Contents

The India-related holdings of the National Army Museum

Following the talk at the FIBIS AGM last year by Alastair Massie on this subject, the National Army Museum has kindly given permission to print this abridged version of an article on 'The Indian Army in Words and Images: Study Collections at the National Army Museum' by Marion Harding & Jenny Spencer-Smith from Soldiers of the Raj: the Indian Army 1600-1947 *(NAM, 1997)*

Historical Background

The origin of the National Army Museum's Indian Army Collections lies in the decision taken in 1947 by General Sir John Coleridge (1878-1951, General Officer Commanding-in-Chief Northern Command, India 1936-40) in consultation with Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck (1881-1981, Commander-in-Chief India 1941 and 1943-47) and other retired officers to establish an Indian Army Museum in Britain. From the outset it was decided to include Indian Services other than the Army, such as the Royal Indian Navy, the Frontier Scouts and Militia, the Indian State Forces, the Auxiliary Forces (India) and the Indian Police. By 1960, when the National Army Museum was established by Royal Charter, so much material had been received that the logical step of integrating the Indian Army Museum into it was agreed upon.

By 1971 much of the Study Collections, i.e. the archives, photographic archive, film and sound collections, prints and paintings, printed books, weapons, badges and medals – along with artefacts intended for display – had been transferred to the new purpose-built Museum at the present site in Chelsea for the official opening by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II in November of that year.

The Fine Art Collection

Prior to the introduction of the first practical photographic process in 1839, and more particularly, until the equipment employed had improved sufficiently to record images

instantaneously, it was only possible for people to experience those aspects of life beyond their normal acquaintance at second hand, through the media of prints and paintings.

One of the most valuable sources of information on India, the Crookshank Collection, on permanent transfer from the British Museum (NAM.7102-33), consists almost entirely of prints engraved from drawings made on the spot (or soon afterwards) by serving officers, reflecting the emphasis given at British military academies on training in the graphic arts, from the late eighteenth century until well after the advent of photography. This took the form of 'civil drawing' (that is, the traditional representation of landscapes and objects, both in pencil and watercolour), and that for specifically military purposes, such as surveys and reports, the delineation of maps, plans and sections, and executed in Indian ink.

From the late eighteenth century another aspect of life provided a regular subject for artistic record by military men, reflected in the Fine Art Collections: the study of costume. Attention to the significance of form, colour and distinguishing signs of dress, particularly as it pertains to regimental patterns, has long been an important part of a soldier's life. It is not surprising that many extended their study of regimental uniform ordered for Indians enlisting in the East India Company's forces to embrace the different dress and customs of the Indian people themselves. Among the most notable series of published prints are Royal Artillery Captain Charles Gold's 'Oriental Drawings sketched between the years 1791 and 1798', with thirteen plates of military costume interest in the set of 50 coloured aquatints (NAM.6002-105); Balthasar Solvyns's 1798 studies of 'The Costume of Hindostan', (1807; NAM.8310-55); and Captain of the 67th (South Hampshire) Regiment Abraham James's 'The Military Costumes of India in an Exemplification of the Manual and Platoon Exercises for the use of Native Troops and the British Army in General' (1813; NAM.6508-49). It was inevitable, too, that formal portraits such as that of Major-General Sir Thomas Munro, KCB, Governor of Madras (1761-1827), attributed to Sir Martin Archer Shee *c*1819, are now considered important not only for the record they provide of the man but also of dress and decorations (NAM.9609-16).

Three large volumes donated by the Royal United Services Museum (sometimes referred to as the 'Ootacamund Papers') and consisting of annotated prints and some original drawings, illustrate patterns of dress and swords of the Madras Army. These were salvaged from the old Madras Army Headquarters and compiled by Lieutenant-General Sir George Fletcher MacMunn while he was serving as Quartermaster-General of India in the early 1920s. Although the prints appear to date from the mid-1840s, the albums also contain notes on changes in dress from about the 1790s and constitute an important costume archive (NAM.6807-498).

During the 1830s and 1840s, William Hunsley, a civilian working as a draughtsman in the Madras Artillery Depot at St Thomas's Mount, produced several series of lithographs depicting military dress on the depot's press, which he coloured himself. The best known of these is 'Costumes of the Madras Army', a set of 40 coloured lithographs, drawn in careful detail, printed by William Porter in 1840-41 (NAM.6012-40 & 8204-210). In London, a series of some 33 plates, entitled 'Costumes of the Indian Army', was published by

Ackermann between 1844 and 1849, with examples of the dress of all three Presidency armies and the Nizam of Hyderabad's Army (later the Hyderabad Contingent), mainly after sketches by Captain Frederick Ainslie, 21st Fusiliers (for example, NAM.8204-237-3, -8; 5602-25). There are two well-drawn pencil drawings of rebel soldiers executed during the Indian Mutiny, a trooper and an Indian artilleryman, attributed to Captain George Francklin Atkinson, Bengal Engineers (NAM.7107-8). In addition, the Collection includes some fine studies in watercolour, such as those by the Royal Engineer officer, Robert Gossett Woodthorpe, who served in the Survey of India Department from 1871, and whose meticulous watercolours of sepoys and Pathans, during the Second Afghan War, include 'Gurkha orderlies of Major-General Sir F Roberts, 5th Gurkha Rifles at Peiwar Kotal, 1879' (NAM.5504-25).

Another significant collection of studies of dress of the Indian Army regiments of the late-nineteenth to early-twentieth centuries are those by Albert Crowdy Lovett, an officer of the Gloucestershire Regiment who served in India as a lieutenant and captain with the 2nd Battalion from 1883 to 1894, and then as a major with the 1st Battalion from 1906 to 1911. During both tours, he made numerous studies in watercolour of individuals, as portraits in uniform, some of them signed by the sitters in Indian scripts. It was during 1906-11 that Lovett's most accomplished watercolours were produced to illustrate *The Armies of India*, by Major (later Lt-Gen Sir) George Fletcher MacMunn, Royal Field Artillery, London (1911): the National Army Museum holds the complete set of 72 original watercolours (NAM.5302-1 to -72).

Also in the Collection are the fourteen original watercolours of single-figure uniform studies by Major Donovan Jackson for his book, *India's Army*, published in London in 1939 (NAM.5709-24). Drawings executed more recently reveal the growing interest in the historical study of uniform, exemplified by the box of sketches and notes by Lieutenant-Colonel F A H ('Frankie') Wilson (1901-78), 19th King George V's Own Lancers, covering dress of the Indian Cavalry from 1770 to 1947 (NAM.8202-49); also the folders of detailed notes in beautiful calligraphy annotating pen-and-ink drawings of Indian Cavalry uniforms c1870-1914 from official sources by Lieutenant-Colonel J B R Nicholson (1915-87), 18th King Edward VII's Own Cavalry (NAM.8611-23). Among other studies of historical note are some portraits of individual servicemen, such as the 21 sensitively-observed pencil or charcoal and chalk images by Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Gordon Borrowman (NAM.5305-35 to -65), including 'Brigadier H U Richards CBE DSO, Commander Kohima Garrison' (NAM.5303-44), drawn in Kohima during the siege, where the artist was serving as second-in-command (1944).

