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William Westall in India

By Richard J Westall

Two hundred years ago, in February 1805, my great-great grandfather the artist William Westall, ARA (1781-1850) returned to England from India where, during the previous year, he had spent a fruitful three months touring the country. In order to appreciate the relevance of this short visit we need to consider events that preceded it.

William had been born in Hertford, the only surviving son of his father Benjamin's second marriage. William had shown early talent as an artist and was given instruction by his elder half-brother Richard Westall, RA (1765-1836) who had become a fashionable figure at the Royal Academy of Arts. Richard had been taught by John Alefounder, with whom he shared an address in 1784. Alefounder left for India in the following year and painted a portrait of Mrs Graham of Kinross and child, attended by a *jamader*. He died in India in 1795.

This was but one link of the Westall family network with India (see appended family tree). William Westall's half-sister Mary had married William Daniell in 1801. Daniell with his uncle Thomas had travelled extensively in India between 1786 and 1794. The Daniells are of course very well known as painters of Indian scenes. Also a cousin of William Westall, Anne Carr (whose portrait with her daughter was exhibited by Richard Westall in 1790), had married William Hodges, who had spent the years 1780-1783 acquiring a portfolio of views in India. Hodges (whose portrait was exhibited by Richard Westall in 1791 and which appeared as an engraving in 1792) is of particular importance as he had been on Captain Cook's second voyage to the Pacific from 1772 to 1775. Cook's pioneering voyages had come before the expedition which William Westall had just completed as landscape artist for Matthew Flinders on the investigator's circumnavigation of Australia between 1801 and 1803.

The reason for William's presence in India was a shipwreck of Flinders' vessel off the Australian coast. This resulted in Westall visiting China for six months before travelling on to India. He made sure his Australian drawings were sent back to England, but it is plain that he was not satisfied with his depictions of that continent. The scenery did not match that which he had seen conveyed by Hodges and the Daniells. Historically Westall's talented Australian work is highly valued but for the artist, steeped in the contemporary fashion for exotic, sublime and picturesque views, India was a great attraction. If this artistic judgement was correct it met strong disapproval from the Admiralty in later years who considered the journey was outside the remit of his designated task.

Westall reached Bombay on *The Carron* on 30 April 1804 having received approval for the visit from the East India Company. On his arrival he undertook a journey into the neighbouring

mountains (known as the Western Ghats) of the Maratha country with a passport obtained from Sir Arthur Wellesley (later the Duke of Wellington) then a Major-General commanding East India Company and British forces in the area, and while in the mountains Westall encountered some of these troops. In later years (1817 and 1824) he exhibited two pictures of the Ghats at the Royal Academy, showing an artillery unit winding down the extraordinary Bhore Ghat pass.¹ In 1824 a comment on one of these paintings appeared in *The European Magazine*, vol 85: 'This picture is a grand assemblage of Indian forest scenery, with rocks and mountains, from which a river is precipitated. ... The very soul of the performance resides in that tender mixture of humid haze with the effulgence of sunlight, which confers at once beauty and vastness of dimensions on wild scenery.' In 1831 engravings of this scene appeared and it was reproduced in George Baxter's *Cabinet of Paintings* (1837). Westall also made drawings of the excavated temples of Karli and Elephanta, and some in Bombay where he gave drawing lessons to the daughters of Sir James Mackintosh, the Recorder of Bombay. The artist departed for England in mid August and was back in London by February 1805.

In 1808 William Westall put on an exhibition of foreign views and began providing drawings engraved in *The Naval Chronicle*, three of these being Indian views: *Bombay Castle*; *Mosk* [sic] *in Panwell river Dekkan, India*; and *Panwell River, Dekkan, India*. Between 1811 and 1814 Cadell & Davies published *Foreign Scenery* with nine plates after W. Westall but this volume has not been located. His most important work in the area of publishing relating to India was the provision of fifteen pictures which appeared as aquatints in Grindlay's *Scenery, costumes and architecture chiefly on the western side of India* published in two volumes by R. Ackerman (vol 1, 1826) and Smith, Elder & Co (vol 2, 1830). Six of these were based on sketches provided by soldiers, Capt Auber (four), Lt-Col Johnson (one) and Capt Grindlay (one). There was a partial re-issue of this work in one volume in 1892 with eight views after W. Westall, four of which were from sketches by others. A volume not seen was *Views in the Cities, Palaces etc on the River Ganges and Jumna* published by Ackermann in 1827. Some of the drawings used for this undiscovered publication may have been those used in *The Hindoos* published in 1834 by Charles Knight with 24 wood engravings, all from William Westall illustrations. The quality of these prints is modest but they are evidence of the artist's varied activities whilst in Asia.

Richard Westall also provided further evidence of an interest in India. In 1814 he exhibited a portrait of Fry Magniac, listed as a Magistrate/Judge in Bengal. He also completed a portrait exhibited in the same year of Charles Magniac although it is not known if he was stationed in Bengal. Both these portraits were owned at the time by Francis Magniac. Then in 1820, an edition of *The Tales of the Genii or Horam the son of Asmar*² appeared, illustrated by engravings after Richard Westall's drawings.

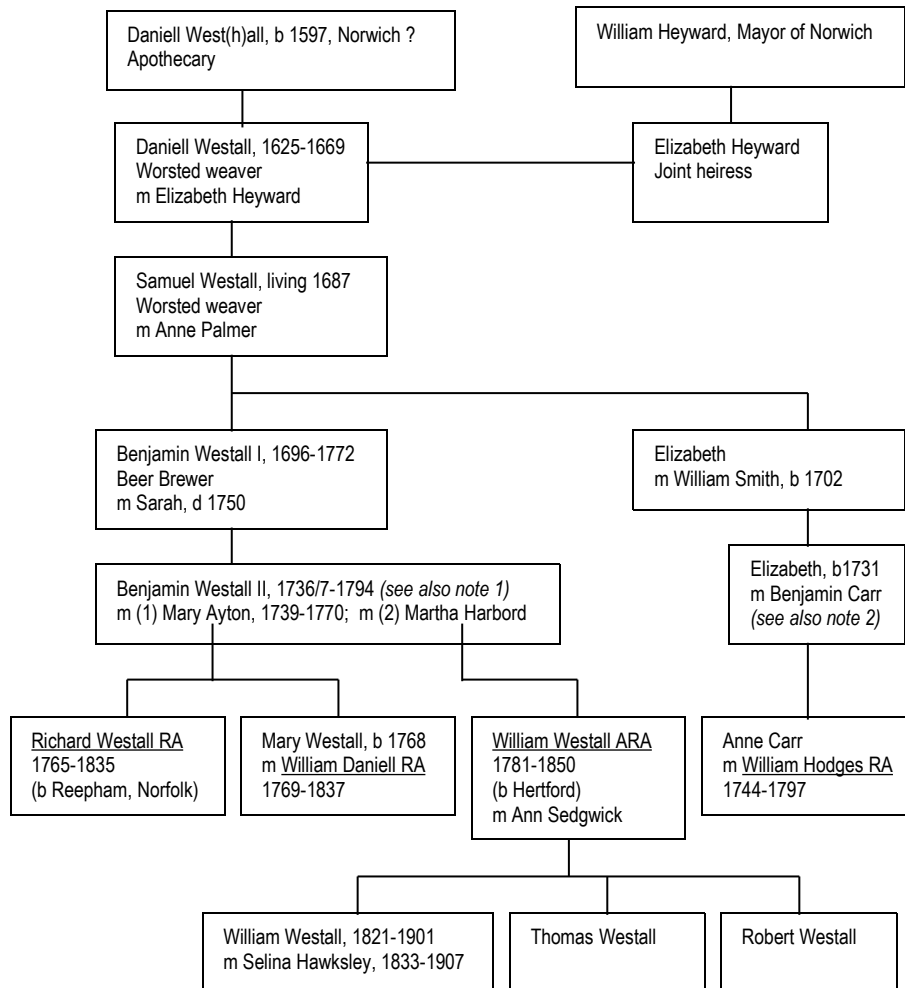
My final link of the Westalls with India involves the eldest son of the artist William Westall, also William (1821–1901) who married Selina Hawksley in 1858. Our family has a record that her paternal grandfather, Archibald Campbell Douglas Hawksley 'seems to have made a fortune in India'. His son William Hawksley was known as 'the rich man of Bath' leaving 'a considerable sum' to his son (Selina's brother) Archibald, who lost it all backing race horses!

¹ c90 miles from Bombay. According to the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (1908) 'in former times the Borghat was considered the key to the Deccan. In 1804 General Wellesley gave Bombay greater facilities of access to the Deccan by making the Borghat practicable for artillery'.

² First published in 1764, this book went through numerous editions. Purportedly a translation from a Persian manuscript by 'Sir Charles Morell, at one time Ambassador ... to the Great Mogul', Morell was in fact a pseudonym for the Rev James Ridley (briefly an East India Company chaplain and son of Dr Gloucester Ridley) and the tales are entirely his work.

Tracing these family ties to India is incomplete and any information would be gratefully received. *[The editor (address on title page) will be happy to forward information to Mr Westall.]*

The Westall Family



1 Benjamin Westall II had two other children by his first marriage, Benjamin Westall III (b 1766), and Anne Westall (1770-1862).

2 There was also a younger son by this marriage, Sir John Carr.

Sources in the India Office Records on the British Army in India

A lecture given to the Society of Genealogists on 7 July 2004 by Peter Bailey

It had never been the intention of the Honourable East India Company to undertake any territorial conquest in India. Its interests were in trade – trade with the country which was arguably the World's richest in the 17th century. Certainly it was necessary to hire staff to protect the Company's 'factories' or warehouses—*cum*—trading posts in the early days from local marauders and even from pirates and other European adventurers. However, such staff may be compared with today's 'Securicor' services rather than any regular or irregular army.

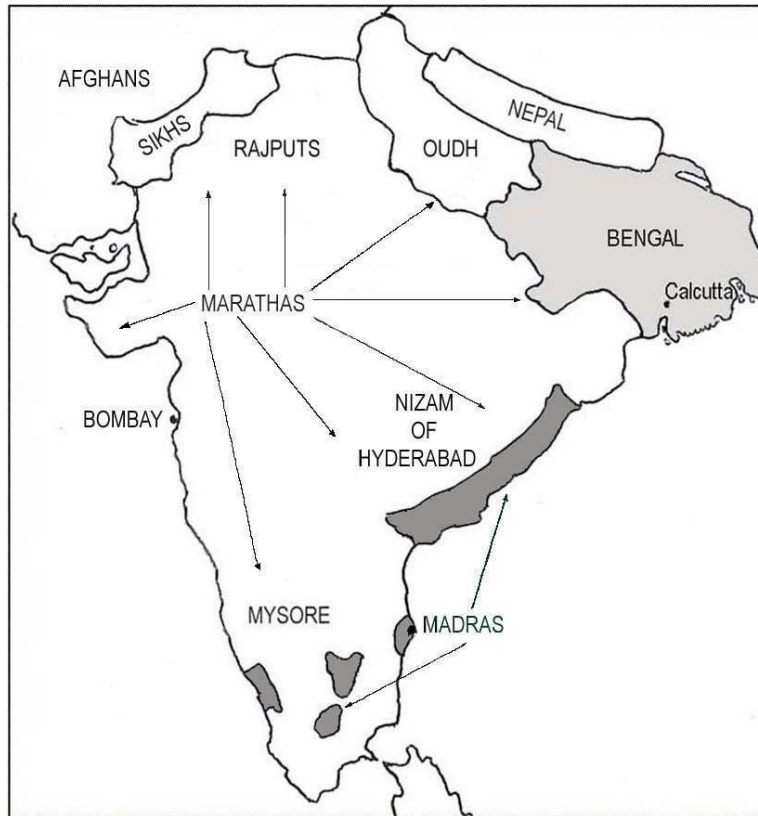
By the end of the 17th century, the Company had established itself in Fort St. George, Madras (1652), Bombay (1668) and Fort William, Calcutta in Bengal (1690). Each of these major settlements was run by a 'President' and Council and the settlements themselves became known as Presidencies. In time, each of these Presidencies came to incorporate large tracts of territory, mostly acquired by conquest, and the Company came to see the sub-continent as divided into three areas. Much of India still comprised 'Native States' which remained under the administrative control of their Princes though increasingly they acquiesced in British supremacy. The largest Presidency (with the largest army) was Bengal and in the 1830s it was decided to place its 'upper provinces' under a separate 'Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces'. However, the term Bengal was still sometimes loosely applied to the whole of north India (particularly in the context of the Bengal Army), and the 'Ecclesiastical Returns' of baptisms, marriages and burials in north India continued to be made to the Bengal Presidency. The two maps below show the rapid expansion of the three Presidencies over the brief period of only twenty-five years initiated in 1799 by the Marquess Wellesley with his Mysore and Maratha wars and completed by the Marquess of Hastings with his further conquests from the Marathas.

Each Presidency grew to have its own government, civil service – and its own army.

