse Artillerymen) and forty-six horses, with a corresponding number of Native horse-keepers and grass-cutters destined to join the European A. Troop of Horse Artillery at Secunderabad, where an army was being organized for a campaign against the mutineers in Bengal. On the march from Bangalore with the Lancers, and on arrival on the banks of the river Tumboodra, near Kurnool, a telegraph message was received from the General commanding the troops at Secunderabad, ordering Sergeant-Major Dinwiddie to quit company with the Lancers, who were to follow by regular marches, and push on by forced marches to Secunderabad with the detachment of European Horse Artillery, horses only.

I started the same night, leaving my family to follow in company with the families of the Lancers, and by making four marches every twenty-four hours, I reached Secunderabad (distance 150 miles) in four days, when I delivered over my charge, and joined my own half-troop then commanded by Captain Nuttall at Secunderabad. In nineteen days after this my family joined me, and we commenced house-keeping again.

This was on the 19th January 1858, having left Bangalore on the 25th November 1857. On the 30th of the same month, viz., January 1858, another telegraph message came from the Horse Artillery Head-Quarters, Bangalore, ordering me to join another Native troop of Horse Artillery, the F. troop, under the command of Major Brice, then en route to join Major-General Whitlock's Army destined to quell the mutiny in Central India and which was at this time assembling at Kamptee.

So, leaving my family behind, I was off the next day having a good horse to ride, a groom to look after him, and my accoutrements, and who also acted as cook and grass-cutter as we marched along, and a strong bullock with driver, to carry my baggage, cooking utensils &c., all of which I was entitled to free of expense from the Government; I had only to add a few rupees to my servant's wages for any extra help, and purchase my own food on the way from day to day. Fortunately Mrs. Dinwiddie had provided me with a good stock of cooking requisites, such as flour, ghee (melted butter), salt-fish, and dried meat, commonly called Ding-Ding. Had this forethought and provision not been made, my fare on the way would have been spare indeed, as I found the villagers near the road had no poultry, or anything else convertible into food, which would be the equivalent of a soldier's rations to me, except their lean cattle, which they had in abundance, and half-starved dogs and cats. Rice was the only article of food I could procure. All other edibles had been used up by the different regiments, which had recently passed through the same country on account of the mutiny in Bengal. For eight days and nights I pushed along three or four marches daily, all alone through a dangerous country, when I overtook the A. troop European Horse Artillery, under the command of Major Maine, at a town called Unkreef, on the north side of the Nirmal mountains, between Secunderabad and

Kamptee, one of the ten thousand spots on the map of India infested by tigers, &c. I forget the distance I travelled over in this fashion before joining the European troop, but I well recollect myself, horse, pack-bullocks, and servants were all knocked up with the over-marching and want of sleep; so much so, that the servants begged earnestly for only one hour's rest, and would have gladly laid down in the middle of the road.

* * *

Having no duty to perform with this troop, I jogged along comfortably, arriving with it at Kamptee in due course, where we halted for repairs &c., for about five days; the rough uneven roads uphill and down-dale, crossing stony ravines and rocky beds of rivers, shattered the wheels of the guns and wagons so much as to make them almost unfit for field service. This was remedied by the assistance received from the Arsenal of Nagpore, ten miles from Kamptee. Our next point towards the country of the mutineers was Jubbulpore, about 170 miles north of Kamptee. Here we were joined by more troops, including a siege train drawn by elephants. We could lose no time, so pushed on to join General Whitlock's army, waiting for us at Damoh, eighty miles to the westward of Jubbulpore.

Here I first took up my proper appointment, as Sergeant-Major of the F. Troop, Native Horse Artillery, on the 13th March 1858. I was now 1,100 miles from Bangalore, my starting point, on the 25th November of the previous year.

* * *

Major Brice, now Major-General was, as I mentioned above, in command of the F. Troop of which I had now the honour to be Sergeant-Major. The Sergeant-Major of a Regiment, Troop, or Company, of whatever branch of the Military Service, of a Nation or Kingdom to which he may belong, is the mainstay of discipline and order. He stands between his Commanding Officer and those under him as a guiding agent in the matter of discipline; a good Sergeant-Major is therefore an invaluable officer, and knowing Major Brice as Lieutenant and Adjutant of the Horse Brigade at Bangalore in 1844, I felt quite at home in my new troop, and exerted myself accordingly to conduct the duties of my station, in the office; or the more important duties, on the march, in the camp, or in the Field of Battle, to the honor of all concerned and to my own credit.