Less officially and often in fun, soldiers also set out to record their individual experiences, often ridiculing themselves and others as novices amid what seemed to them to be the strange and exotic customs of India, and also revealing interesting details of military life. The earliest in the Collection, an anonymous sketchbook with watercolour views of (and from) St Thomas Mount and other scenes of Madras military life is undated but, from the appearance of a sketch in it entitled 'Tippoo's Looties', may have been executed in the 1790s (NAM.6306-83). A sketchbook by Lieutenant (later Maj-Gen Sir) Charles Walters

D'Oyly, 'Sketches of Life in the Indian Army 1843-1862', includes watercolour scenes such as 'The jolly subaltern much in debt', and 'The old Major comfortably off'. This artist was a nephew of the more famous baronet, Sir Charles D'Oyly, Bengal Civil Service, who in 1828 published a long burlesque poem, *Tom Raw, the Griffin*, relating the adventures of a young officer newly arrived in Calcutta *[see cover illustration]*.

Perhaps the most brilliant of all the personal recollections were those by a British Army officer, A W Crawford McFall, 2nd Battalion King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry, executed in the late 1880s and 1890s with an accomplishment which suggests a professional illustrator. In fact he regularly contributed drawings to *The Graphic*, covering his journey to India and subsequent service on the North-West Frontier, with the Zhob Field Force in 1890 and elsewhere. The NAM has some eight sketchbooks containing original drawings, one of which includes examples of the final, printed results (NAM.8407-23 to -31). This form of record appears to have died out by the twentieth century, and the last published example may be the slim volume of chromolithographed 'Sketches of Indian Life', published in about 1890 after W Lloyd (probably Lieutenant William Edmund Lloyd, Bengal Staff Corps) (NAM.7703).

Before the advent of the railway military artists also recorded with some delight the extraordinary upheaval necessary to enable a force (or a state procession) to move considerable distances from one station to another or across country on campaign. Most of the men (and a swarm of camp followers) had to walk, and only the officers, cavalry, equipment and the sick travelled by animal transport. In these 'military panoramas' the whole line of march is depicted in one long sequence, often with a wealth of detail, either on one roll or in a series of joining pictures. A number of different types are extant, among them the five-metre wide oil painting depicting the 'March of Francis Marquess of Hastings, Governor-General of India, Commander-in-Chief, Hardwar, Western Provinces, 1814', attributed to Colonel Charles Joseph 'Carlo' Doyle, Hastings's Military Secretary (NAM.5412-21).

Archives and Photographs

The strength of both the written and photographic archives of the National Army Museum lie in the emphasis given to private papers and collections of photographs of individual officers and men of the Indian Army, though it is fair to say that the very nature of that institution determines that the written archive in particular is weighted very much in favour of the British officer. Exceptions do occur in two areas, however; the papers relating to the European regiments of the East India Company's army prior to 1861 and those of British Army regiments serving in India both contain material generated by other ranks. The value of the latter category lies in the universal nature of the descriptions of the climate, terrain and indigenous peoples and their way of life, which affected all those who lived in the subcontinent.

The lives and careers of the officers, and to a much lesser extent, the soldiers, are documented in a number of sources within the archives. One of the most significant is the Hodson Index. This remarkable accumulation of over 50,000 entries, relating to almost

every British officer, military or civilian, in the history of the East India Company (EIC) and Indian Army, was bequeathed to the Museum by its compiler, Major Vernon Hodson, late Duke of Cambridge's Own Lancers (Hodson's Horse), upon his death in October 1963. The data recorded consists not only of the individual's service record but biographical information: the details were largely derived from the personnel records of the EIC and the Indian Army, and from church registers, held by the Oriental and India Office Collections of the British Library (formerly referred to as the India Office Library). Since the Index was first deposited at the NAM a succession of dedicated volunteers has been engaged upon the task of updating it; questionnaires were sent to surviving members of the Indian Army (NAM.7507-64), new cards being generated from those returned, and portrait photographs were also requested (NAM.8909-66). It should be admitted, however, that the breadth and accuracy of the information recorded is variable in quality.

The Hodson Index reveals many inter-esting and sometimes bizarre aspects of life (and death) in the Company and Indian Armies, as well as highlighting the more intellectual pursuits in which many of its officers were engaged. For example in relation to disciplinary matters, Lieutenant Albert Will-iam Pinson (b 1829), 1st Madras Native Infantry, was cashiered on 2 October 1854 for throw-ing a hammer at his wife while drunk and striking a British soldier; Surgeon John Ladd (b 1795), Madras Medical Establishment), was cashiered in 1829 for signing a false muster roll, but had his sentence remitted on the ground that a precedent had been set by other, more senior, officers. The results of amorous liaisons are frequently reflected in the records, usually in connection with wills and settlements. One such case is that of Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Orr (1764-1809), Quartermaster-General on the Madras Establishment (1805-06), whose will states: 'For 2 native children by a Native woman, said to be mine, I have made ample provision, so that they can have no just claims hereafter on my estate'.

Other biographical references may be found scattered among the archives: two examples are the typescript nominal roll of the members of the Bombay Light Patrol, Auxiliary Force (India), as at 25 August 1939 (NAM.8210-111) and a photocopy of a booklet produced by Mehta Gyan Chand, '*Duffadar* [Sergeant] and Accountant' of Hodson's Horse recounting the services of thirteen members of his family in the Indian Army c1857-1913 (NAM.7810-16) – a rare example of non-British input.

Complementing the written biographical sources are portrait and group photographs of all ranks of the Indian Army. Predictably, British officers are better represented and more frequently identified than either the Indian officers or British or native NCOs or other ranks. It is interesting to note that the earliest photographs in the Museum's Collection, those taken by John McCosh, a surgeon on the Bengal Establishment during the campaign in Burma in 1852, consist for the most part of named British officers and their families, (NAM.6204-3).

In the letters, diaries and photographs preserved in the archives is to be found much fascinating detail concerning the life of the soldier, from the humble private to the senior commander, engaged not only on active service but in the daily routine: training, fatigues

and ceremonial and, off duty, the social round of the officers and the less sophisticated recreational pursuits of the ordinary soldier. Since the greater part of the archives fall within this category it is only possible to illustrate the range of the subject matter by highlighting selected items.