First British Regiment, 1662

Strictly, the first soldiers of the 'British Army' to go to India were a detachment of some 400 troops sent by King Charles II to garrison the enclave of Bombay when he received it from Portugal as part of the dowry upon his marriage to Catherine of Braganza. Unfortunately, the local Portuguese Governor had not been informed of this arrangement and the soldiers were sent to a small island off-shore for the 12 months or so needed for confirmation from Lisbon. During this time their number was reduced by the unaccustomed climate and water quality to just 97. Then, concerned at the expense of maintaining a swamp several thousand miles from England, His Majesty graciously accepted the concept of leasing it to the East India Company for some much needed revenue. The 97 soldiers became the Company's responsibility.

India in 1799¹



India in 1823



¹ The maps are drawn from information in Charles Joppen, *Historical Atlas of India*, 4th edn (London, Longmans, 1938).

Second British Regiment, 1747

During the early part of the 18th century, the wars in Europe had little influence on the activities in India of the Company and its French counterpart. Both were concerned with their profitable trading and a type of 'Gentleman's Agreement' of mutual toleration prevailed. During the War of Austrian Succession (1741-1748), however, the Governor of Fort St George woke one day to find himself surrounded by a regiment of professional French soldiers demanding entry! His minimal capacity for resistance was soon overwhelmed and the fort fell into French hands on 10 September 1746. Among the few who effected their escape was a young writer – Robert Clive – of whom the French were to hear more at a later date.

England was currently at war not only with France and her allies on the Continent, in North America and in the Caribbean, but with the Young Pretender, Bonnie Prince Charlie, in the north of England. Having overcome the latter, King George offered the 'rebel' prisoners a choice either to be executed for treason or to fight for him in India! The majority of these Scots and Irish, accepting the second option, were embarked in the fleet of Admiral Boscawen and shipped to the Coromandel coast. Here they landed and those that did not desert to the French or expire due to the heat are believed to have joined the EIC's Madras Army. The war ended shortly after their arrival, life was returning to normal, and Fort St George returned to EIC control.

Third British Regiment, 1756

Having learned a number of lessons both during the war and subsequent disputes with some of the local native princes who were supported by the French, the Company was persuaded of the necessity of establishing more formal defence forces of its own. It started recruiting for its armies both in Europe and in India. Then, with the threat of further war with France, the Company appealed to the King for military assistance and received it in the form of the 39th Regiment of Foot, called Adelercron's Regiment, after their colonel. This is generally recognized to be the first active involvement of the British Army in India and the 39th's motto became 'Primus in Indis'.

Following its participation with Clive in his campaigns in Bengal in 1757, including the re-capture of Calcutta, at Chandernagore and at Plassey, the 39th returned to Britain in 1758 and was replaced at the same time by H.M. 64th Foot under Colonel Draper. The presence of the British Army continued in India until 1947.

Expansion

The table below shows how the strength of the British Army in India grew over the next 190 years.

British Army Regiments in India

Year	Cavalry	Infantry
1756	0	1
1799	3	8
1813	2	22
1824	4	16
1839	4	21
1857	4	23
1858	4	34
1877	9	48
1891	4	51
1914	9	50
1930	5	45
1938	4	43

Worthy of note are the expansions in the late 18th century following the loss of the American Colonies and a determination not to lose those in India. Additionally it was intended to add defensive ability to protect against the designs of Napoleon Bonaparte. In 1857 further expansion was necessary to suppress the Indian Mutiny and later in the 19th century activity in the North-West Frontier demanded further troops.

The immediate effect of the Indian Mutiny was that a further 11 regiments of soldiers of the British Army were sent from the UK to assist in its suppression. However, in parallel, the Government produced the 1858 'India Act', which brought to an end the hegemony of the East India Company in India and the effective transfer of its European troops to the Crown. This resulted in the addition to the British Army in 1861 of 9 infantry regiments (101st to 109th), 3 Horse Artillery Brigades, 11 Foot Artillery Battalions, and Sappers and Miners.

In addition, measures were taken drastically to increase the ratio of European soldiers to Indian soldiers to two to one in Bengal and three to one in Madras and Bombay. To achieve this even more British regiments/battalions were sent to India, essentially doubling the number which had been stationed there prior to 1857. At the time of the Afghan War in 1879, the British Army in India comprised:

Tours of duty stipulated to be		
Cavalry Regiments	9	9 years
Infantry Regiments	50	16 years
Artillery Batteries	86	11 – 15 years
Engineers, Medical and Veterinary staff		5 years with option to extend

A List of Genealogical Sources for the British Army in India

The following list assumes that researchers will already be familiar with the resources in The National Archives, Regimental or Campaign Histories, publications such as the *London Gazette*, and also with the resources available in the Society of Genealogists' Library. The sources listed here are therefore those to be found in specialist India-related publications available in General Libraries and, in particular, items which reside in the British Library's India Office Records (IOR) section.

Registers and Directories

Particularly from the beginning of the 19th century, the British in India started to recognise that they were a significant community and social entity in a vast foreign land. It was increasingly important to publish the regulations of their society, to keep each other aware of what was happening in other parts of that country and of the relative position of individuals in that society. This gave rise to annual publications such as *The East India Register*, Presidency Almanacs and Presidency Army Lists. Information to be found in these publications includes:

a. Regimental Lists of Officers – with Location

With respect to the British Army in India, each regiment is listed in these publications, usually with its location, date of arrival and a complete list of its officers. As an example of this, the Madras Army List of 1810 lists the 22nd Light Dragoons stationed at Arcot in that year (see Appendix at p18). Note that not even the 'Army List' (starts 1740) nor Hart's Army List (starts 1839) always give this detail, particularly the location of each regiment. This latter can be especially helpful when seeking a marriage or baptism of a child.

The Directories and Almanacs broadly continue until the end of the 'Company Era'. However, less readily available, but probably even more informative overall, are the three presidential 'Army Lists'. The Madras Army List commences in 1810, although those for Bengal and Bombay do not start until 1837. All continue until well into the 'Raj' period and contain information about British Army regiments in India, similar to that given in the Tabular Summary accompanying this article (see *loose insert*). Finally, the 'Indian Army List' completes the range of dates by covering the years 1891 to 1946.

b. Birth, Marriage and Death Announcements

Of prime importance are the 'Domestic Occurrences' published in the Directories. These are announcements of Births, Marriages and Deaths, rather similar to those to be found in the major newspapers today – except that they are frequently published two years after the event in question! This delay reduces somewhat in later years and for Marriage entries may even be accompanied by other useful information such as the names of parents and the location of the family home in England. It is annoying, however, that announcements of Birth are simply of the form: 'To the lady of Captain John Smith, H.M. 15th Foot, a daughter at Bangalore.' Such an entry may – or may not – correspond with an entry in the Baptismal Records described in para (d).

c. Ships' Passenger Lists

From 1811 in Madras – 1815 and 1817 in Bengal and Bombay, respectively – until just after the Mutiny, the presidency Almanacs and Directories, and a variety of other lesser known Directories, include a list of passengers arriving in and departing from India. Generally, these are arrivals from and departures to 'Home', i.e. England. Many, however, are in fact from other places.

An example, taken at random from the Bombay Directory of 1854, states:

Arrivals at Bombay

Feb. 23. H. C. Steamer 'Victoria', Lieutenant F. D. Manners from Aden
Passengers – Capt. T. R. D Hay; Lieut. R. Bogle; Lieut. A. P. Weekes; Ensign A. McLeod; Mrs. McLeod; Ensign H. D. Davison & 5 Servants: 108 rank & file, 4 women, 9 children, 9 public followers & 17 private followers of H.M.'s 78th Highlanders

It should be noted that, with negligible exceptions, all records in the 'Registers and Directories' refer to officers only and that 'other ranks' are not included.

India Office Records

The following are sources which are essentially only to be found in the India Office Records (IOR) in the British Library in London. However, it must rapidly be explained that a great many of them have been microfilmed by the Latter Day Saints (LDS) organisation and are available for consultation in their network of Family History Centres.

d. Baptisms, Marriages and Burials

Along with its expansion into India, the East India Company brought Christianity in the form of the Anglican Church. Churches were established at all the locations in which the Company maintained a significant presence. In general, this meant where units of its armies were stationed. Each chaplain was required to maintain a register of Baptisms, Marriages and Burials in the same way as had been the practice in England since the 16th century. In addition, certified copies of these records were to be returned to the Presidency Ecclesiastical authorities, and to the East India Company and later the India Office in London, on a quarterly basis in a fashion similar to the 'Bishop's Transcripts' in England. These transcripts (1698-1947) now reside in the IOR in the British Library and are probably the most frequently researched group of documents in the Building.

Of course, these records include those relating to soldiers of the British Army stationed in India and their families, and cover 'other ranks' as well as officers.

The records are indexed by Presidency, by Event, by Initial Letter of Surname and finally by Year. The index books are on the open shelves in the IOR Reading Room and they provide a reference to the entry in the Register itself. These Registers are available on microfilm with MF readers nearby. The IOR series references are:

N/1 for Bengal
N/2 for Madras
N/3 for Bombay

Further N/ series references are available for areas outside India and, for example, for Registry Office Marriages (N/11).

All indexes and registers have been microfilmed by the LDS.

Large numbers of 'other ranks' in the British Army were Irishmen, almost all of whom were Roman Catholics. Their pastoral needs were generally satisfied by nearby Catholic Missionary Churches, usually Portuguese or French, whose clerics frequently did not speak English. Under pressure from these soldiers, and following Catholic Emancipation in England, the Company was persuaded to establish Catholic churches and to pay for their English-speaking priests. This was in the 1830's and 1840's and so Catholic records are incorporated from this date. For earlier records it is necessary to visit the parish concerned in India. A fortunate exception is that the LDS has separately filmed the records of Roman Catholic churches in the diocese of Madras-Mylapore.

e. Army Lists

Lists of British Army officers, often together with the location and/or movements of their regiments in India, are to be found in IOR record series:

L/MIL/8 (1785-1858). These are summaries of annual expenses incurred by the presidency authorities and list all officers by name. This includes the officers of the British Army whose regiments were attached to the presidency concerned, with location of the regiment. Very occasionally, 'other ranks' are named but this is so infrequent as to be negligible. It is not thought that the LDS has filmed these records.

L/MIL/17/1 (1786-1949). These are, in effect, the British Library's most accessible holdings of the 'Army Lists'. It is not thought that the LDS has filmed these records.

L/MIL/15/1-4 (1806-1865). Lists of regiments of the British Army serving in India. They provide details of promotion, leave, transfer, retirement and death for each officer, plus the movements of the regiments within India. These records may be found in LDS Film Nos. 2029979 – 81.

Again, a knowledge of location of an individual can assist in finding a vital genealogical record missing from an official source.

f. Soldiers' Enlistment Data

Lists are available in L/MIL/15/41-48 of soldiers recruited in England, sent to their regimental depôts for training in England and then embarked for India to join their regiments already stationed there. They cover the period 1868 to 1914 and provide dates, names of ships, etc. The records from 1868-1889 have been filmed by the LDS in Films Nos. 2030021 and 2030091-93.

g. Pensions taken in India

A significant number of both officers and soldiers of the British Army chose to remain in India during their retirement on pension. Records of payment of these pensions may be found in L/AG/26/7 for Officers, L/AG/26/8 for Widows and Orphans and L/AG/26/16/1-42 for soldiers, referred to as 'Chelsea Out-Pensioners'. No LDS Films of these have been identified.

h. Wills, Administrations, and Inventories

A large number of these documents are available dating from 1774 until 1948. They are to be found in series L/AG/34/29-40 and generally include all residents of India. The number of those relating to Officers and Soldiers of the British Army is rather small. These records are available in LDS Film Nos. 2046652 and 2046671-73.

i. General Orders by Government or Commander-in-Chief

For each Presidency there is a set of orders issued by the Governor (G.O.G.) or Commander-in-Chief (G.O.C.C.) on a very regular basis. These are generally relevant to the armies of the Company and include large amounts of specific information on individual soldiers. Some include references to soldiers of British Army regiments.

Again, officers feature more prominently in these records than 'other ranks'. In particular they include appointments to Committees, to serve on courts martial, authority to go on leave, etc.

Especially valuable contributions made by these records are their detailed summaries of General Courts Martial of soldiers both of the Crown and of the Company's armies. Full details of the rank, number, regiment and company of each accused are provided together with the charge, date and location of the alleged crime. Also included are the names of other soldiers who were victims of, or associated with, the alleged crime. These are followed by the verdict and sentence, if any. Most courts martial deal with 'other ranks', but many were of officers too.

These records are to be found in IOR series L/MIL/17/2 for Bengal, L/MIL/17/3 for Madras and L/MIL/17/4 for Bombay. The catalogues on the open shelves should be consulted for the precise record for the year in question. The records have not been filmed by the LDS

j. Campaign Despatches

As elsewhere in the world, Field Commanders of an army on campaign in India were required to submit despatches to the Commander-in-Chief. In essentially all campaigns in India the army was a mixture of forces of the Crown and those of the Company or, later, of the Indian Army. However, despatches covered the activities of both together. It will be understood that descriptions of individual actions generally included the activities of the officers commanding the regiment and/or company involved and their names are quoted. However occasionally a soldier, officer or private, committing a particular act of bravery is deemed worthy of being 'mentioned in despatches'.