To show you that all native troops during this time were not in open mutiny, I may mention that this very F. Troop when under the Command of Major Brice, in Secunderabad, was the means, under his well ordered plans, of keeping the large city of Hyderabad in awe and order, and under Providence, saved also the southern part of India from the fate of Bengal. For this important service, I believe, Major Brice received his military honours, and now, 1864, holds a good situation as Inspector of Artillery. Just think of the respect the native Mussulmans of this Troop must have held their Commanding Officer in, when they fired at and killed a number of their own caste and countrymen at a moment when the whole city of fanatics were ready to break out at the slightest success of their leaders, and murder every man, woman, and child of European descent belonging to the garrison of Secunderabad, which is situated a few miles from the Residence of their King or Rajah, the Nizam. If the Sepoys in Hyderabad city had not been held in check by this native troop at this critical moment, the entire people of the country from Cape Comorin to the river Nerbuddah, might have committed themselves, under the example of the Madras Native Army, which had been hourly expected to break out in open rebellion as had been the case in Bengal, in May and June the preceding year, viz., 1857.

The above mentioned timely check kept the rebellious men within the city walls, and Major Brice for his successful tact in due time received as I have mentioned, his reward viz., a C.B.

I had at this time acquired a little knowledge of the Hindustanee language, and was able to make myself understood, when coming in contact with the Sepoys of my troop; hence I had no difficulty in doing my duty to the satisfaction of the Commanding-Officer, the 115 men which composed the troop, and myself.

When the Army under General Whitlock was complete in men and material, it moved forward on the 20th March, and, although a small army compared to those of Napoleon and Wellington, yet we felt confident in our leader and marched cheerfully on, sanguinely to meet the foe.

At Jubbulpore we first beheld the depredations of the mutineers, who had burnt down and destroyed all that they thought useful to the Government and, marching towards the centre of Bengal en route to Delhi, had laid waste and burned down as much of Government property as they had time to do to on their line of march. I have referred to one Bengal Regiment only, the one which garrisoned Jubbulpore a few months previous to our arrival there. We passed through villages en route, but no living soul was to be seen in the villages near our line of march; except a few old men and women who were unable to leave their houses, all others who could shift for themselves unaided had, together with their cattle &c., hid themselves in the distant jungles, and hills in the neighbourhood, in the same way as did the Covenanters in the days of Charles the First, and Claverhouse in persecuted Scotland. These poor innocent inhabitants not knowing whether we were marching through their country as friends or foes.

General Whitlock left Damoh on the 20th March 1858, and after harrassing and long marches day and night, we arrived at the scene of the action, engaged with, and defeated the enemy three times by the 19th of the following month, in spite of our hardships and fatigue, having travelled over about 200 miles of rough roads, through extensive plains, and over rocky mountains in Bundelcund.

The Battle of Banda was fought on the 19th April, one only of the hundreds fought during the Indian Mutiny, by the different divisions of the British Forces, separated from each other at varying distances from 20 to 1500 miles, and located at all points of the compass, from Barrackpore, near Calcutta where the mutiny first commenced, to Lucknow, Delhi, Guyloré [Gwalior ?], and the frontiers of the Punjab.

The enemy, at the battle of Banda numbered about 12,000, having numerous guns, well manned by old Artillerymen of the late E.I. Company's army, also mutineer Sepoys acting as Infantry and Cavalry, well mounted, armed with swords and fusils, taken from the magazines and barracks, without the lawful permission of their owners, viz., 'John Company' as the Europeans and Natives irreverently called our first Governing Constitution in India. General Whitlock's force numbered under 4,000, half of whom were Natives of the Madras Presidency, and the other half Europeans. Expecting a night attack on the 18th, we were under arms at sun-set, and moved a few miles out of Camp, where we formed up in "battle array" and remained so till near daylight the following morning, when we advanced upon, and engaged with the enemy, completely routing them by noon of the same day.

You must excuse for obvious reasons, my not going into the details of the carnage. Suffice it to say, I escaped unhurt, and right or wrong, laid seven mutineers low in the dust that day with my sword and pistol alone. Major Brice, early in the morning had given me the command of a Brigade of guns, hence how many more I had been instrumental in killing at long range that day with shot and shell I cannot tell. God forgive me if I did more than my duty. It must be recollected the foe we engaged with here, were many of them the same who spared not the men, women, and children of the Europeans who fell into their hands at the massacre at Cawnpore. No doubt you have heard of the circumstances connected with the death of so

many helpless men, women, and children I allude to. We were now within a short distance of that town, (40 miles) as the crow flies.

The day after the battle we entered the city of Banda, took possession of the palace of the Rajah, who had made his escape the previous day. The British colours were hoisted in due form, and the usual search for treasure made by the prize agents. A great quantity of money, jewels and valuable property was found, a small portion of which I hope to receive as prize-money, perhaps some years hence.