Information about daily life in the Indian Army between 1831 and 1844 can be gleaned from letters sent to his family in Lancaster by Sergeant-Major William Braithwaite, Bengal Horse Artillery (NAM.7605-75), from letters written by Major-General F C Maisey from 1840 to 1860 (NAM.6112-275) and from the letters of Captain F Warre Cornish, Bengal Cavalry 1884-99 (NAM.6412-143); the typescript memoirs of his service from 1877 to 1904 compiled by Colonel G J Kellie, Indian Medical Service, provide a full record of the medical, military and social life of the writer, besides including many topographical details (NAM.7507-56). The framework of regimental routine within which all ranks operated is provided by a variety of regimental records exemplified by the following: a bound manuscript Orderly Book of the 25th Madras Native Infantry covering the period 1785-88 (NAM.7412-126); Inspection Returns and Reports relating to the 1st Battalion 9th Madras Native Infantry 1805-25 (NAM.6801-27) and Returns relating to the 2nd Battalion 11th Madras Native Infantry 1822-24 (NAM.6309-143), both of which provide a wealth of detail about the British and Indian personnel of all ranks, the casualties, courts martial and punishments inflicted and arms and accoutrements; the indexed Permanent Order Book of Sam Browne's Cavalry 1852-98 contains extracts from regimental orders relating to gallantry, regimental procedures and interior economy, and the equipment and supplies used by the regiment (NAM.7610-42); and correspondence, returns and other papers relating to the Bombay Light Horse and Bombay Light Patrol, Auxiliary Force (India) 1931-47 which records, among other aspects, the amalgamation of the two units, the dress of the cavalry section of the new unit, Second World War embodiment and training (NAM.8210-111).

The range of material relating to active service is considerable: examples are the diaries of General T H Pearson 1825-43, including the Siege of Bharatpur (Bhurtpore), 9 December 1825 – 17 January 1826 (NAM.5910-152); the journals of Lieutenant F C Trower, 33rd Bengal Native Infantry (NAM.6807-128) and Lieutenant Thomas Gaisford, Bombay Artillery (NAM.8311-28) kept during the First Afghan War (1838-42); the journal of General Sir Arthur Becher written between December 1845 and March 1846 during the First Sikh War (NAM.5407-1); the correspondence and other papers relating to the service during the Indian Mutiny (1857-59) of Lieutenant-Colonel David Wilkie, 4th Bengal Native Infantry and which records the tensions which resulted in the rebellion (NAM.5607-75); the diary of the siege of Lucknow kept by Captain T F Wilson, Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Oudh Field Force, 1857 (NAM.5702-3); the papers of Lieutenant-Colonel H S Cardew, 1/39th Garhwalis 1915-19, including a diary of the gruelling and ultimately disastrous Siege of Kut-al-Amara (1916) and his subsequent experiences in Turkish captivity (NAM.7102-3); and the letters and papers of Brigadier-General Lawrence Maxwell, 2nd Bengal Lancers 1894-1918 during which time he saw action in Waziristan (1894), the South African War (1900-01) and the First World War (1914-18) (NAM.7402-30). This last is of particular interest for

the extract from a letter written by an anonymous Indian soldier c1915 describing how well he had been treated by the elderly French woman on whom he had been billeted: 'The only occupant of the house where I was billeted was an old lady … during the whole three months she ministered to me to such an extent that I cannot describe her kindness. Of her own free will she washed my clothes, arranged my bed, and polished my boots … She washed my bedroom daily with warm water. Every morning she used to prepare and give me a tray with bread, milk, butter and coffee. I was continually wishing to find a way to reimburse her the expense. But howevermuch I pressed her, she declined'.

Examples of official records relating to active service are the letter book of 2nd Infantry Division, Army of the Punjab kept by the Deputy Assistant Adjutant-General, Major Henry Pelham Burn, during the Second Sikh War between November 1848 and April 1849 (NAM.6005-59) and papers relating to Scheme BUTTON, the embarkation at Bombay of part of the force intended to reoccupy Malaya in 1945 (NAM.8102-8).

Virtually all the major and many of the minor campaigns in which the Indian Army was involved following the advent of photography in 1839 are to some degree represented in the photo archive by the work of amateur and professional alike. Felice Beato, an Italian by birth, was particularly interested in architectural photography, a fact reflected in his war pictures. A freelance photographer, his documentary photographs of the destruction of the buildings at Lucknow during the Indian Mutiny were taken after the battles had been won. Beautifully composed, and revealing intricate architectural detail, the pictures distance the viewer from the realities of war, though the views of the shattered entrenchments at Cawnpore and of the remains of rebels killed in the fighting at the Secundra Bagh on the outskirts of Lucknow conjure up visions of horrific events (NAM.6511-113), John Burke, a professional photographer working in the Punjab, was employed by the Indian Government to record the campaign in Afghanistan (1878-80). He accompanied the 1st Division Peshawar Valley Field Force to Afghanistan and spent the winter in the Afghan capital Kabul with the army. His photographs of the troops and especially of the wild country of Afghanistan and of the Sherpur Cantonment during the winter of 1879 are remarkably clear and expressive (NAM.5504-39 to 41).

Some time previously, the authorities had become interested in the military applications of photography, and while the main purpose of the small photographic units attached to the Royal Engineers and Royal Artillery was seen as a duplicating service, copying maps and plans for distribution to the army, they also took pictorial views when the opportunity presented itself. In this way the 10th Company Royal Engineers recorded *inter alia* the participation of the Indian Army in the Abyssinian Expedition of 1868 (NAM.6510-222) while the Bombay Sappers and Miners performed the same function with the Tirah Expeditionary Force of 1897-98 (NAM.5705-28).

The introduction of the roll film camera in 1888 gradually brought the ability to record every aspect of service life within the reach of all ranks and although the myriad 'snapshots' taken after that date are of less value than the carefully composed professional photographs as a record of uniform, weapons and equipment they do introduce a more personal element into

the archive. One of the better examples of this category is the album compiled by Captain R D D Birdwood, Indian Medical Service, attached to the Central India Horse, relating to the unit's service in Egypt, Syria and Burma between 1940 and 1943 (NAM.5112-25). In addition to topographical views, pictures of the local population and the usual portraits of fellow officers this album includes some good studies of the vehicles employed by the regiment, including one in the process of being camouflaged.

Another area in which the Museum's Collections constitute a valuable source of information can broadly be termed that of 'higher command': the archives include the papers of (or at least have some connection with) 23 Commanders-in-Chief Bengal and India. The papers of Field Marshal Viscount Gough (1779-1869) (NAM.7305-43; 8303-105) consist largely of correspondence dating from 1843-49 when Gough was Commander-in-Chief India. This provides valuable insights both into the prosecution of the war against the Sikhs and the discipline and administration of the Bengal Army; it also demonstrates the considerable extent to which the then Governor-General (Dalhousie) intervened in the day-to-day running of military affairs in India.