Papers relating to military campaigns may sometimes be found in the collections of documents made for the Government's 'Board of Control' for India (IOR series F/4). In later years, they may also appear in the General Orders referred to above.

k. Unattached Lists

Prior to the Indian Mutiny each presidency had established a 'Town Major's List' (called 'Effective Supernumeraries' in Madras). This was largely composed of senior soldiers such as Sergeants, Warrant Officers and Honorary Lieutenants and Captains. Their function was to operate the support services such as Commissariat, Ordnance, Supply, etc. Following the demise of the Company's Armies in 1861, these functions were assumed by the 'Unattached List'. Soldiers who had previously served in the Town Major's List, were supplemented by N.C.O's of the British Army who requested transfer to the 'Unattached List'. This was frequently because they had married in India and preferred to remain there when their regiment was preparing to move elsewhere in the Empire. Thus, those researching soldiers who suddenly disappear from their regiment whilst it is in India, should look at the records of the 'Unattached List' of the Presidency in which their former regiment had served.

The data provided include the rank and function, age, place of birth and regiment from which the man had been transferred plus the date of his last re-enlistment. He will remain listed in these same records as a 'Pensioner' after his retirement and as a 'Casualty' when he dies. At this stage, details may be included of his estate and to whom it was bequeathed.

These records are to be found in IOR series L/MIL/10 for Bengal, L/MIL/11 for Madras and L/MIL/12 for Bombay. From the 1890s a new file series L/MIL/14 was begun which covers all India and in fact includes soldiers transferring to the 'unattached list' as early as the 1870s and their earlier career papers.

Again, the catalogues on the open shelves should be consulted for the precise record for the year in question. They have been filmed by the LDS but only catalogued for Madras in Film Nos. 1886079-83.

l. Military Orphanages

Soldiers died in India. They died not only by enemy action but because of the climate, disease and for other reasons. Some soldiers, sad to say, simply left their families in India when their regiment moved on to other parts of the Empire. For all these reasons, a number of orphans or abandoned children remained. In each presidency towards the end of the 18th century the authorities established two orphanages, known as 'asylums', one for boys and one for girls,

who were the baptised legitimate children of European soldiers. These were distinct from the orphanages run by various religious and charitable organisations.

If they exist at all, records of such children are proving particularly difficult to find, particularly prior to the taking over of the asylums by the Lawrence foundation in the second half of the 19th century. Records have been found, however, for the Madras Military Female Asylum in 1839 in IOR reference F/4/1855 Coll. 78480. This lists nearly 600 girls who had attended up to that date, very many the children of soldiers of the British Army.

m. Private Papers

The India Office Records include a large collection of 'Private Papers' donated by individuals who lived and served in India at various times in the past. These are frequently diaries, letters to and from India, etc. Contributors vary from Viceroys to private soldiers. The titles are catalogued and may be searched on a computer in the Reading Room and via the BL's website. An ancestor may well not have contributed to these records but it is possible that reference is made to him by one of his colleagues who did.

Other Sources

n. Cemeteries

Early in the 20th Century, a number of volunteers visited several cemeteries in India and transcribed the inscriptions on the tombstones. Evidently, many of these included the names and details of soldiers of the British Army. The transcriptions were published in book form. It will probably prove quite difficult to locate copies. Fortunately, the IOR has copies of many of these on the open shelves in their Reading Room.

A major source of such monumental inscriptions, however, is a series of books produced by the British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia (BACSA). They are each devoted to transcriptions of monumental inscriptions and/or burial registers from a particular cemetery and are available for purchase at modest cost from BACSA. Visitors to the British Library may also find many of these on the open shelves in the IOR Reading Room.

o. Newspapers

Large numbers of Newspapers printed in India are available at the British Library's repository in Colindale in north-west London. Microfilmed copies of many of these are available in the IOR Reading Room. Formal notification is frequently given of promotions of officers, such as may be found in the London Gazette. Otherwise, reference is made to the movements of British Army regiments and reports of their involvement in various campaigns.

In a number of these newspapers for a variety of dates, Arriving and Departing 'Passenger Lists' may be found. These are presented in a fashion similar to that illustrated in section (c) above.

p. Medals

The IOR contain lists of British Army recipients of medals for certain of the campaigns in which they were involved. These may be found in the L/MIL/5 series. These lists are mainly produced for the soldiers of the East India Company armies but a number of them include awards to soldiers of the British Army.

q. Others' Research

The Families in British India Society maintains a list of the interests of its Members. Before new research is undertaken, it may – as always – pay to check that no one else has done the same work before. The same check might be made at the Society of Genealogists and at other repositories of family history research papers.

r. Internet

As for other areas of genealogical research, the internet provides significant opportunity for access to transcripts, expert guidance, published pedigrees, etc. for descendants of soldiers who served in British India. The following are recommended:

www.fibis.org	Website of FIBIS with significant transcription data, etc.
www.ozemail.co.au/~clday/	Cathy Day's website also with much transcription data.
www.India-L@rootsweb.com	Rootsweb's 'Notice Board' website.

s. 1861 'and all that'

As a footnote, the following may be repeated. During the Indian Mutiny, the 'India Act' of 1858 took the British control in India away from the East India Company and its three armies transferred to that of the Crown. Thus, earlier records of those men transferring should be sought in the presidency army records of the EIC in the IOR. Records referring to the transfer of individual soldiers are to be found in: Bengal (L/MIL/10/324-326), Madras (L/MIL/11/282) and Bombay (L/MIL/12/288).

And finally –

A Tabular Summary of the sources mentioned above is available from FIBIS.

Further details of many of these and other records are to be found in *Baxter's Guide: Biographical Sources in the India Office Records*, 3rd edn (2004), published by the Families in British India Society in association with The British Library: see FIBIS Bookshop on this website.

Appendix

List of the Officers of the Army, Ordnance and Medical Departments, serving under the Presidency of Fort St. George²

His Majesty's Troops – as at 1 June 1810

Twenty-Second Light Dragoons – at Arcot

Rank	Names	-Dates of Commissions in the-		Remarks
		Regiment	Army	
Col.	Francis E. Gwynn	9 Mar 1794	Gen. 25 Apr 1808	Europe
Lt. Col	James Hare	22 Aug 1805	5 Dec 1799	
	Henry Davis	22 Oct 1805	1 Jan 1800	Europe
Major	T. G. Montresor	17 Dec 1802	Lt. Col. 27 Jun 1801	
	Robert Travers	25 Oct 1805		
Capt.	John Handasyde	17 Nov 1797	Maj. 25 Apr 1808	Recr. Troop.
	T. H. Dawes	30 Oct 1801		
	Henry Broome	4 Nov 1802	3 May 1800	
	Joseph Gordon	25 Jun 1803		
	Samuel Dick	24 Mar 1804	25 Jun 1802	Europe
	T. Chadwick	17 Jun 1805		
	W. Blundell	18 Jun 1805		
	J. F. Paterson	25 Oct 1805		
	James Maclean	26 Jun 1801		Recr. Troop.
	J. W. Wood	29 Feb 1804		
	James Adshead	15 Dec 1804		
	Charles Dudley	16 Dec 1804		
	B. J. Smith	15 Feb 1805		
	Joseph Vernon	1 Aug 1805		Europe
Lieut.	J. W. Parsons	3 Dec 1805		
	N. Dalrymple	17 Jul 1806		
	Richard Slegg	20 Jul 1806		
	C. J. Cozens	2 Jan 1807	18 Oct 1803	
	Francis Hale	23 Jun 1807		
	George Keir	12 Aug 1807		
	John Eden	14 Aug 1807		
	R. H. Taunton	1 Sep 1809		
	C. Middleton	25 Feb 1810	28 Apr 1806	
	J. Gillam	6 Mar 1810		
	J. W. Murray	1 May 1810		
	A. Moorhead	1 Jun 1809		Not joined
	R. M'Alpine	6 Mar 1810		Not joined
Paymaster	E. H. Hutchinson	14 Feb 1805		
Adjutant	James Adshead	18 Jun 1803		
Surgeon	Francis Edwards	9 Mar 1794		
Asst. Surgeon	F. Tymon	1 Nov 1806		
	Thomas Morgan	1 Aug 1807		Europe
Vety. Surgeon	James Thomas	10 Mar 1808		

² Note: there were two HM Cavalry Regts and twelve HM Infantry Regiments in Madras Presidency.

The Wreck of the *Ava*, 1858

By Brenda M Cook

My interest in the wreck of the *Ava* - pronounced *Ah-Wah* - was sparked during research into the Dorin family, and in particular the returning Bengal Civil Servant, Joseph Alexander Dorin. He did not travel to England on the *Ava*, but some of his luggage certainly did, since I have a reference to a salvaged item in some private correspondence. This led me to suspect that among the passengers (mainly widows and children from Lucknow and other refugees of the Mutiny) was Dorin's mistress and their bastard child. She is not listed among the passengers, either under her real name or the pseudonym she adopted during their liaison, but the list is incomplete and probably dependent on the willingness of passengers themselves to give their names to the press. Furthermore, an unaccompanied woman and child would have excited no comment in this company - she could easily have claimed that her non-existent husband had been a victim of the atrocities. This article, however, focuses on the ship's ill fated voyage, not its somewhat ambiguous lady passenger.¹

The *Ava* was a single screw steam ship of the P & O line which had been built on the Clyde in 1855. The following account of her brief career consists of edited excerpts from *The Times*, which on 25 July 1855 reported:

SOUTHAMPTON, July 24. - The P & O Co's new screw steamer *Ava*, Captain Field, arrived ... this afternoon. The *Ava* is a fine, substantially built vessel of 1,613 tons' measurement burden, with engines of 320 horse power, and was built by Messrs Tod and McGregor, of Glasgow. There are on board steam winches capable of executing all labour necessary to the ship, including the reception and removal of cargo, lowering and hoisting of yards &c. The *Ava* left the Clyde on Saturday, but experienced great delay in her passage to Southampton in consequence of dense fogs. Nevertheless, exclusive of the time she was compelled to lie to, she completed the distance in a little over 52 hours ... It is the present intention of the company to which she belongs ... to despatch her to the East to assist with the numerous duties connected with the India and China mail services.

The most authoritative account of the circumstances of the wreck is contained in a letter dated 22 February 1858 but not published in *The Times* until 7 April 1858. The writer is the Admiralty Agent, Lt. R Percival, RN, who was primarily responsible for the mails and the chests of money on board when the *Ava* sank:

Sir, - I am sorry to acquaint you with the loss of the P & O steampacket *Ava*, on the evening of the 16th [Feb], on Ceylon, nine miles to the north of Trincomalee, near Pigeon Island.²

The *Ava* left Calcutta on the 10th [Feb] for Madras, on our route to Suez, having orders to take in at Madras some treasure on Government account, to be landed at Trincomalee. We arrived at Madras on the 14th, at 3.30 p.m.; and left on the 15th, at 4 p.m., for Trincomalee; 16th, at 4 p.m. made the land (Ceylon) on the starboard bow. At 7.30 saw a steady light, supposed to be Trincomalee. At 7.55 the helm was starboarded, with orders to keep the ship four points off the land. When the land was seen on the port bow, it was then put hard a starboard, and ordered to stop the engines; but before she lost her way

¹ The author's research into the Dorin family is still continuing, but in due course it is hoped that an article on them will appear in the Journal.

² So called because of the blue rock pigeons which inhabited its holes and ledges.

after turning astern she struck and bilged upon a rock on the starboard side. The engine room was immediately full of water, and the fire put out. The Admiralty agent [*i.e. the author of this letter*] went into the mail room, but was obliged to return, finding it rapidly filling, and in less than ten minutes the deck above the mail room was covered with water, leaving no chance of recovering the mails except with the aid of divers. ... The weather at this time, light breezes and cloudy, with much swell, the ship striking heavily abaft the funnel. The crew were ordered to clear away boats to land the passengers, which was quickly done without any accident. An officer was put in charge of each boat, and all the ladies and children, and then the gentlemen, were embarked, with orders to lie by the ship until daylight. As soon as the boats had shoved off we commenced getting the treasure on deck (having on board 500 boxes, each containing 5,000 rupees). At 11.30 the mainmast went just below the top, taking with it the mizzen topmast.

17th. - Weather the same. At daylight found there was too much surf on the beach to attempt landing the passengers, therefore despatched the ladies and children to Trincomalee, where they all arrived safe. As soon as the surf moderated the remainder of the gentlemen were put on a rock near the ship, so that the use of the boats would be available for saving the mails and treasure. [*I admire Lt Percival's priorities here!*] At 10.30 observed the ship had cracked on the starboard side from gunwale to the water's edge. The people [*ie the crew*] were immediately ordered up from the after hold and commenced landing the treasure, the ship working and complaining very much, there being considerable swell on, but the weather fine. At 1.30 p.m. the ship broke in two with a loud noise just before the starboard gangway and abaft the funnel on the port side. Sometime before she parted the boxes, 200 in number, had been removed for safety further forward, but, breaking diagonally, some fell into the opening, leaving 154, which were safely landed.

18th. - Weather the same. At daylight visited the wreck. Found the after part about 20 feet astern of from where she parted and the remainder quite gone, a quantity of cargo and baggage working out through the opening and floating towards the shore. A party of the Ceylon Rifles and a body of police sent from Trincomalee to protect the property; the wreck was visited several times during the day, but nothing further is likely to be saved until the fore part breaks up. We have tents pitched on a sandy beach abreast of the wreck. During the day it is very hot, but rather cold at night. We are all well, although almost every article of bedding and wearing apparel has been lost. A great part of the crew have been sent to Trincomalee, but the captain and most of the officers, with myself, remain here, and purpose doing so while any hopes remain of saving the mails or other property.