Our army encamped in the open country round the city, and were obliged to wait for some weeks to allow reinforcements to join us from the low country, as much work in the destruction of human life had to be done. In the meanwhile, prisoners and suspected persons from the surrounding country were brought into camp, tried, and if found guilty, hanged at once.

I have seen nine native officers and Sepoys (rebels) hanging by the neck at the same time from the branches of a single tree in the centre of our camp, who on their trial had apparently felt little concern about their fate. Those blown away from guns and shot by musketry by hundreds, after due trial by the Military authorities in different parts of India, met their death, as seemed to us, as true Mussulmans or Brahmins, and considered their fate, no doubt, as the fate of true martyrs. So sanguine were they in this matter that even the women have been known to volunteer to share the same fate as their husbands, their fathers, or brothers.

The hot season of the year had now set in, and many of our men, Europeans and Natives, died in camp from the effects of sun-stroke. Cholera, Dysentery and Fever also did their work. Strange to say our sufferings should be enhanced now, while during the excitement on the line of march and hard work, comparatively few casualties from the same cause occurred.

Banda (when the Mutiny broke out) had a garrison, composed principally of Native troops, commanded by European officers. It also contained civil residents comprising Government employees, who lived in peace and comfort previous to the mutiny in Banda. Now all was desolation, the withering blast of the Mutiny was stamped on every thing; officers' bungalows, once like little palaces with their neat inclosures and gardens, were now a mass of burnt ruins, the ghostly walls alone standing, to denote the place where so and so, with his wife and little ones once lived in peace and comfort; believing the Sepoys "true to their allegiance." They only proved, however, faithful in every point to-day; and treacherous demons the next, who took delight in embruing their hands in the blood of the infidel dogs or Feringhees, as the natives call the Europeans. The church of Banda, once a beautiful building had not a door or window left, all had been destroyed or carried away; and the grave-stones and monuments in the burial ground were broken to pieces, or turned upside down.

On the 13th March, the same day I joined the army at Damoh, I had been unexpectedly and without previous knowledge (at the time being above 1,000 miles distant) appointed Adjutant of a Native Regiment, to be formed at Pallavaram, near Madras: and which was to be called the "1st Pegu Police Battalion" after the name of the province annexed from Burmah in 1853, and to number 1,227 bayonets, viz., 64 havildars, 63 naigues [naiks?], 1,100 privates, besides 10 Europeans, non-commissioned officers (Sergeant-Majors) one for each company, the same number of native officers, 22 buglers, 22 water-carriers, 10 lascars, 3 artificers, and 2 chucklers [a low caste – shoemakers]; besides, recruit and pension boys, to be added as casualties occurred, that is, when the father of a family having a son, died while in the service, his eldest son received as pay Rs. 3-8. The whole force to be commanded by an officer of the Line, he having only two subordinate officers to assist him, viz., an Adjutant and a Quarter-Master, who were to be taken from the non-commissioned or Warrant Grade of the European portion of the

Madras Army, and on whom would fall all the official and heavy duties, drill, &c., of the regiment.

The news of this 'good fortune' came to me while I lay stretched at full length one hot day in the beginning of May (I forget the exact date) on my narrow, hard bed in my tent, covered over with at least one-sixteenth of an inch of hot sand. The wind had been blowing hot and strong, as usual, in this part of India at this time of year, and the tents were hot and not sand-proof. When we found that a little rest was necessary, we laid down shutting our eyes, and letting the dust fall where it thought proper, (for some part of the tent must be kept open for light and air) which had no respect of persons, officers and men being served alike. As soon as the sun declined daily, all this misery ceased also, and we slept sound at night if we had nothing else to attend to.

The above appointment I may mention, had been conferred on me as a reward for my previous good conduct and services in China in 1842-43, in Burmah 1852-53, and in performing my duties properly in peaceful Garrison routine in India during 17 years. For my being brought to the notice of the Government, in the first instance, I have to thank our dear late father, through Colonel Sheriff, whose wife was related to Lauderdale Maitland, our father's landlord, secondly, my good friend Mr. Pritchard (uncle to my late wife), backed by my former recommendations from several officers, and last but not least, Colonel F. Burgoyne, at this time (1865) in command of the Madras Horse Artillery, of which splendid corps (equal to any Horse Artillery in the world) I was then one of the six troop Sergeant-Majors, the Madras Horse Brigade of Artillery being then composed of four European and two Native troops, forming a regiment of about 800 officers and men and 1,000 horses.

(To be continued)