It is also in the category of 'higher command' that the largest and most important single collection, the papers of Field Marshal Lord Roberts (1832-1914), is to be found (NAM.7101-23). Roberts served in the Bengal Artillery and won the Victoria Cross during the Indian Mutiny. After staff appointments during the operations in Abyssinia (1868) and Lushai (1871-72) in 1874 he was appointed Quartermaster-General in India. He first came to prominent public notice as a result of his service during the second Afghan War (1878-80), and in particular of his famous march from Kabul to Kandahar. Successively Commander-in-Chief in Madras (1881-85), India (1885-93) and Ireland (1895-99), Roberts was in 1899 sent to take over command of the British troops fighting in the South African War. His final active service was as Commander-in-Chief at the War Office (1901-04). His personal diaries cover the period 1860-79, including the Lushai Expedition, and in addition to correspondence with a number of senior officers of the Indian Army there are printed volumes of minutes and notes covering the period 1877-93, correspondence with England while commanding troops in Afghanistan 1878-80, with England while Commander-in-Chief Madras, with Viceroys Lord Dufferin (1885-88) and Lord Lansdowne (1888-93) and with England while Commander-in-Chief India, as well as other miscellaneous papers relating to the Indian subcontinent.

The intervention in the routine administration of the Indian Army by the Governor-General referred to in connection with the Gough papers is also highlighted in the correspondence between Lord Lytton (Viceroy 1876-80) and General Sir Frederick Haines (1812-1909) who held the appointment of Commander-in-Chief India from 1875 to 1881: though his tenure covered the period of the Second Afghan War Haines was not allowed to play an active part (NAM.8108-9). Shortly after the Haines Collection was received, the Museum purchased at auction a considerable proportion of the dispersed papers of the Warre family of Gledfield, among which were some 500 items relating to General Sir Henry Warre's (1819-98) period in command of the Bombay Army 1878-81 (NAM.8112-54). Many of

these documents also refer to the Second Afghan War and with the material in the Haines and Roberts papers constitute an important source of information on the conflict.

In the twentieth century papers of note include those of Field Marshal Lord Birdwood (1865-1951), covering periods of service as General-Officer-Commanding Northern Command (India) 1920-24 and Commander-in-Chief India 1925-30 (NAM.6707-19). Lieutenant-General Sir Reginald Savory (1894-1980) was commissioned into the Indian Army in 1914. He served in Gallipoli and Egypt during the First World War, before a spell in the British Military Mission in Vladivostok. Further active service followed and after being GOC, Persia and Iraq 1945-46 he returned to India to serve as the last Adjutant-General of the pre-Partition Indian Army. His military career is well documented in letters, diaries, press cuttings and other papers (NAM.7603-93). Although less extensive than Savory's the papers of General Sir Roy Bucher (1895-1980), the first commander of the post-Partition Army of India, are concerned largely with the operations against Pakistan in Kashmir, 1947-49 (NAM.7901-87). Together, these two archives give a good impression of the effect the independence of India and Pakistan had on the old Indian Army and its British officers in particular.

One of the subjects discussed in the survey of the Fine Art Collections, that of uniform, is also well represented in the written and photographic archives. The methods of recording the regulations relating to the dress of the Indian Army were varied and inconsistent. Volumes of early orders were hand-written in date order, irrespective of subject, and un-indexed. At other periods printing presses utilized spare capacity to record fully orders and amendments to them, usually with indices. On a number of occasions during the early part of the nineteenth century, individual officers produced 'codes' of regulations by combing through extant orders and selecting those still in force. The three Presidencies – Bengal, Bombay and Madras – also printed their general orders. The details were full when the orders were few in number but as administration grew with the passing of time, basic information dwindled until eventually only officers' uniforms were regulated and even those became the subject of separate publications which appeared at intervals: copies of the *Dress Regulations, India*, dated for the most part between 1885 and 1931, are held by the Museum. Compilations of notes and extracts drawn from all these sources – many of them put together by former officers of the Indian Army – are to be found in the archives and are a useful source of information. The most extensive of these, the work of George Francis Hugh, Second Marquess of Cambridge (1895-1981), includes material derived from *East India Registers and Directories* (NAM.8204-728) and typescript transcripts of dress regulations for Bengal 1791-1873, Madras 1806-51, Bombay 1801-50 and the Indian Army 1901 (NAM.8204-731).

Another fruitful source of information on this subject are the records of tailors and suppliers which include drawings of uniform ornaments, head-dress, sabretaches, badges and other embellishments relating to the Bengal, Madras and Bombay Armies and to the British Army c1815-45 from the Pattern Books of Hamburger, Rogers, Lacemen of Covent Garden (NAM.8303-15) and printed letters and documents relating to the sale to the Army and

other official bodies in India of khaki and other cloth by Messrs E Spinner Ltd of Manchester, 1885-1916 (NAM.7707-57).

Much detail relating to uniform, equipment and weapons can be obtained from any clear photograph, particularly portraits and groups. Photographs of uniform and orders of dress *per se* began to appear from the 1880s onwards. Notable examples are a series of full length portraits of NCOs and men of different regiments taken by Johnston & Hoffman, Calcutta, c1887 (NAM.6412-158); a more extensive series by F Bremner, 'Types of the Indian Army' 1893 (NAM.5504-48) - which also record various items of equipment and weaponry – and a set of fourteen hand coloured photo-graphs of uniforms worn by the 16th Light Cavalry in January 1939 ac-quired, it is stated on the 'title' page, from the regiment's representative on 'the uniform commit-tee' (NAM.6909-56). In addition, many photographs of the various orders of dress worn at different times du-ring the 1930s are to be found in albums compiled by regiments for their respective officers' messes (for example NAM.6504-63; 6504-78; 6504-85) or for the information of potential Indian Army officers at the Royal Military College (now the Royal Military Academy) Sandhurst (NAM.6504-65; 6504-91).

Film

Even more evocative, since moving images appear closer to life than still ones, is the small but nonetheless important film archive – the most interesting component of which consists of the amateur film shot on 8mm. and 16mm stock in the 1930s and 1940s: the subjects vary from footage taken by Major J P N Graham of his regiment, the Central India Horse, and at a mechanization course at Ahmednagar in 1938 (NAM.8009-1) to that of Major P B Nicholls, Royal Engineers, recorded whilst seconded to the Faridkot Sappers and Miners and including scenes at Razmak Camp, life at a bridging camp and the Tochi operations against the notorious Fakir of Ipi in 1942 (NAM.8903-1), and the organization and administration of the Indian Army Military Farms – probably made in 1944 (NAM.9210-47). Other films, some of them professionally produced, chronicle training and ceremonial in the Mahratta Light Infantry in 1943 (NAM.6508-71); everyday life in the 16th Punjab Regiment c1930-49 (NAM.8907-67) and in the 16th Light Cavalry, 1935-45 (NAM.8908-94), and the South Waziristan Scouts in the 1940s (NAM.9001-21).