When the ship struck, and during the time when there was any personal danger, the captain's orders were given with that coolness, and so well carried out by the officers, as to give confidence and insure safety; also the chief and second engineers, with the whole of their department, behaved most admirably. Any personal exertion on my part was quite unnecessary, but any suggestion of mine was immediately attended to. ...

21st (Sunday). - Went off with the captain [Kirton] and some divers, but they would not undertake any work while the water inside the wreck was surging so much.

Yours, &c,

R. PERCIVAL, Lieutenant R.N., Admiralty Agent.
On the Beach, near Pigeon Island, Ceylon, Monday, Feb. 22.

The above may be supplemented by the following rather more highly coloured, and presumably less accurate, version written by one of the (unnamed) passengers, and published in *The*

Times on 25 March 1858. The discrepancy about the time the ship struck - and whether it was still daylight or not - was eventually resolved in favour of the official account.

The steamer *Ava* left Calcutta for Suez on the morning of the 10th of February. On board of her were Lady Inglis the wife of the General late commanding at Lucknow,... and many other ladies and gentlemen lately besieged there. Altogether the passengers numbered upwards of 60. ... She arrived at Madras at 4 p.m. of the 14th of [Feb], took in some more passengers, chiefly ladies and children, and the treasure, and left for Trincomalee at the same hour on the 15th ... A little after 5 o'clock *[on the 16th - other accounts make this several hours later i.e. well after sunset]* the Captain imagined he must be nearing the port, and accordingly altered the course a point towards the shore. A light was there visible, and it appeared as if there were a settlement of some kind on the coast. Half an hour had not elapsed after this had been done before a large rock was visible, immediately in the course of the ship. The ladies at this time were sitting on deck, perfectly unconscious of danger, the gentlemen walking up and down, or smoking on the forecastle. They were suddenly roused from their occupation by cries, immediately following on another, of "Hard starboard", "Stop her." The words were scarcely out of the captain's mouth before the ship struck hard and fast on a rock. The passengers were all aware that something serious had happened; they did not know what. They, however, acted for the most part in the most exemplary manner under the circumstances - they remained perfectly quiet. One or two gentlemen, who happened to be forward at the time, noticed the water rushing in furiously in that part of the vessel, and at the same time the crew were observed quietly lowering the boats. All this was ominous enough, and it was almost at the same time rendered more so by the captain quietly passing an order for all the ladies to congregate on the deck. These arrangements were completed without the slightest disorder or confusion, and the six boats belonging to the steamer were lowered without a single accident. Into these the ladies first, the gentlemen afterwards, many of them scarcely conscious of their danger, were hurried, and in 15 minutes from the time the ship struck all the passengers had been safely placed in the boats. The orders issued to the several boats' commanders were to keep near the ship all night. Fortunately, the night was not dark, the breeze was moderate, and there was no sea on. Between the ship which they had just left and the shore was about a mile of water, studded with breakers and it was absolutely necessary to obey the captain's orders most strictly, and to keep near the ship. Upwards of 70 passengers ... besides stewards, ship's officers, Chinamen, and children, were crowded into six boats at 7 o'clock *[see comments above - it was probably nearer 9pm]* in the evening to cruise in a space about 100 yards square for nearly 11 hours; to be careful to approach neither too near to the ship on one side, nor to the breakers on the other. The sea was sufficiently rough to cause the most unpleasant sensations among many of the passengers, and sea-sickness raged in all its horrors. ... At last the day broke, and the wind gradually increasing made the waves rise higher. The prospect was by no means cheering. Between the boats and the coast were breakers in abundance - many visible, others just showing their heads above the horizon. Trincomalee itself was about 12 miles distant. It was therefore resolved that the boats with ladies in them should make for Trincomalee, making a large offing to avoid the rocks, while the others should attempt the coast. This course was adopted; three boats with ladies and their husbands put out to sea. One of them, the cutter, arrived at Trincomalee about noon, and gave the first intelligence of the disaster ... It would be impossible to convey an adequate sense of the kindness and hospitality of the residents of Trincomalee and of the measures taken by them to make the disaster light to the sufferers. It is a little place with from 20 to 30 European residents. On these was suddenly thrown the task of entertaining some 70 unfortunates, possessing only the clothes on their backs. And yet they did it - in such a manner, too, as to impart a real

pleasure to those who availed themselves of a hospitality evidently so genuine ... Everything that could be thought of was done, and in the welcome which they received the passengers forgot alike their misfortune and their losses.

These losses were of no ordinary nature. Many of the passengers belonged to the Lucknow garrison. They had arrived in Calcutta unpossessed of anything in the world. They had been fitted out by the relief fund in Calcutta, and the resource thus obtained was gone. But there was, perhaps, even a greater loss. Many of them had kept journals of the siege; most of these had gone the way of the rest of the baggage; only one, so far as I have heard, was discovered ... [*The journal of Lady Inglis was later published. One may suppose she occupied the best cabin, and therefore the easiest of access.*] A few boxes were subsequently washed on shore, but their contents were entirely spoiled by the salt water, and for the week that the passengers remained at Trincomalee they were dependent for a change of linen entirely on their kind hosts ... By Captain Haswell [*one of the passengers but another P & O skipper*], and by the various officers in charge of the boats, the greatest coolness and self-possession were shown. It is to the display of these qualities, indeed, that it was owing that not a single life was lost, although nearly half the passengers consisted of women and children.

It is unfortunately necessary to add one testimony of an opposite nature. The vessel had no sooner struck than the Lascars and others of the native crew rushed down to the cabins and commenced rifling them. On the following morning, when some gentlemen returned to the ship, they found the boxes in the still accessible cabins, broken open and their contents scattered. Every valuable had been abstracted. These had necessarily been left on board, the boats being sufficiently loaded as it was, and in the absence of the passengers the devastation had been committed by the native servants of the Peninsular and Oriental Company.

Further praise for the way the British Garrison at Trincomalee rose to the occasion is contained in the following letter to *The Times* on 6 April:

Sir - It is but due to the British Soldier to state the following fact. The wreck of the *Ava* was made known at Trincomalee by the arrival of the first boat load of escaped passengers immediately after Morning Service on Ash Wednesday last. The entire garrison at once voluntarily gave up the whole of their bread and prepared provisions for the almost famished unfortunates, it being impossible in so small a community to provide otherwise on the instant. Their subsequent exertions and many acts of kindness shown to the distressed I do not speak of.

I am Sir yours obediently,

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Two other pieces in *The Times* on 30 March and 5 April gave further details and discussed salvage prospects. They differed over the precise location of Pigeon Island, placing it either 12 or 15 miles north of Trincomalee (Percival had stated nine), with one correspondent adding that it was 15 miles from Fort Frederick and six from Nalavelly. Both correspondents, however, were baffled why the *Ava* was anywhere near the vicinity, one stating that 'all these rocks are down in the charts [and] even the small schooners and dhonies never come so close in, in this monsoon', while the other averred that the rock rose '12 to 15 feet above the sea, and can be discerned plainly for miles. How the *Ava* got there appears to me totally inexplicable, as Pigeon Island does not lie in a direct course to Trincomalee'. The *Ava* was 'one of the best vessels of the Peninsular and Oriental Company on the line between Calcutta and Suez' and the loss was potentially a double blow to the Company as she was carrying a new main shaft

for another P & O vessel, the *Alma*, without which the latter was useless. Not only that, but the Company had also lost the *Erin* during the past year, and since it did not insure its vessels, it would suffer heavy losses on its own insurance account.

By 20 February the passengers stranded at Trincomalee had been picked up by the steamer *Granada* and were on their way to Suez. An anxiety for everyone with relatives in India was the possible loss of the mails – so vital for enabling both the authorities and private individuals in England and India to keep in touch. The *Granada* had taken the Ceylon mails, but those from Calcutta and Madras were 'totally lost as yet' though it was hoped that they might ultimately be 'fished up' more or less undamaged provided they had been 'well soldered in iron boxes'. Another major concern was, of course, the recovery of the 500 boxes of specie, a minor one the fate of the 'large quantity of indigo and silk, not a package of which has yet come on shore; they will all come together, no doubt, the moment the foremast falls, as that will, it is supposed, split up her decks'. In the event, those responsible for the salvage operation, in their eagerness to recover the treasure chests, showed a somewhat cavalier disregard for the indigo. On 30 April *The Times* was able to report good news: 'the treasure and cargo were being rapidly got up'; the *Alma's* shaft had been recovered and fitted, and she had been due to sail on 18 April. A lively account of the salvage operation was given in a letter to *The Times*, dated 25 March (published on 13 May), from an officer on board *HMS Chesapeake*:

We have been lying off the scene of the *Ava's* wreck now for 12 days, which I assure you have not been passed idly.

The first thing to recover was an iron engine shaft intended for another of the Company's steamers, which is quite useless until it arrives; its value, therefore, to the Peninsular and Oriental Company is immense, though its intrinsic value does not exceed £2,000 or £3,000.

Our boats' crews worked away most manfully, diving down and putting lashings around it, and eventually hoisting it up to the surface. It was then made fast to a pontoon of boats and empty casks, and towed alongside the ship, where we rigged heavy purchases [*sic*], and hoisted in the mass of 10 tons weight like a plaything. We are now busy getting at the rupees in the after holds, and great interest is excited as box after box comes in, each of them worth £500, but stinking awfully of bilge. If we can get up the whole of the boxes (worth about £250,000) we flatter ourselves that the East India Government will scarcely begrudge us a few boxes to divide among ourselves for our trouble ... Yesterday we had a grand 'blow up' at the wreck, and the water all round us was discoloured with indigo; but this morning we find the explosion to have been most successful, and the boxes of rupees will now be more easily accessible. The captain and officers of the unfortunate *Ava* have run up comfortable sheds on shore, and with the assistance of native divers have done everything in their power to retrieve their misfortune; there is a strong current always setting on to shore, and this I suppose is the secret of the wreck. The captain, though a young man, is evidently a highly intelligent and valuable officer.

The last word must go to the official inquiry, reported in *The Times* on 30 June 1858:

Yesterday morning Mr Belfo, the Thames Police magistrate, assisted by Captain Walker, acting nautical assessor to the Board of Trade, resumed the inquiry at the Greenwich Police Court into the circumstances attending the loss of the Peninsular and Oriental screw steamer *Ava*, wrecked off the coast of Ceylon on the 15th of February last. When all the evidence had been given, Mr Belfo said that he and Captain Walker, from whom he had received very great assistance, had given every attention to the evidence relating to the present very important inquiry. ... He and Captain Walker both agreed with the explanation

afforded by Captain Kirton, that the primary cause of the wreck arose ... from the force of the current which had set in, and the mistaking of a false light; but, at the same time, the Court could not wholly acquit Captain Kirton of blame in the matter. ... Upon this point ... the opinion of the Court was, that Captain Kirton, possessing the knowledge he did, had neglected to take that precaution which had been alluded to so often during the inquiry - viz, that of heaving the lead. With this exception, in not having adopted such precaution, the Court held him not to blame, and although ... it was painful to express an opinion to Captain Kirton upon the point, seeing the many valuable testimonials which had been handed in as to his proficiency, skill and courtesy as a commander, still he [Belfo] and Captain Walker had a stern duty to perform. They both sympathised deeply with Captain Kirton upon his present painful position, and hoped that in his future career he would maintain the high character which he had up to the time of this occurrence earned for himself...

It might also be added in Captain Kirton's defence that research suggests that a treacherous current (called the East Monsoon Drift) runs around the south of Ceylon (Sri Lanka) which reverses direction depending on whether it is summer or winter. It is possible that Captain Kirton's navigational information was inadequate or ambiguous. He had, after all, been diverted into waters with which he was unfamiliar to convey the treasure chests to Trincomalee. Secondly, steam navigation was in its early days, and all the experienced seamen on board would have been trained in sail. The difference in steering between a sailing ship and a steam ship may have been imperfectly understood at this date. So far I have not traced any further commands by Kirton which may suggest his career was not enhanced by this business even though he was exonerated.

Registry Marriages in India

By Lawrie Butler

In the India Office Records, at the end of the three Presidency indexes of Baptisms, Marriages and Burials, there is a unique red-coated volume entitled Registrar Marriages 1852-1911, otherwise referred to as IOR Index Z/N/124. One can visit the Reading Room, refer to the three series of indexes, and remain blissfully unaware of this red volume. After all, the odd missing marriage record in one's family tree is easily explained as being due to records not being copied in the local church and therefore not transmitted to the Archdeaconry, the local Government and thence to the Court of Directors in London or otherwise as being mislaid *en route*, perhaps in shipwreck as must have happened from time to time. The British Library brochure 'Ecclesiastical Returns', however, under Marriage Indexes includes a paragraph saying:

Registrar Marriages are shown in the main series of marriage indexes by the abbreviation 'Reg' followed by a volume number. There is a separate volume covering 1852 -1911 for Bengal, Madras, Bombay and Burma which gives clear instructions at the beginning for ordering the registrar volumes (microfilms).

But nowhere is there an explanation of how and why this volume came to exist and why it started in 1852 and ended in 1911. It is only if one comes across this abbreviation 'Reg' that one feels moved to follow up and then perhaps to see on the microfilm a reference to a Marriage Registrar or to 'Act 5 of 1852'. It was in April 2003 when one of our long-standing Australian members, Michael Quin-Conroy, on the India Mailing List raised the relevance of the reference to 'Act 5 of 1852', that I first became interested in the subject of Registrar Marriages. However, for one not legally trained, it is not an exciting subject and one is easily distracted by the more 'human' side of genealogy. It was only because I assumed that it could be readily explained that I agreed to do an article on these Marriages for the Editor and at long last have made the effort! The publication of this article is particularly apt at the present time since the results of FIBIS Volunteers' work in compiling a database of Registrar Marriages are now being added to the website www.fibis.org.

The Background

Early marriage records in India were modelled on those in England and were very limited in the information given. As in England, printed forms were not used and indeed were it not for the headings, one would find it difficult to distinguish between the marriage records in parish registers in the two countries. For instance, a Calcutta record in 1796 reads 'Apr 12th John Butler Master Mariner, and Lydia Elizabeth Howard Spinster' and a Pembrokeshire, Wales record in 1788 reads '11th June Peter Butler of Castlemartin and Mary Hutchings'. In both countries, the marriages were often written in the same book as baptisms and burials.

Consistency in the presentation and content of records in England was introduced through a statute of 1812 known as Rose's Act, which required parish incumbents to use specially printed registers, with baptisms, marriages and burials in separate books. These printed registers were not only easier to read than earlier registers but the form ensured that information given for each event was consistent.

Reviewing developments in India, William H Abbott, Registrar of the Archdeaconry of Calcutta,¹ noted that 'the forms in which ...register books were originally kept were in very few cases uniform and were the occasion of much complaint from the irregularities and the frequent omissions made in them by the Clergy', and that 'in consequence in 1827 he was induced to draw up and submit a new set of forms for the registers, which being approved of by Bishop James, received the sanction of the Supreme Government, and were directed by the latter to be adopted throughout the three presidencies.'

The forms initiated by Abbott 'continued to be followed until 1841, when the Court of Directors transmitted from England a new set of forms to be observed.... and more in accordance with the Military forms of registers kept by the Chaplains generally in the Queen's army.' These forms were in use by 1842 throughout the three dioceses (Calcutta, Madras and Bombay). The Court of Directors further observed that the certified copies to be forwarded to East India House

FORM OF REGISTER OF MARRIAGES.

Marriages solemnized at ———

When Married	Names of Parties		Age	Condition	Rank or Profession	Residence at the time of Marriage	Father's Name, and Surname	By Banns or Licence	Names of witnesses present	By whom married.
	Christian	Surname								
184 —, March, —	Henry	Porter	27	Bachelor	Writer	Cawnpore	John Porter	Banns	A. B.	J. H. Chaplain.
	Maria	Turner	20	Spinster		Cawnpore			C. D. E. F.	
184 —, March, —	Thoms.	Parker	28	Widow-er	Tailor	Cawnpore	John Parker	Licence	A. B.	J. H. Chaplain.
	Jane	Faires	20	Widow,		Cawnpore			C. D. E. F.	

should be on paper of the same size and of durable quality. Abbott's book gives an example of the new form (p148):

It is perhaps relevant to note here that 'from the beginning of the year 1816, Chaplains were ordered ... to make half yearly returns to the respective Registrars of the Archdeaconries. These were then copied for transmission to the different Governments for transmission to the Court of Directors. In 1828, the authorities required returns to be made quarterly. Elsewhere in the same book, it is noted that in these Dioceses, 'Chaplains and Ministers were liable to be suddenly removed from or to leave their stations and consequently the returns are unavoidably incomplete and irregular'.

In both England and India the returns so far described were ecclesiastical records, namely those of baptisms, marriages and burials, as required by the established church rather than by the state. In England in 1837 the first attempt at a system of voluntary CIVIL registration of births, marriages and deaths was made, later made compulsory in 1875. It is important to appreciate the background against which this Civil Registration was introduced. The Wesleyan Movement,² started in 1738, grew apace throughout the 18th century and while several groups broke away, the number of Nonconformists and their influence were considerable. After the introduction of civil registration in 1837, the Methodists deposited numerous registers with the General Registry Office. The holding of marriages in Methodist chapels was legalised in 1837, provided the local civil registrar attended and recorded the marriage in the Chapel register. It

¹ William Henry Abbott, *A Practical Analysis of the several letters patent of the Crown relating to the Bishopricks in the East Indies* (Calcutta, Bishop's College Press, 1845), section 8.

² 'Methodist Records' by Richard Radcliffe in *Family History Monthly*, Apr 2004.

was apparent that the civil registration of Marriages as well as of other events was particularly acceptable to the Nonconformists: to paraphrase a well-known thatcherism, the 1837 Act was one they could accommodate.

An Act for Marriages in India

In India around 1837 the marriage laws pertaining were those prior to Hardwicke's Marriage Act of 1753 (26 Geo II Cap 33) except that an Act (58 Geo III Cap 84) was passed on 5 June 1818 to remove doubt as to the validity of certain marriages solemnized by ordained Ministers of the Church of Scotland within British Territories in India and an Act of 1823 (4 Geo IV Cap 91) pronounced valid those marriages performed by Ministers of the Church of England in the houses of British Ambassadors or the houses of British subjects or within British Lines by chaplains or officers.

As a result of continuing disquiet over the validity of some marriages in India and elsewhere for both legitimacy and inheritance, the House of Commons on 28 June 1847 appointed Commissioners to inquire into the state and operation of the Law of Marriage, particularly as solemnised abroad. The Second Report³ of this Commission, entitled 'East India Marriages', was submitted on 18 Apr 1850. This document, 67 pages long, is a most fascinating one and includes a petition presented to both Houses of Parliament in 1848 by the Revd T Boaz of Calcutta, signed by about 580 persons including all the Ministers and Missionaries of the Baptist, Independent and other bodies in Bengal and Bombay. The following précis of this petition explains the background against which the 1852 Act was eventually passed. The petitioners said that they had long resided in India and had performed marriages between many of their parishioners. In consequence of the limited number of chaplains (said to be about 100) in the interior of India and their distance from persons seeking marriage ceremonies, many marriages had been solemnised by officers in the military service of Her Majesty and by military officers, judges and magistrates in the service of the East India company (E.I.C.). All these marriages had been recognised as valid until 1838 when doubts arose and it was feared that many marriages carried out by dissenting ministers, judges and magistrates were not valid for many civil purposes. The rights of issue of such marriages to real property owned in Great Britain by British-born subjects were in doubt - were these marriages valid for both legitimacy and inheritance? It was now sought that all marriages solemnized by Dissenting Ministers (like those performed by Jews, Quakers and Roman Catholics as well as those episcopally ordained by the Church of England) should also be good and valid in law.

A Draft law is included in the Commission's Report and in due course the EIC Court of Directors wrote on 5 April 1849 to Bengal saying that in their despatch of 2 Aug 1848 'you were apprized that the question of Indian Marriages was under the consideration of Commissioners appointed by the Crown in consequence of an address from the House of Commons. We now transmit two copies of a Draft Act on the subject prepared by the Commissioners'. Later in Volume E/4/804, pp 391-396, they again wrote on the 8 May 1850, saying 'we regret no reply to the above has been received, more especially since as far back as 6 Nov 1847, you intimated that unless the subject were about to be taken up by Parliament, you would feel it incumbent upon you to proceed to legislate on it without delay'.

Presumably the Authorities in Bengal eventually replied with their comments since in Volume E/4/811, page 57, the Court wrote saying 'We transmit to you copies of an Act for Marriages in India which received the Royal Assent on 24 July 1851'. Pages 59-62 continue 'You will perceive that it rests with you under Sects XX and XXI to make laws and regulations and under Sects XVIII and XIX to appoint officers and regulate fees for the purpose of carrying certain

³ Parliamentary Command Paper, C.1203. IOR: V/4/Session 1850, vol 20.

provisions of the Act into effect. We desire that this be done without delay and we strictly enjoin you to confine your legislation to the details above referred to without in any way altering the provisions of the Act of Parliament. You will also cause the Act to be duly published at the three Presidencies so soon as you shall have passed the laws and regulations necessary for carrying it into effect.'.....ending ...'We are your affectionate friends' [*perhaps not so affectionate!*]; dated 6 Aug 1851.

Thus Act No V of 1852,⁴ passed by the Hon'ble the President of the Council of India in Council, on 16 Jan 1852, with the assent of the Most Noble the Governor General of India is sub-titled 'An Act for giving effect to the provisions of an Act of Parliament passed in the 15th year of the reign of Her present Majesty, entitled 'An Act for Marriages in India.' The preamble goes on to say 'it shall be lawful by Laws and Regulations to provide for the Custody and Protection from Injury of Marriage Register Books, for appeals from and references in case of doubt by the Marriage Registrars in relation to Marriages forbidden or Protests entered under the said Act of Parliament, for fixing the hours between which Marriages might be solemnized under the said Act of Parliament, for appointing the Officers to whom Certificates were to be transmitted by the Marriage Registrars and generally for giving effect to the provisions of the said Act of Parliament.' Specifically, Section XXIV states that 'Nothing in this Act contained shall be construed to extend to the Registration of Marriages which may be solemnized in India by persons in Holy Orders or under the provisions of the Act of the 58th year of King George the Third, Chapter 84, or to the Registration of any Marriage solemnized between any two persons professing the Jewish religion.' One can therefore conclude that these marriages would continue as previously but that this new Act was designed for the more efficient regulation, the solemnization where necessary, and the registration of marriages by Government appointed Registrars.

Index Z/N/124

This largely handwritten Index is compiled as volumes each covering a number of years. Each entry lists the Surname, the Name of the same, the Superintendent's District, Volume and Folio Numbers. After tracing the required name in the index, the reference of the Microfilm folio is derived by noting the volume number and folio and then prefacing that by N/11. During the whole period 1852-1911, a total of some 10,145 couples were married and while the average number per year was of the order of 150+, they ranged from 102 in the earlier years to 448 in the later years. This probably does not indicate that marriage under the Act and its successors was getting more popular but is more likely to reflect an overall increase in the number of marriages per year resulting from an increasing population.

Microfilms N/11/1 to N/11/11B

Within these films there are over 13,000 folios, each distinctively recognisable by a printed number in the centre of the page above the record. The total number of 13,851 includes numerous covering letters and complimentary slips. One certificate straddling two pages has two numbers! The first marriage under the Act is of course N/11/1/1: this took place on 7 Sept 1852 and was between William Miller, of full age, a widower and a Missionary and Martha Jane Mills, also of full age, spinster, both of Bandel. The fathers' names and rank/profession are given. More significant is the fact that they were married in the Free Church of Scotland Mission Chapel at Chinsurah and that they were married *by* the Marriage Registrar. Both participants signed the register in the presence of two witnesses.

⁴ IOR: V/8/34.

Example of Marriage Certificate issued under Act V of 1852. IOR: N/11/2/35

35
CERTIFICATE OF MARRIAGE

No.	When Married.	Name and Surname.	Whether of full Age or a Minor.	Condition.	Rank or Profession.	Residence at the time of Marriage.	Father's Name and Surname.	Rank or Profession of Father.
4.	18 th April 1861.	Thomas Gibson Cossavat.	Full Age	Bachelor	Deputy Inspector of Customs	Delhrie.	James Cossavat.	Agent of Opium.
		Anne Willford Minor.	Minor	Spinster	— " —	Delhrie.	Charles Willford	2 ^d Master Bergranth.

Married in the dwelling house of Mr. Blewith by the Rev. D. P. Broadway B.M.S. before me this 18th day of April 1861.
Josiah Parsons
Marriage Registrar.

This Marriage was solemnized between us { Thomas Gibson Cossavat Anne Willford } in the presence of us { W. M. ... J. ... }

Example of Marriage Certificate issued under Act XV of 1872. IOR: N/11/11B/1904

35
CERTIFICATE OF MARRIAGE

No.	When Married.	Name and Surname.	Whether of full Age or a Minor.	Condition.	Rank or Profession.	Residence at the time of Marriage.	Father's Name and Surname.	Rank or Profession of Father.
4.	18 th April 1861.	Thomas Gibson Cossavat.	Full Age	Bachelor	Deputy Inspector of Customs	Delhrie.	James Cossavat.	Agent of Opium.
		Anne Willford Minor.	Minor	Spinster	— " —	Delhrie.	Charles Willford	2 ^d Master Bergranth.

Married in the dwelling house of Mr. Blewith by the Rev. D. P. Broadway B.M.S. before me this 18th day of April 1861.
Josiah Parsons
Marriage Registrar.