Oral History

The initiation in 1989 of an Oral History archive at the NAM was to no small extent prompted by the necessity to rectify the neglect of the Indian Army in this rapidly growing field of study; the interviews recorded by former members of the Indian Army include career soldiers and war-service men and women, regulars and volunteers. Here again, the verbal reminiscences complement both the written and pictorial archives and between them cover much of the same ground, though the interplay between the interviewer and his subject often elicits information which might not be considered worthy of recording in writing, which might erroneously be assumed to be common knowledge, or which is simply forgotten until the memory is revived by the interview. Broadly speaking, the interviews concentrate on

the interwar period with particular emphasis on the North-West Frontier in the 1930s and on the Second World War – especially the Far Eastern theatre. In the latter instance the emphasis is due to the deliberate 'targeting' of veterans of the Fourteenth Army in connection with the opening in 1992 of a new Permanent Display dedicated to extending public knowledge of and interest in the war fought by Britain and her allies in the Far East: the chapter entitled 'Before I Forget' in the NAM publication *The Forgotten War. The British Army in the Far East 1941-1945*, edited by David Smurthwaite (London 1992) is based on the recollections of former members of the British and Indian Armies who served there.

Buy out, Pay Off, and a Pension?
Terms of discharge from Queen Victoria's Army

By Peter D Rogers

Many times you read in an enquiry: 'My Great Grandfather etc. left India and settled in…..'. But what did they have to live on? By chance, while working on a transcription project, I found an extract from a document (IOR: L/MIL/7/12768) entitled 'Royal Warrant 1st July 1848. Paragraphs 17 & 21 (dealing with Deferred Pensions)'. A summary of para. 17 may help to throw light on your ancestors' financial affairs. (Para. 21 merely explains the terms of 17 at greater length).

'PARA. 17. Soldiers may be allowed to purchase or obtain their discharge upon the following conditions:-

Discharges, Free or by Purchase; Registry for Deferred Pensions.

[*There follows a detailed table of amounts payable by soldiers wishing to buy their discharge, which reduced by stages according to length of service and number of distinguishing marks earned for good conduct. Not all the stages are shown here*.]

	Europeans		Blacks [*sic*]
	Cavalry	Infantry	
	£	£	£
Under 7 years' actual service, without a distinguishing mark.	30	20	12
After 10 years' actual service with one distinguishing mark.	15	10	5
After 12 years' actual service with two distinguishing marks.	5	Free	Free
After 14 years' actual service with two distinguishing marks. After 16 years with one distinguishing mark.	Free, with right of registry for deferred pension of 4d. a day, upon attaining 50 years of age.		
After 16 years' actual service, with two distinguishing marks, having possessed the second at least 12 months.	Free, with right of registry for deferred pension of 6d. a day, upon attaining 50 years of age.		
After 16 years' actual service, without a distinguishing mark.	Free.		

Discharges etc. of Soldiers becoming Settlers in Australia.

Soldiers serving with Regiments in the Australian Colonies (including New Zealand), who are desirous of becoming settlers in those Colonies, may, subject to such instructions as shall from time to time be given, be permitted to obtain discharge at their own request upon the following terms: -

Under 7 years	actual service, upon payment of £20.
Above 7 years	actual service, upon payment of £10.
8 years	actual service, upon payment of £7.
9 years	actual service, upon payment of £4.
10 years	Free discharge.
11 years	Free discharge & pay for 3 months
12 years	Free discharge & pay for 6 months.
13 years	Free discharge & pay for 9 months.
14 years	Free discharge & pay for 12 months.
15 years	Free discharge & pay for 12 months with right of registry for a deferred pension of 4d. a day, on obtaining 60 years of age.
Above 16 years	actual service, free discharge and pay for 12 months, with right of registry for a deferred pension of 6d. a day, on obtaining 60 years of age.

Gratuities to men embarked after 1st March 1833, and of Black soldiers, becoming Settlers not in Australia.

When it is the intention of an European Soldier enlisted subsequently to the 31st March 1833, or a Black at whatever time enlisted, who has been permitted to obtain a free discharge at his own request, to settle in any other of Her Majesty's Colonies, he may, if in good health, be allowed in furtherance of that object, by The Secretary of War, a gratuity proportioned to the length of his services according to the following Scale, but this gratuity shall be paid to him only in the Colony in which he proposes to settle, and in such manner and at such times, but within eighteen months after his arrival, as shall be deemed best for his interests, by the General Officer in Command of the Station, or by the Governor of the Colony, but the permission to settle in the Colonies will of course be governed by the instructions of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Cavalry	Infantry	Europeans	Blacks

		Pte.	Corp.	Serjt.	Pte.	Corp.	Serjt.
After 15 years	After 12 years	£10	£15	£20	£6	£9	£12
After 17 years	After 14 years	12	18	24	7	10	14
After 18 years	After 15 years	14	20	28	8	12	16
After 19 years	After 16 years	16	24	32	9	13	18
After 20 years	After 17 years	18	27	36	10	15	20
After 21 years	After 18 years	20	30	40	11	16	22
After 22 years	After 19 years	24	36	48	12	18	24

provided that, in the case of Corporal and Sergeant he shall have served continuously 5 years immediately preceding his discharge in the rank he held when discharged.

Where grants of land in the Colonies can be made in addition to the free discharge, the precise terms of the grant, and the most advantageous mode of paying the gratuity, shall be clearly explained to the soldier before he receives his Discharge, and shall be registered in the Regimental Records. When a soldier who has received a free discharge, with or without a gratuity, has been settled 3 months, and is actually residing on his grant, and is industriously employed in clearing it, the Governor, under authority from the Secretary of War may authorise the issue of a quarter's pension at 6d. day for Europeans, and 5d. a day for Blacks, and may from time to time renew such issue for a period not exceeding in the whole one year.'

The Children of John Company – The Anglo-Indians, Part 1

From a talk by Geraldine Charles to the FIBIS Annual Open Meeting on 19 November 2005

My talk is based on my own journey to research both my Anglo-Indian ancestry and to find out more about the history of the Community into which I was born.
It seems traditional to include in any talk about the Anglo-Indian Community a list of some of its more famous members. These lists often include stars of stage and screen, such as Sir Cliff Richard, Vivienne Leigh, Engelbert Humperdinck and Merle Oberon. Certainly we are more familiar with their names, than perhaps with those of the men who played a key role in the development of the Anglo-Indian Community: men like John Ricketts and the poet Henry Derozio, who fought for the restoration of the Anglo-Indian Community's rights in the 19th century, chroniclers of the Community, such as Herbert Stark, who wrote on a number of aspects of the Community's history, or its political leaders of the 20th century, such as Sir Henry Gidney and Frank Anthony, who were to take the Community forward towards Independence and beyond.

Definition of 'Anglo-Indian' and the use of older terms as Genealogical tools

But what do we mean by Anglo-Indian – certainly not, as some might mistakenly think, someone who had one British and one Indian parent! Often the Indian ancestor may be on a distaff line, some four or five generations back, camouflaged by a European name. In the 19th century the term was used to describe someone who had been born in the UK but had gone out to India to follow a career (or to accompany a spouse) and who may or may not have retired back to the UK. Such people were not of mixed ancestry descent and another term commonly used to describe them is 'Domiciled Europeans'.