This Marriage was solemnized between us { Thomas Gibson Cossavat Anne Willford } in the presence of us { W. M. ... J. ... }

It is of interest to scroll through selections of folios as I have done with N/11/2 and N/11/11B, one near the beginning of the period, the other at the end. Many marriages include a widow or a widower but this appears to be of no consequence. Frequently a marriage included a minor. Marriages took place in Baptist, Presbyterian and Mission House Chapels, a Roman Catholic Church, in a house, in a Registrar's Office, a Police Office, house of an American Missionary, a Wesleyan Church, Reformed Dutch Church of America, in a tent, in the house of the bride's father, on board ship and other locations. Some marriages were conducted by, say, a missionary but in the presence of a Marriage Registrar. It was possible for a clergyman also to be a Registrar. One gets the impression that the participants wanted to marry in a chapel or

place of their own choice, even if the Marriage Registrar had to be brought in to take the marriage or be present, in which case the Registrar signed as 'before me' rather than 'by me'. In some instances, the certificate had no space for a Registrar's signature, but the certificate was still countersigned by the Secretary for say the Govt of Bengal. Even as late as 1864, some certificates were not lithographed. Marriages are recorded as far away as Port Blair, the Straits Settlements and Peking. One couple previously married but having no certificate were remarried by a Registrar. The same couple have two certificates separately numbered for a marriage on the same date!

Examination of Certificates covered by the last microfilm N/11/11B reveal a similar state of affairs. While in the earlier batch there were odd statements on nationality such as 'neither are [sic] Brit. Subjects', 'the fathers of both are European', one 'British' the other 'not British', 'said to be the legitimate offspring of a British-born subject', statements on nationality appear to be more common in 11B. These statements appear to relate to the need to send copies of the certificates to England. The 11B selection shows 'European British subjects. Not desired to be sent to England' (the bride is a divorcee), 'both British Subjects', each of the parties to the marriage claims to be European British Subject. There are different versions of forms some printed locally say in Lahore, others subtitled in Burmese or Tamil. One form that is common is one entitled 'Wesleyan Church'. As one approaches the year 1910, there appear to be more divorcees. One unusual 'remarriage' is where a couple went through a form of marriage in Lahore but subsequently when it was found that the Minister had no license to solemnize marriages, a form of civil marriage was carried out to avoid difficulties in the future.

More than one Registry Marriage Act

The main conclusion of the above examination is that there were other Acts later than the 1852 one, and these include:-

Act XXV of 1864 (see IOR V/8/39). Received assent 9 Apr 1864. Solemnisation of marriages in India of persons professing the Christian Religion.

Act V of 1865 (see IOR V/8/40). Received assent 23 Feb 1865. 'The Indian Marriage Act 1865' (Act XXV of 1864 repealed.) One clause of interest is that 'Every Marriage Registrar hereafter appointed under the provisions of the said Act V of 1852 shall be a Christian...'.

Act III of 1872 (see IOR V/8/43). Received assent 22 Mar 1872. An Act to provide a form of marriage for persons who do not profess the Christian, Jewish, Hindu, Muhammedan, Parsi, Buddhist, Sikh or Jaina religions and to legalise certain marriages the validity of which is doubtful. This Act also required the appointment of Registrars - called Registrars of Marriages under Act III of 1872.

Act XV of 1872 (see IOR V/8/43). Received assent 18 July 1872. An Act to consolidate and amend the law relating to the solemnisation in India of the marriages of Christians - to be known as 'The Indian Christian Marriage Act 1872'. Provided that one or other or both is a Christian, marriages may be solemnised in India:

1. by any person who has received episcopal ordination.
2. by any clergyman of the Church of Scotland.
3. by any Minister licensed under this Act to solemnize marriages.
4. by or in the presence of Marriage Registrars appointed under this Act.
5. by any person licensed under the Act to grant certificates of marriage between native Christians.

Section 81 of this Act is of significance and reads as follows....

The Secretary of the Local Government shall at the end of each quarter in each year select from the certificates of marriages forwarded to them respectively during each quarter, the certificates of the marriages of which the Governor General may desire that evidence shall be transmitted to England and shall send the same certificate, signed by them respectively, to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Dept for the purpose of being forwarded to the Secretary of State for India and delivered to the Registrar General of Births, Deaths and Marriages. *[The basis of selection presumably was the nationality of one or both of the parties.]*

At the end of this act, it is noted that Act V of 1852 unless previously repealed is now wholly repealed.

Act II of 1891 (see V/8/60). Assented 6 Feb 1891. Like subsequent Acts, this was a minor one intended to remedy omissions in previous Acts. Under this Act, anyone not authorised to solemnise marriages shall be punished by up to 10 years imprisonment or if greater than 7 years with transportation for 7 - 10 years!

Act XVII of 1895 (see V/8/61). Assented 10 Oct 1895. An Act to validate numerous marriages solemnised by a Revd James Gillings, Minister of Wesleyan Mission in Madras who had in fact only been licensed under the 1865 Indian Marriage Act to practise in Madras yet had officiated, *bona fide*, in Bangalore. These marriages were now validated!

Act XIII of 1911 (see V/8/66). An Act to amend the Indian Christian Marriage Act of 1872. The amendment involved the substitution of the following in Section 81 of the earlier Act: 'The Registrar of Births Deaths & Marriages and the officers appointed under Section 56' for the earlier 'The Secretary of the Local Government' and the deletion of 'and delivered to the Registrar General of Births, Deaths and Marriages'.

The Apparent Decline of Registry Marriages

The study of Acts up to and including 1912 shows that the most relevant were those of 1852 and 1872, and that while the former had been repealed, the latter was still active. Hence one might have expected the Registrar Marriages to continue beyond 1911. The last folio in N/11/11B, No. 1982, is dated 28 June 1911, certified by a Registrar on the 30 June 1911 and the marriage was solemnized at the Carey Baptist Church, Calcutta. The form clearly is of the type used under the 1872 Act. No.1975 (showing at the top references to Schedule IV and sections 32 and 54) has a copy of a forwarding letter attached, indicating that it was to go to the Govt of India in the Home Dept under Sect 81 of Act XV of 1872.

Examination of a typical microfilm in the N/1 (Bengal) series shows several likely Registrar marriages including one of 12 Oct 1912, where the parties were married in the office of the Senior Marriage Registrar of Calcutta and the form is one of those used under the 1872 Act. So what has happened? The 1872 Act is still valid but there are no marriage folios filed in Z/N/124. The explanation seems to lie in changes in the filing of entries in the main Marriage Records (N/1, N/2 and N/3). If one inspects these series, one finds that for each year of N/1 Bengal up to 1896, the details are filed in two columns, male marrying female but not in alphabetical order; for N2 Madras up to 1898 and for N/3 Bombay up to 1909 there is similar information. Thereafter, for N/1, 1897-1909, there is one column only with both male and female entries, not in alphabetical order; for N/2, 1899-1909, similarly one column. But from 1910, for all three series, there is one single column showing male and female parties individually all in alphabetical order. It is clear that in some Registry Marriages there were doubts as to whether folios were correctly filed and this trend was accentuated in the latter years. Some marriages were indeed shown in both Z/N/124 and one of the Presidency records. When it was decided to show all marriages by alphabetical order of parties it is probable that

the Z/N/124 was discontinued and all marriages were referenced together under the Presidency system. How much easier it would have been for everyone if the registry records had been combined with the others from the beginning! After all, all marriages, Registry or otherwise, were of equal standing.

Reference to the Registry Marriages can now be made via Z/N/124 in the IOR, by reference on the Mormon www.familysearch.org catalogues to derive the correct film numbers prior to requesting the same through one of their Family History Centres, or via the FIBIS website www.fibis.org where a search by name will yield the reference in Z/N/124 or the correct film number. For those seeking a marriage between 1852-1911 and knowing their ancestors were Nonconformists, yet not knowing the years, a quick reference to Z/N/124 or to the FIBIS Website may well be a very useful short cut.

I would like to acknowledge assistance from David Blake who referred me to the E/4 series and to Hedley Sutton and Tim Thomas of the IOR who were usually successful in providing source materials requested.

The Andaman and Nicobar Islands

An edited summary of a talk given to a meeting of the Families in British India Society on 13 November 2004 by Patricia Redmond.¹ The talk was illustrated by numerous slides only three of which can be reproduced here.

Over 800 miles to the east of India in the Bay of Bengal, the Andamans and Nicobars form a string of islands more than 400 miles long running roughly from the latitude of Madras in the north to that of Ceylon in the south. My grandfather, William Luke Corbett, was a telegraph signalman by profession and something of a reprobate by nature, always getting into debt and always being moved to a new post. And so it was that, in 1918, he and his family found themselves aboard a ship sailing from Madras to these remote islands. At that time the family consisted of William, his wife, three daughters including my mother and Aunt Iris (still alive aged 91), and one son, Basil. Another son, Ralph, was to be born later that year in a rickshaw on the way to the British hospital at the Cellular Jail (of which more below). This family connection naturally aroused my interest in the islands and, finally, in the year 2000, I was able to realise a lifelong ambition and visit them for the first time. I found that many of the buildings with which my family would have been familiar during their stay on the islands, for example the Chief Commissioner's bungalow and the Anglican Church, have either disappeared, or are in ruins and gradually succumbing to the advancing jungle. However, as will be seen, some striking reminders of British rule remain. Firstly, a brief word on the Nicobar Islands to the south: most of them are kept out of bounds by the Indian Government, partly for defence reasons, and partly in order to protect the way of life of the aboriginal people who inhabit them from exposure to western diseases which would decimate them, and modern influences which would corrupt their way of life.

The Andaman Islands to the north were discovered in 1789 by Lt (later Capt) Archibald Blair of the Indian Navy. Port Blair, their principal harbour and capital, is named after him. Originally it was called Port Cornwallis in honour of the Marquess Cornwallis, Governor-General of India at the time of their discovery. The British showed little interest in the islands and made only limited use of them for penal purposes until the Indian Mutiny of 1857 when, for obvious reasons, they needed somewhere remote from India to accommodate convicted mutineers. By 1860 enough of the dense tropical forest on Ross Island had been cleared for the British to construct their administrative headquarters. The penal settlement itself was on Viper island (so called after the name of Lt Blair's ship the *Viper*), and the Gallows associated with it is still standing. This imposing structure, its beautiful Victorian brickwork still in good repair, has an air of architectural grandeur more reminiscent of a mausoleum than a gallows.

The Gallows on Viper Island

In the early years of the twentieth century the prison on Viper island was abandoned as the British had built a new and very modern one on Port Blair. Known as a cellular jail, this was built in the form of seven spokes radiating from a central watchtower from which surveillance could be maintained on every cell. The jail is remarkably well preserved despite the punishing heat and vicious monsoon, and it is one of the best examples of its kind in the world. Another example can be found at Armagh which, though it had fewer spokes, somehow seems more

¹ Patricia recommended holidaying in the Andamans. Since then they have of course been hit by the *Tsunami* disaster. It is understood however that they continue to welcome visitors.

formidable. Perhaps the blue skies and palm trees of Port Blair alleviate the horror of its jail. It became home to many Indian nationalists imprisoned for their fight against British rule – a fight which did sometimes include terrorist acts. According to the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* of 1908 the population of the islands then comprised 1,882 Andamanese, 6,511 Nicobarese, and



The Gallows on Viper Island



The Cellular Jail

16,256 in the penal settlement. The Cellular Jail is now a National Memorial and Museum with grim reminders of its original purpose: the cells, the frame on which miscreant prisoners were flogged, a treadmill for hard labour, and another gallows. *Son et lumiere* events are also held there in English and Hindi, but do not expect to hear anything good about the British!

The most notorious event in the Andamans' history had however occurred long before the advent of the Cellular Jail. On Thursday, 8 February 1872, the Viceroy of India, the Earl of Mayo, arrived in Port Blair to visit the islands including the penal settlement. He inspected the school, the bazaar, the native infantry barracks, the hospital, and the British infantry barracks. After *tiffin* with Major-General (later Field Marshal Sir Donald) Stewart, the Superintendent of Port Blair, at the latter's bungalow, he left to visit the rest of the area including Viper Island, where the worst convicts were kept, and the Chatham Saw Mills. Then at about 5pm he set off to climb to the top of Mount Harriet, a hill of 1000 feet, which had been suggested as a suitable site for a sanatorium. By the time he arrived back at the landing pier at Hope Town to return to his ship, the *Glasgow*, darkness had fallen (very suddenly, as it does in the tropics), the pier was pitch black, and torches were ordered to be lit. A group of convicts was observed at the roadside. The Viceroy and party had barely advanced a yard up the pier, when a convict with a knife in his hand sprang forward and instantaneously stabbed Lord Mayo twice – once on the top of his left shoulder and then under his right shoulder. The Medical Officer who examined the wound said the long sharp native knife had penetrated the cavity of the chest injuring the spine and ribs, and that either wound was sufficient to kill him. The assassin was identified as a convict Sher Ali. He originally hailed from a village near the Khyber Pass. He had been transported to the Andamans for the murder of the Commissioner of Peshawar in 1867, and was 29 years of age. He admitted the murder and declared he had done it by the order of God and that his only accomplice was God. He was tried by the Superintendent, convicted, and executed at the gallows. It is reported that he remained defiant and insolent to the end. Besides accounting for the only successful assassination of a Viceroy of India, the islands were to be the scene of one further act of defiance against British rule: during World War Two the Andamans were captured by the Japanese, and in December 1943 Subhas Chandra Bose, leader of the Indian National Army, paid a brief visit: only four days, but long enough to raise the Indian National flag.



The Chief commissioner's Bungalow

Judging by their photographs, the family seem to have enjoyed their sojourn on the Andaman Islands. For example, my mother used to play on the lawn of the Chief Commissioner's bungalow with his daughter. But after two years, my grandfather was again reposted, and their voyage back to Madras proved to be

far more traumatic than anything during their time in the Andamans: half way across the Bay of Bengal they were hit by a terrible storm. First the ship's furniture was thrown overboard, then

most of the passengers' baggage, and finally the livestock. In typical Victorian melodrama mode everyone gathered on board and sang 'Nearer My God to Thee'. However, the ship did not go down and limped into Madras harbour more than a week later. Apart from the livestock not one soul was lost.

Forms of Identification of Indian Army Pensioners and Widows

Notes from a talk given to the Annual General Meeting of the Families in British India Society on 29 May 2004 by Peter D Rogers

The India Office catalogue describes L/MIL/14/214 as 'Forms of identification of Indian Army pensioners, forwarded to the India Office by local magistrates, police or other authorities in the UK' giving date and place of birth, present address, former regiment, number, details of enlistment, service, discharge and medals; and L/MIL/14/215 as 'Similar forms for soldiers' widows in receipt of pension', adding date and place of marriage.

Rather dull sounding, but this is not so: the Men's returns often give depth to and extra details of the man's career. There may be a rather more stoical approach to their wounds, etc. in the Returns than we would expect in our times, though many forms appear to be completed for the Pensioner by the authorising person. The Widows' Returns could be subtitled '101 Widows and a Mistress'.

Both records will appear on the FIBIS Website in 2005 and later they should be incorporated into the British Library Index. It's checking that takes the time with this one; every other transcription that FIBIS has undertaken so far has been taken from 'official' records which had fairly readable 'hands'; this little lot has nearly 500 different hands! My thanks are due to Valmay Young, Margaret Makepeace and Richard Morel for their meticulous interpretations of my efforts, but any errors and comments are mine alone. Examples of the returns are shown on the next two pages, though of course reduced from the original foolscap size. My brief was to copy the details in the returns onto a spreadsheet. I have not attempted to follow up any information about the returnees and will only remark on what has come from my reading of these papers.

In 1895/6 it was ordered that a trace be made of all 'Indian Pensioners' in the United Kingdom which included all of Ireland at that time, and so as St. Luke in Chapter 2 might have written: 'There went out a decree from Caesar Augustus, or in our case the *Scriba Militaris*, that all the country should be taxed with the search for these men and women'. The Military Secretary (i.e. Head of the India Office Military Department) referred to in the returns was Major-General Sir Oliver R Newmarch.

Although there are only 377 returns in L/MIL/14/ 214, they represent a cross section of the service careers of the Army's 'Other Ranks' - ordinary soldiers. These papers only relate to men up to the rank of Sergeant-Major or its equivalent. No Officers are included, though some may be identified as the Commanding Officers, etc. of the units in which the soldiers have served, though there is a tendency to give the name of the G.O.C. rather than that of a company or regimental officer.

It should be noted that inflation during most of the 19th century was fairly static, or at least so my Bank of England tables tell me. A Pound in 1850 would need £56.38 today

FORM OF IDENTIFICATION OF AN INDIAN PENSIONER.

Name William Miller late of 1st Bengal Fusiliers
*Here insert last Regiment or Corps.
 Address 25 North Lindsay Street, Dundee.

1. Where were you born?	Glasgow ✓
2. What was the date of your birth?	1833. ✓
3. What was your trade or calling when you enlisted?	Apprentice Plumber. ✓
4. Where and when did you first enlist?	Glasgow, in 1855. ✓
5. In what Regiments did you serve?	1. 1 st Bengal Fusiliers ✓ 2. 3.
6. Name one or more of the officers under whom you served.	Colonel Welshman. Captain Jacob. ✓
7. Where and when were you discharged?	London, 11 th Aug. 1858. ✓
8. What was the cause of your discharge?	Wound in left leg, above knee. ✓
9. Have you any Medals, and if so, for what actions?	Medal for Delhi. ✓
10. What was your Regimental Number?	2650. ✓
11. Have you any wounds or other distinguishing marks?	Left leg amputated above knee. ✓
12. Sign your name (opposite)	^{his name} William Miller ✓

CERTIFICATE.

I HEREBY CERTIFY that I this day saw the above-named, that he gave the answers stated, and that I am satisfied that he is the Indian Pensioner referred to herein.

Signature of Officer _____

Station _____

Date _____

SOLDIERS' WIDOWS' PENSIONS (INDIAN ARMY). - 1895

FORM OF IDENTIFICATION.

Name Margaret Abbott
 Address 12 Paley Buildings Castle street Leeds

1. What is your present age?	About 50 years
2. In what year were you married?	22 nd July 1859 ✓
3. Where were you married?	Kennelth ✓
4. What was your husband's name?	John Abbott ✓
5. In what Regiment did your husband serve?	14 th Brigade Royal Artillery ✓
6. What was the date of your husband's death?	17 th Nov. 1885 ✓
7. Sign your name (opposite)	The mark of X Margaret Abbott <i>Witness to the above mark of Margaret Abbott</i> <i>Accepted</i> <i>Justice of the Peace for the City of Leeds</i>

CERTIFICATE.

I HEREBY CERTIFY that I this day saw the above-named, that she gave the answers stated, and that I am satisfied that she is the Pensioner referred to herein.

Signature of Magistrate
 or Police Officer.

Accepted
 for the City of Leeds

Date 11th August 1896

This Certificate must be signed by a Magistrate or by a Police Officer.

to purchase the same commodities and in 1896 the Pound would need £57.69 (though there was a dip in the late 60's and early 70's), so that an award of a sum in 1850 would still have a similar value by 1896. I believe that it is important to remember that civilian wages in Britain were in general very low and working class folk had to manage on a pound sterling or less per week to keep a family and that our soldiers will have come from this class.

From the Returns I will try to say something of the wounds, service, discharge, etc. of the Men, but first some explanation of the Pension structure. There appear to be some seven levels of allowance for the men: (all per day) 9d, 1/-, 1/3 and 1/6 for the lower ranks, 2/- for Sergeants, 2/3 for Quartermaster Sergeants, and 2/6 for Sergeant Majors or equivalent ranks.¹ An extra 3d per day may also be awarded. However, an exception always occurs and Folio175, Sub-Conductor Chas Hallams, receives £60 per annum. F200, William Jesson, shows that this man was one of a number that took retirement rather than transfer into a British/Indian Army Unit; and F234, Andrew Morrow, is just one example of a man turning up later in UK Militia Units, especially in Ireland.

I noted with interest that some soldiers apparently never went abroad. They served at East India Company home establishments: Warley Barracks, Chatham, Haileybury and Addiscombe, and some ex-soldiers were attached to Recruiting Centres. Two of the Pensioners were born before the Battle of Waterloo, the oldest in 1810. Often there is a discrepancy concerning the age recorded on the return and after checking, presumably from the old Muster Books by the Military Secretary's Office, a corrected age is given.

The men served all over the East: Persia, Burma, the Himalayas and all over India. Most have campaign medals (I believe that bravery medals came later in the century) and they were proud of their Good Conduct Awards – not surprising when these could help towards an extra bit on the Pension.

Examples

The following are random examples from the collection (F = folio):-

F81. Henry Chapman joined the Lawrence Military Asylum in 1847, aged 9 years, although his birthplace is given as Cork and he stayed at the Asylum until Dec 1869 when he embarked for England; and F294, John Powell, was a Drill Instructor at the Asylum for several years.

F98. William Cookes enlisted at Southwark Police Court (nuff said !).

F8. William Allen of Belfast is typical of many who, when asked: 'Have you any wounds or distinguishing marks?', answers 'No'. Yet the cause of discharge was loss of right hand! His return appears to have been completed by a JP. Similarly James Barry of Athlone has no distinguishing marks despite losing his right arm.

F17. Thomas Bates joined the Queen's Royals but purchased his discharge and then joined the East India Company Artillery. This was not an unusual occurrence, the first husband of my great grandmother re-badged twice before his death in Burma in 1856.

F18. Henry Bathgate was discharged because of 'Enlargement of the Liver', the first of many with this cause listed.

F.20. John Bedford has marks on his back where run over.

¹ A shilling (1/-) = 5p in decimal currency; a penny (1d) = just under 1/2p. Not all forms show the pension payable.

F23. Robert Berry had no papers to send in as they had been stolen in a burglary at Nowshera near Peshawar in 1877.

F31. John Bonnett has 'Slight sabre cut to top of head – Piece of bone subsequently extracted'. Another man notes that his bullet was 'un-extracted'.

F41. Henry Brougham did well. Born in 1819 in Southwark, he was a mason's labourer when he enlisted in the 36th Foot in 1838. He moved to the Bombay Artillery in 1846 before joining the 19th Bombay Native Infantry and retiring in 1862 as 'Time Expired'. Under Medals, etc. states he has 'Meritorious Service with Annuity'. His Pension rate was the highest at 2/6 per day.

F43. George Browne got a firm slap on the wrist from the Mil. Sec. for returning the form unsigned and told that his pension for the ensuing quarter would not be paid until the form was returned correctly filled in. I did feel rather sorry for him as his own description of the reason for his discharge was sunstroke but Authority has crossed this out and added 'Enlargement of the Liver'. I did wonder if this coupled with the very shaky handwriting indicated a partiality for the fruit of the hop.

F47,48,49. Thomas Brown. People do care: the JP at Castlecasker in Ireland takes the trouble to inform the India Office of the poor circumstances of this blind ex-soldier. The letter ends: 'his memory may fail altogether. He had 2 sons in the Army, one of whom is dead and the other in a Lunatic Asylum and his case is a pitiable one in many respects.' Signed J Conelean, Major Retired. There is no indication on the form of any increase in the amount of pension paid.

F53. John Buller and F59 William Butters are the bane of all Family Historians. Buller says he was born in Blackburn, Lancashire, and Authority says he was born in Hexham, Northumberland; Butters says he was born in Leslie, Fifeshire, and Authority states Prentis, Clackmannan.

F54. George Burgess. I particularly liked this man's wounds and distinguishing marks: 'Both big toes sprained'. I only hope he wore open sandals when inspected!

F60. William Butterworth had a very short army career in the Bengal Horse Artillery of two years and a very long pension 'holiday' after he lost his left testicle.

F62. Edward Byrne is the exception to the rule. After service of nearly twenty years with the 2nd Madras European Light Infantry he is discharged because of 'Broken Constitution', and he says he has three Good Conduct Marks. Yet his pension was still only 9d per day.

F64. Thomas Byrne tells a different story; he gets a pension of 1/6 increased in 1891 - 'Specially good War Service'.

F68. James Callery. Authority did not like this one. Against his 'X' mark is a note 'This man can write', so I looked at his reason for discharge: lost right arm!

F74. Thomas Carruthers. Another little favourite: seems to have had a broken leg in 1861 and it is still broken in 1896.

F77. Joseph Casey. Another success story - from marble polisher to Sergeant Major. He served for a while in what he misnamed as the 'Maywall Bheel Corps' - in fact the Mewar Bhil Corps, a unit that still exists today as a Police Force in Pakistan.

F92. Michael Counds has no distinguishing marks - except loss of right arm - so he puts an 'X' and Authority says: 'This man can write'.

F95. James Cooper. It is truly sad when you read the letter from the Medical Officer at Wadsley Asylum to say that Mr Cooper is incapable of answering any questions.

F147. James Fulton. Discharge: left leg amputated. Wounds, marks, etc: wound on right thigh – well I suppose that could just be visible.

F152. Richard Geraghty notes the names of the two recruiting sergeants, Plant and Little, at Beggars Bush Barracks in Dublin but can't remember when he joined.

F156. William Gibson was born in Chatham Barracks in 1820 and joined up at Brompton Barracks in 1839 and then worked at Brompton and Warley Depots until discharge 'at the breaking up of the East India Company'. In 1896 he lived at Warley Terrace, Warley Road, Brentwood – the perfect non-rolling stone!

F204. Conductor James Kavanagh had a unique discharge – 'Delicacy'.

F240. James McDonald, born in Lavey, Ireland, enlisted at Cavan in 1845 in the 37th Foot, transferred to the 51st Foot, then to the 87th Foot, and in Oct 1851 to the Bengal Horse Artillery. He served until 1862 when he had his left foot amputated. He was living in 1896 near Ballyjamesduff.

F249/250. John McNamara. It appears from a letter attached to this form that in Ireland the pension could be paid out by the local Army Paymaster.

F257. Alexander Mitchell is an interesting person. He joined the Madras European Regt in 1837 and was later moved to the 1st Regt, Nizam's Infantry and then to the 6th Infantry, Hyderabad Contingent as a Sergeant-Major but took retirement in May 1858 as 'No hope of further promotion'. Had he stayed a little longer the Mutiny might have provided that promotion.

F280. John O'Brien was invalided out as a result of a fractured leg and collar bone 'through the fall of a Barracks'. Apparently not an unusual occurrence as there are several references to similar disasters elsewhere – lying in bed was not always the safest option!

F295. Sergeant William Price admits in a letter that he enlisted as John King and says that he gave his CO a satisfactory reason for doing this, but regrettably does not tell us.

F301. Thomas Ralph was born in 1810, enlisted in 1827 in the 1st Bengal European Regt, and was discharged in 1843 with 'Chronic disease of liver, Constitution worn out'. Fifty-three years later he has one of the most readable and strong signatures on any of the forms!