It's all too easy to become bogged down in discussions as to what 'Anglo-Indian' means. Personally I find the definitions in the 1935 Government of India Act and in the 1950 Constitution of India somewhat ambiguous. I give them below – it's up to you to muse upon their usefulness as a genealogical tool! But in my view, to be a true Anglo-Indian you have to be brought up within the Anglo-Indian community.

The earliest use of the term Anglo-Indian, by people of mixed ancestry in reference to themselves, seems to date from 1883.[1] Prior to that, people of mixed British/Indian ancestry seem to have favoured the term East Indian. The first official use of the term Anglo-Indian to describe people of mixed ancestry seems to be in the 1911 Census of India. However the first official definition appears much later in the 1935 Government of India Act. This definition certainly embraces a wide spectrum of people who may not have thought of themselves as Anglo-Indian but as Domiciled Europeans! It states:

> Anglo-Indian means a person whose father or any of whose other male progenitors in the male line is or was of European descent, but who is a native of India.[2]

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[1] *Book citations in footnotes should be read in conjunction with the Book list at the end of the article.*

[1] See footnote 177 in Chapter on the European and Anglo-Indian Defence Association (Renford).

[2] Stark Appendix in BACSA reprint

Replace the final seven words with 'and who is not a native of India' and one has the definition of a European! Now simply work out what 'native of India' means and all should be crystal clear![3]

This definition was superseded in 1950 by that in Schedule 366 of the Constitution of India:

> Anglo-Indian means a person whose father or any of whose other male progenitors in the male line is or was of European descent but who is domiciled within the territory of India and is or was born within such territory of parents habitually resident therein and not established there for temporary purposes only.

While it is more specific, it makes no comment about the mother's ancestry. Also the definition only relates to the use of the term within the Constitution and I would argue that it should not take precedence over any other definition of the term Anglo-Indian outside of its Constitutional context.

Since I gave my talk I have come across a definition that is both new to me and I feel more accurate than those contained in the 1935 Act or the Constitution of India. It appears in the introduction to Stark's book *John Ricketts and his times* (1934). Stark discusses various definitions and ends by saying:

> whichever is used, the denotation implied is that set forth in the Electoral Rules of the Central and Provincial Legislative Councils of India: - namely a person of mixed Asiatic and non-Asiatic descent, whose father, grandfather or remote ancestor in the male line was born on the Continent of Europe, Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa or the United States of America, **and who is not a European**.

For genealogical purposes (pre 1833) I find the umbrella terms of Anglo-Indian and Eurasian unhelpful when trying to distinguish between a European progenitor and his 'country born'[4] children and spouse. The term 'half-caste' is both inaccurate[5] and insulting and I would no more consider using it to describe my ancestors or myself than I would the term 'half-breed'. I find the following distinctions helpful:

- East Indian (to denote British/Indian ancestry) as this is the term the emerging community seems to have coined to refer to itself.

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[3] According to Hawes, when the Regulating Act of 1773 'established the concepts of the 'British Subject' and the 'Native of India' the question of whether Eurasians were British subjects or not became open to interpretation, for the Act was silent on the question of their status'. At present I don't know if there is any connection between this use of the term in 1773 and its use in the 1935 Act.

[4] In the context of this article it means born in the Subcontinent or other Far Eastern country.

[5] Why inaccurate? If a Hindu woman married outside the Hindu faith I would presume she is more likely to have been treated as out-caste not half-caste. If she were baptised prior to her marriage she would, from then on, be a Christian as would her children if they were baptised. It is unlikely that all the Indian women who married Europeans were Hindus, thus reference to 'caste' with respect to their children would not only be insulting it would be highly inaccurate.

- Luso-Indian (denoting Portuguese/Indian ancestry[6]) used by the Anglo-Indian historian Stark. The terms Mestiço or Topass I avoid as they are disparaging although it's useful to be aware of what they mean.
- Indo-French (denoting French/Indian ancestry) rather than Métis.

- For other European ancestry I would simply use the prefix 'Indo' with Danish, Dutch, German, Greek etc as appropriate.

Those with early connections with the Straits Settlements or Singapore might have Eurasian elements that are European/Indonesian rather than European/Indian.

Women in India before 1833

It is a commonly held belief by people with India connections that, if their ancestors who were born in India had British names, they can't be of mixed ancestry - let us explore this idea.

In his leaflet *Anglo-Indian and Eurasian Origin*s the Bishop of Nagpur, Eyre Chatterton, states that *c*1800, in Bengal, the estimated number of Englishwomen married to Englishmen was 200 to 4000 or (1 in 20).

Take the hypothetical case of a woman wishing to proceed to India before 1833, one who was not going out to join a husband or fiancée. She would have needed:

- The permission of the EIC to reside within its territories
- Money for the outward passage
- A means of supporting herself after her arrival
- A strong constitution to withstand the rigours of the climate and life in the EIC establishments.

If she married or entered a relationship out there, with a man of the EIC's lower ranks, it is unlikely they would have had the money to allow her to return to Britain for her confinement. Not only would she need to be capable of surviving childbirth in India, her children would need to be of robust health to survive childhood in 17th-18th century India.

There simply wasn't a large pool of marriageable British women in India from which the lower echelons of the EIC's men could have chosen wives. Instead they entered into marriage or long-term relationships with country born women, who might be East Indian, Luso-Indian or Indian. Women who accompanied soldiers serving with British Army regiments would tend to stay with the regiment and return with it to England. If they lost their husband it was usual to marry again within the regiment. Any children born in India, who survived, would probably accompany their father's regiment home. Therefore these women and their children are unlikely to be ancestral to Anglo-Indians.

Interestingly Chatterton mentions that in the mid 18th century the EIC induced a number of young women to go out to India with the pleasant prospect of finding husbands and comfortable homes. He writes:

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[6] Stark: deriving from an old term for Portugal – Lusitania.

The miserable quarters under the Fort walls of Madras ... the bad sanitation and the great heat and discomfort were so trying that many of these young English women refused to share their lot with the British soldiers, and preferred anything rather than life under such conditions.

Author's great grandparents, c1906 in Allahabad: George Charles who came out from Camberwell with the East Surrey Regiment and then joined the EIR, and his wife Elizabeth (née Lyons). Behind her is her brother John, between them is Elizabeth (Lena) Charles from whom all the Australasian Ayo family descend. In front: Alfred Charles, a Lyons cousin, and George Charles the author's grandfather. He became an Electrical Engineer and is reputed to have helped install the original electrics to illuminate the fountains at the Brindavan Gardens at Krishnaraja Sagar including those for the famous musical dancing fountain.

The result of this failure was that the majority of British soldiers still had to find their wives among the women of India. Alas, Chatterton does not tell us the fate of these women.

The Children of 'John Company'[7]

How was it that there came to be a population of Christian women, of mixed ancestry, in the British settlements?