F335. Michael Sullivan. Michael deserves a place in any record. Discharged in August 1858 in London from the Bengal Horse Artillery as wounded, he had lost the sight of both eyes, lost both arms, and yet he survives in 1896. At least he received the maximum pension of 2/6 per day.

F349. Edward Twohig was apparently one year old when he enlisted, according to his entry, but the Military Secretary notes that this may be a slip of the pen.

F366/7. Edward Wilson. Another mystery man: authority has added a note to the heading of the form '*Alias* Ed Major'. An attached letter from Edward mentions an 'Identity Certificate' but still the mystery remains.

Now the Ladies: 101 Widows and a Mistress

The Return shows the age of the lady, date and place of marriage, husband's name and regiment and the date of his death. Most of the forms give clear information but some of the widows no longer have, or may never have had, a Wedding Certificate to jog their memory of their wedding day, or Birth/Baptismal Certificate to confirm their date of birth. Generally the forms are much easier to read, possibly because there is more space to make entries. There are fewer indications of the pension payable than on the Soldiers' Returns, though payments of 2½d, 3d, and 1/- a day are shown - not a lot for someone to live on.

F37. Mrs June Haines. Her husband William Haines of the Bengal Ordnance Dept. was killed in the Gunpowder Factory, Kirkee in 1875.

F42. Mrs Emma Eliza Heather widow of Clement John Heather of the Bombay Regt of Artillery was married in Hamburg, Germany. I don't think that many Family Historians would be able to trace that marriage easily.

F64. Mrs Alice McMinn widow of Corporal Alexander McMinn tells us that her husband was in the Baltic in 1854 and 1855 and has a medal for it. McMinn was in the 17th and 15th Bdes Royal Artillery as well as the East India Company Army but it is difficult to tell in which of these he was serving when in the Baltic.

F66/67. Mrs Anne Barbara Minnett was living in Figueras in Spain when she made her return supported by a Spanish 'Certifico' to say that Dona Ana Minnett was identified and residing at the address shown.

F70. Mrs Jane Clara Naldret. Apart from this very unusual surname, there was a question about her husband's name: was he Charles or George? We may never know.

F88. Mrs Mary Jane Smith. Now whom was she married to? She says John Smith and Authority say 'Alias Fisher or Foster' - it is difficult to read.

F95. Mrs Bridget Twiss. Her husband, Anthony Twiss, was in the Bengal Infantry and belonged to the Governor-General's Band.

F97. Mrs Eliza Wade according to her return married Conductor Arthur Wade in 'Canteen'. Authority had obviously done a bit of checking and decided that the place was Kamptee. Interestingly Mrs Wade received 1/- per day pension or the equivalent of about one rupee per day. As a great-grandson of two members of the Commissariat I wonder how hard a time their widows had in India?

And finally the Mistress, but perhaps not quite what you may have been expecting:-

F72. Miss Emma Nightingale. She was pensioned at the breaking up of the Warley Depot in 1861, having been the Schoolmistress there, and she very definitely states 'Not Married'. I wonder if she could be related to the famous Florence Nightingale?

Analysis

An analysis of the Returns shows some interesting facts. I think that it has to be acknowledged that without Ireland the Indian Empire would have been poorly soldiered, and the Returns support this from the birth, recruitment and marriage figures. Note that not all of the Returns were fully completed, and so the totals appear not to tally.

Birth Place		Enlisted	
England	155	England	169
Scotland	28	Scotland	27
Wales	3	Wales	3
Others	2	India	3
Ireland	169	Ireland	140

Trade		Trade	
Labourers, etc.	178	Servants	20
Boot and Shoemakers	19	Grooms	12
Carpenters	23	Blacksmiths and Engineers	22
Clerks	18	Masons, etc.	11
Weavers	11	Other trades	20
Tailors	8	No trade	8
Bakers, Butchers, etc.	9		

A list of the individual towns or areas where men were recruited is given below. Men joined up in London at the Ship Tavern, Charing Cross; the Blue Boars Head, Tower Hill (also Boars or Boers Head); Soho Square; Charles Street, Westminster; Chelsea Barracks; Parliament Street; Lambeth; Warley Barracks; and Westminster Bridge Road.

England		Ireland		India	
Birmingham	3	Armagh	1	Bombay	1
Bristol	6	Athlone	5	Poona	1
Chatham	1	Ballymena	2	Sanawar	1
Dorchester	1	Belfast	2		
Exeter	3	Cavan	2	Wales	
				Cardiff	3
Liverpool	23	Clonmell	4		
London	116	Cork	33		
Maidstone	1	Drogheda	1		
Manchester	7	Dublin	41		
Nottingham	1	Enniskillen	2		
Plymouth	1	Galway	4		
Sheffield	1	Limerick	23		
Southampton	1	Lurgan	1		
Woburn	1	Newry	3		
Worcester	3	Omagh	1		
		Portadown	1		
Scotland		Strabane	1		
Dundee	1	Tralee	1		
Edinburgh	13	Tipperary	1		
Glasgow	13	Waterford	6		
		Wexford	5		

I have also noted the illiteracy levels – based on the occurrence of ‘His/Her Mark’. For the Soldiers’ the forms indicate an illiteracy rate of 30%, and for the Widows’ 38%; though the remark ‘This man can write’ appears in official hand on several forms.

The Widows Returns show that they married in: -

Ireland	21
England	22
Germany	1
India	33

A number of the marriages seem to have taken place after the Men retired from the Army - even at a shilling a day they were a good catch!

In 1902 the India Office opened a file entitled 'Soldiers of the late East India Company's Army - pensions questions' and noted that there were still about forty men in receipt of low pensions and a slightly more generous amount might be offered to those who apply. Note APPLY: nothing changes in Government Offices! The file is from the Military Secretary's Office (IOR: L/MIL/7/12768) and the document is given in full below:

Rates of pension under Indian rules to men wounded or injured on Service

The rates of Pension admissible under the rules of the East India Company are contained in Army Regulation, India Vol.1 part 1 Arts 1641 to 1646. It will be seen on reference to Art 1646 that a Soldier invalided on account of wounds or injuries received on service or on duty is allowed a pension of 1s.3d a day (with less than 14 years service), and 9d. a day if able to contribute something towards a livelihood.

There are still about 40 men on the books drawing 1s.3d. a day under this rule. They are all old men, mostly over 70 years of age, and the majority were invalided through wounds received in the Indian Mutiny, many having lost an arm or leg.

It has been pointed out that the War Office rules, as laid down in Art 1169 of the Pay Warrant, are more liberal allowing a maximum of 2s.6d. a day to a Private and 3s.6d to a Sergeant.

To assimilate the Indian rules to the British rules would not be practicable, as the advantage is not all on the side of the British rules. Under Indian rules the minimum pension for a man invalided through wounds or injuries is 9d. a day, whereas it is 6d. under British rules. The Indian rules also give men a right to small pensions for their widows, provided they were married before being pensioned. Comparing the old Pay Warrants it also appears probable that the Commissioners of Chelsea Hospital are more strict in their interpretation of the words 'totally unable to earn a livelihood' than this office has been, and that the maximum pension is only given in very bad cases of injury, or total blindness.

When the amalgamation took place in 1861 the men who volunteered for general service had the option of electing Indian or British rules. Most of them elected Indian rules, and a good number of these are now Chelsea out-Pensioners. If they had Imperial Service a proportion of their pension is payable from Imperial revenues and it would therefore not be possible to impose the Indian rules without the consent of the War Office.

Both the Indian and British rates of disability pensions have remained unchanged for many years. The Indian pensioners are a small class, are rapidly dying out and it seems hardly necessary to re-cast their rules.

But 1s.3d. a day is a small maximum pension for an old man who has lost his power to earn a living through wounds received in action, and it is proposed that instead of simply refusing applications for an increase of pension - as has hitherto been done - such cases should be brought before the Secretary of State in Council and considered on their merits, regard being had to the age, length of service, war service and infirmities of the applicants.

Four such cases have recently been received and a summary is appended. In all of them the discharge was due to wounds received in the Mutiny, and the total service in no case exceeded 6 years. Two of the applicants, McAlister and Butler, lost the left leg at Delhi and were pensioned on 1s.3d a day. Butler states that he is paralysed and has to pay people to look after him.

Both these cases seem suitable for generous treatment and it is proposed to increase their pensions to 2s. a day from date of sanction.

The other two cases are not so serious. Kelly was wounded at Lucknow in the head and right hand and Morgan at Delhi in the right arm and both were pensioned on 9d a day, i.e. the rate to men partially able to earn a livelihood. Morgan's pension was increased to 1s.3d in 1891 and Kelly's to 1s.3d. in 1895.

It is proposed to increase these two pensions to 1s.6d. a day from date of sanction.

These proposals were approved by the Council of India on 16 May 1902 and the document was stamped 'Auditor to Note' on 31 May 1902.

There are some discrepancies between this memo and previous practice as prior to 1896 several men had received small increases in pension. I do hope that the other thirty-six or so men also received a little more pension in the years that followed; and it is pleasing to note that the 'Indian' authority appears to have been more caring and generous than the British.

Review

Empire Families: Britons and Late Imperial India, by Elizabeth Buettner (Oxford University Press, 2004), pp310. ISBN 0-19-924907-5. £25.00

This is a very thorough study of the assumptions, prejudices, customs and practices of British families involved in British rule in India from the post-mutiny period to Indian independence in 1947. It discusses not only how those attitudes and practices affected the nature of British rule, particularly in fostering multi-generational involvement in the Raj, but also how that involvement affected the families themselves. Dr Buettner is particularly good on the significance and subtle implications of the constant journeying between India and the home country.

On child rearing in India Buettner discusses the deeply rooted (and almost entirely false) fears entertained about India's supposed dangers to the physical health of European children (because of the climate) and their moral well being (because of contact with 'natives'). She also considers childhood recollections of India (often tinged with nostalgia) and the reasons why children were sent home for schooling. Among those reasons, perhaps even more important than the alleged dangers to a child's physical and moral health, was the need for families in the higher ranks of the British to protect their social, and indeed racial, status. Education in India meant association with the 'country born', and consequently the risk of being labelled as such yourself. 'Country born' was a pejorative term usually applied to the European Domiciled community (often suspected by their would-be social superiors of being mixed race) but sometimes also to Anglo-Indians who unquestionably were. These ill defined boundaries made the risks of association with the 'country born' all the greater. Indeed, association with them was sometimes seen as more problematic than association with Indians since the risk of confusion with the latter was much less. Education in England also enhanced career opportunities back in India, as much because it was in England as because of its putatively superior academic merits. Sometimes those who could not afford an entire English education would send their sons for a final few years in the hope that on return they would be able to find career opportunities and achieve a social status which would otherwise be closed to them.

Buettner explores the effect on both children and parents of the separation caused by education in England: how they saw it both at the time and in recollection, how they coped with the emotional strains, and how they justified it to themselves. She also has much interesting

information on the various educational establishments set up in the home country to cater for the needs of colonial families. Finally, she explores the life style of the India-returned, and especially their disappointment when the longed for retirement in the home country did not live up to expectations. For example, the high social standing which a senior ICS officer had enjoyed in India did not survive the passage to England. An income which in India put him in the highest rank of European society, and supported a small army of servants, yielded a pension which reduced him to humiliating anonymity among the nameless masses of the suburban middle classes, and he could barely afford domestic help for his ageing *memsahib*. There were profound ironies in the situation as many returned 'old India hands' found themselves ill at ease – 'exiled' as it were - in a home country in which they now felt almost like strangers, and therefore congregated in 'colonies' in Bayswater, Cheltenham, Eastbourne, Bedford, etc, where they could feel 'at home' reminiscing about India. Some of these disillusioning features of life in the home country often became apparent to empire children as they reached early adulthood, and were a factor leading young men to follow their fathers into careers in India or elsewhere in the Empire, and young women to return to India in search of a husband who could offer the lifestyle of which she had idyllic childhood memories. And so the cycle of 'exile' in the service of Empire was repeated, and multi-generational involvement in British India became established.

Many of the themes of *Empire Families* will be familiar to those with an interest in British India, but much of the detail (at which this review can only hint) will not. And it is certainly bracing to have the customs and practices of British Indian families subjected to rigorous academic analysis, rather than fondly recollected through a haze of nostalgia in a personal memoir. The book is a challenging rather than an easy read. For one thing, modern academic jargon does sometimes intrude, though Buettner is only a mild offender in this regard compared with some of her academic compeers. More serious, at least for this reviewer, is her apparent lack of empathy with her empire families. To give just one example, Buettner will not have it that they deserve any sympathy for the pain of separation caused by sending children home for their education since in her view the pain was self-inflicted – caused by the racial and class prejudices of the parents rather than by any real educational necessity. No doubt this was largely true, but historians should surely remember that people are children of their time, and it is unrealistic, indeed unhistorical, to expect any but an exceptional few to rise above the commonly held assumptions of their day. So the book would, I think, have benefited, from a more charitable approach to its subject. Still, it is doubtless salutary to have an antidote to an unduly benign view of the foibles and prejudices of the British in India. For anyone seeking a scholarly and comprehensive study of them, *Empire Families* can be recommended.

David Blake