As Portuguese influence in the subcontinent waned during the 17th century, men of Luso-Indian descent sought employment as mercenaries within the EIC's establishments. Their families who were of course Roman Catholics accompanied them. The scarcity of Christian women resulted in some of the EIC's men entering into relationships and marriage with Luso-Indian women. Records in London's Lambeth Palace Archives indicate the Church of England was dismayed that the children of such marriages were being baptised within their mother's religion. Meanwhile, the EIC's Directors expressed concern 'that if the soldiers at Fort St George lived with or married the many Portuguese women there, the children would be brought up Roman Catholics rather than Protestants'. On 8 April 1687, the EIC decided to promote Christian marriages between their men and the Indian women of Fort St George by offering a payment of a 'Pagoda' (7s 8d in 1750) to the wife at the time of a child's baptism.[8] According to Hawes this practice was adopted and continued

[7] John Company' was a nickname for the EIC. The creation of the community is discussed in Stark and in Hawes at great length. The concerns of the Church of England are discussed both in Hawes and in Chatterton 1924.

[8] See EIC Despatch, IOR: E/3/91 p209 and Stark 1997.

until 1741. Later there was a monthly allowance Rs. 5 per child born to soldiers in the ranks.[9]

Thus 'John Company' encouraged the birth of a British/Indian, protestant community.

17th and 18th century Ecclesiastical records in the India Office Records

With the above in mind, it is therefore somewhat frustrating that the IOR's N series (baptisms, marriages and burials) does not cover the earliest period when the mixed ancestry community came into being. The Madras records (N/2) start in 1698 (eleven years after the EIC had suggested offering a payment to encourage marriages with Indian women) while those for Bombay (N/3) start in 1709 and Bengal (N/1) in 1713. Even after ecclesiastical records begin a Roman Catholic marriage or baptism may be impossible to find. The N series does not contain Catholic records until the 19th century: 1835 for Madras and 1842 for the other two Presidencies. The original records, if they survive, will still be in India.

It is also possible that some early marriages may have been performed according to rites of a non-Christian religion**.**

If I come to a missing record and I know I am not tracing a Roman Catholic line, I try and get round the situation by looking for siblings and trace back that way. For example the baptism records for my Great Grandmother, Susan Harvey and her sister Grace, are both missing from the 1860's N series records, but those of their brothers John and Alexander are present.

Early Marriages

East Indian and Luso-Indian men would probably have sought wives/partners from amongst the local Indian women or within the East Indian community (which also included women of Luso-Indian stock). They would also have been in competition with British men for eligible women to marry. The use of European surnames and Christian names would be perpetuated in their descendants. It would be difficult to distinguish between a man who was British and one who was East Indian simply by examining their names in the records. Presumably East Indian and Luso-Indian women would have had no difficulty in finding husbands/partners from British men coming out to India or within the developing East Indian community. This perpetuated European names in their descendants. East Indian and Luso-Indian children would bear their father's surname and a European Christian name. Unless their mother's original Indian name was recorded on the baptism entry there would be no way of distinguishing if she were British, East Indian or Indian.

[9] Stark 1997.

Marriages between Britons and Indians

During the 18th century occasional entries in the Madras Marriage records indicate that sometimes Indian women were baptised immediately before the marriage ceremony and so have a European Christian name, but no surname. Others seem to adopt a European name after their marriage. For example my (4x) Great Grandmother is named as Mootamah when she married Robert Harvey (Sgt of Supernumeraries) on 23 November 1788. On the baptismal record of their first child, Francis (1789), she appears as Mootamah but for subsequent baptisms of her five other children she appears as Sarah. Robert died in 1805 whilst Sarah outlived him dying in 1830 aged 65. They are both buried at St Mary's, Fort St George.

What's in a name?

Within a couple of generations a thriving community developed of people who were a mix of British, East Indian and Luso-Indian ancestry - a Genealogist's nightmare.

To complicate matters not everyone who bears a Portuguese surname is a Luso-Indian, some may be Mangalorean or the descendants of Indians who converted to Roman Catholicism and adopted both a Portuguese Christian name and a surname. Not everyone with a Portuguese surname is necessarily a Catholic either - some are Protestant.

Other pitfalls can be Anglicised names that mask original European roots. In *Ulysses in the Raj* (the Greeks in India) Norris gives the examples of Shahiny becoming Shaw and also Greek surnames being anglicised to Nicholls and Patterson.

In the past it was not unknown for a man with a non-British surname to take his wife's British surname, if he felt it would improve his employment chances. This however means it is the distaff surname which then passes to future generations in the male line, for example D'Cruz being dropped in favour of Goodman.

An Anglo-Indian Family Album

Anglo-Indian families can be related by more than one marriage between the same families. They can also be related by marriages across generations. I would like to illustrate this by reference to my own family.

In 1894 my Great Grandparents Robert Johnson and Susan Harvey married in Madras. Robert's father had been married three times and Robert was the child of the third marriage. Robert had two older half sisters, one of them, Caroline Johnson, married Henry Thoy and had a son Charles. Charles Thoy married Grace Harvey, Susan's sister, in 1903.

My two grandmothers Daisy Bradbury (née Johnson) and Aileen Charles (née Ellis) were related through the marriage of the former's brother, Alan Johnson, to the latter's sister Amelia (Amy) Ellis. If it hadn't been for this marriage my parents would not have met. My mother left Bangalore to stay with her Uncle, who was the Archdeacon of Bombay, while she did her teacher's training. My father, who was an officer with the Indian Merchant Navy, used to stay with his Aunt when on shore leave as his mother, who had been widowed, had

already left India to live with her eldest son. They met and instead of emigrating to New Zealand and joining his fiancée my father stayed in India and married my mother! A range of complexions can occur within siblings – my grandfather Bertie Bradbury said to me when describing himself and his nine brothers and sisters: 'we were like the keys on a piano!'.

Looking for clues

Author's maternal gt-grandparents, c1896, Bellary, India: William Bradbury (b1838) Prison Superintendent, and Ann Bradbury (née Hellein, b1847), surrounded by their ten children. William sits between his wife Ann (hands in lap) and his sister-in-law Esther Hellein. The men's careers typified Anglo-Indian employment opportunities: Police Service, Forest Dept, Railway Engineer, and three in the Telegraph Dept including the author's grandfather Bertie (bottom right, b1886) who became Chief Superintendent, Post and Telegraphs, Lucknow. Typically some Anglo-Indian siblings look more European than others. William's father James was English (Gunner, EIC's Horse Artillery) and his mother Catharine Williams (b c1818) was Anglo-Indian. Ann's father William Hellein (b1806) was Assistant Apothecary, 48th Madras NI, suggesting he was Anglo-Indian. Ann's mother, Elizabeth Delang (b c1829) was probably Anglo-Indian.

I believe it to be important not to restrict one's research just to a direct ancestral line. Finding the baptisms and marriages of siblings can provide useful information. I also believe, for Anglo-Indian research, that tracing all distaff lines is important. I suspect that families within the Anglo-Indian Community may be more closely linked than we currently think and this might become more apparent by tracing marriages of siblings and both paternal and maternal lines.

Note the useful information to be found in the IOR's N series:

<u>Baptismal records</u>

Can track the changes in employment/promot-ions of a man by finding the baptismal records of all his children. This information can then be followed up (depending on his job) by looking in relevant records relating to Military service, Civilian employment, Pensions etc (*Baxter's Guide* is quite useful for getting an idea as to what records might exist).

<u>Marriage records</u>

- If a woman is described as a widow or relict, check to see if her father's surname is recorded to get her original maiden name.
- For a widower/widow, look for earlier marriages and for children from earlier marriages. My (2x) Great Grandfather Thomas Johnson was married 3 times.
- Look for other family members as witnesses.
- Note professions also recorded on marriage certificates.

<u>Burial records</u>

- May record a person's profession.
- Normally record place of death - useful for identifying relevant cemetery file in records of British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia (BACSA) held in the

India Office Private Papers. Gravestone transcripts can give spouse's name and mention children's names.
- Look for children who did not survive childhood.

Rules of Thumb

I came up with the following 'rules of thumb' for my own research. I hope they will be of help to those who think they may have found an Anglo-Indian ancestral line.

Pre 1833 records

- Portuguese surname probably indicates an East Indian with Luso-Indian ancestry on male line.
- Brides with a European first name, but no surname, might be Indian converts.
- Children born and brought up in India before 1833 whose mothers were also born and brought up in India, may well be of mixed ancestry on their distaff line. Possible that their grandmothers or great grandmothers were Indian.
- The likelihood that Indian ancestresses can be identified is small - unless they have an Indian name in the records. Sometimes one has to make an educated guess.

The Armies of the EIC

- The EIC's Armies comprised European and Native Regiments.
- Regimental titles normally contain a Presidency name and the distinguishing term 'European' or 'Native', for example 32nd Madras Native Infantry or 2nd Madras European Regiment (some exceptions, e.g. Skinner's Horse).
- For the European Regiments both officers and other ranks tended to be recruited in Britain.
- For the Native Regiments officers were normally recruited in Britain but the lower ranks tended to be recruited in India.
- Men with British or Portuguese names in the lower ranks of the Native Regiments are probably East Indian or Luso-Indian, particularly if they were employed as Farriers, Bandsmen, Sub-Conductors or Assistant Apothecaries.

Distinguishing between EIC and British Armies

It helps to know whether you should be researching at The National Archives (British Army) or the OIOC (EIC and Indian Army).

- EIC regiments normally have a Presidency name (Bengal, Bombay or Madras).
- British Army regiments tend to have a British place name or 'Royal' in their title.[10]
- Indian Army regiments generally have an Indian place name or word in their title.

Evidence of Anglo-Indians serving in Bombay European Regiments of the EIC

Jessica Arah has recently found evidence that from 1824/25 onwards East Indians were serving in some of the EIC's European Bombay regiments.[11] The speculation at present is

[10] Or sometimes 'H.M.'.

[11] See in L/MIL/12/156: casualty roll preceding 1st European Regiment muster.

that these may be the mixed ancestry sons or even grandsons of European soldiers that are serving in their father's regiment. For example, Private Emmanuel Oliver 'native' dies and leaves his property to son Francis. In a later casualty list Francis is now a drummer in the same regiment. Francis is described as East Indian. Francis dies and leaves his property to another drummer, Salvador Oliver.

The research also confirms that the term 'East Indian' is in use as late as 1846.
[*The second part of Geraldine's talk, in which she touches on the history of the Anglo-Indian Community, will appear in the next issue of the Journal]*

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India – it was Magical

By Hazel Craig[1]

What a hold Mother India has upon so many of us who knew and loved her, whether we were *memsahibs*, *babalogue* or *burra sahibs*! And if we're going to be PC about things in order to conform to current thinking, we occasionally have to hang our heads in simulated shame when we're taken to task about our roles as wicked colonisers. But were we all that wicked? Surely we gave as well as took? I maintain that India and Britain are fortunate enough to have a very special relationship and nothing can break that. How many of us are able to look back on childhoods so full of love and fidelity from *ayahs* and other faithful servants? How many of us can remember such idyllic childhoods where the *baba* could do no wrong. We were blessed.

But I also blush with shame when I remember childhood incidents which might, quite rightly, be interpreted today as arrogantly cruel. One such comes to mind: on a scorching summer's day my twin brother and I were in the lovely garden tended by our faithful *mali* when we made our way to the communal stand-pipe used by the house servants as well as by the neighbouring villagers who came into our compound. We were probably about four or five years old and had caught on to the fact that if our shadow fell upon the bucket or other container being used by the people around the stand-pipe, their religion demanded that the water be thrown away and the bucket re-filled. Oh what fun we had positioning ourselves so that our shadows fell upon so many buckets! If *ayah* had witnessed these wicked games, she would complain to my mother with the words: 'Oozoo-baba baba naughty baba *memsahib*' and spill the beans. 'Oozoo' was the nearest translation she could achieve towards my real name, Hazel.

Our bungalow was in Dum Dum, off the Jessore Road, part of the Indian HQ of The Gramophone Company and HMV records, where my father worked. He used to disappear through a little wooden door at one end of our garden into the busy, humming factory where he was on the sales staff. Little did we ever dream that Dum Dum would one day become the site of one of India's largest airports.

In common with many other expats, we children would be taken backwards and forwards to England on our father's home leaves, and when WW2 broke out, we were brought back to India and sent to boarding schools in Darjeeling, I to Mount Hermon, a co-educational school founded and run by American Methodist missionaries, and brother Geoff to St Paul's, the well-known boys' school.

What a shock I experienced on becoming a boarder at Mount Hermon. No-one was unkind to me, but for the first couple of months there having, I thought, been rejected by my mother, I cried myself to sleep every night. Being a skinny little girl, much smaller than my

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[1] Hazel Craig (née Innes) is the author of *Under The Old School Topee* (now in its 5th and last reprint) and is working on a new book to be entitled *The Railway Children of the Raj* comprising memories of people who were children of the men who worked for the Indian railways during the British Raj.

ten years indicated, some idiot decreed that I should be in the Babies' Dorm and also in a class far below the one I had attended at home in England. I rose up the school, class by class like a meteor, as the authorities realised their mistake, but I didn't get any happier. That nine month incarceration every year for four years, with only the three month holiday with our parents during the 'cold weather', probably scarred me for life! I exaggerate. With the advent of maturity, I realised that my parents were only doing what they thought was best for me. But I now maintain that the young boarding school children in Britain today have no idea how lucky they are with their ability to chat with parents on the phone, many only a few hours' drive away from home. We hill school wallahs had to endure two long train journeys by night and most of the next day before we reached our homes, or when returning to our schools in the hills, many overlooked by the mountainous Himalayan ranges.

The author and her brother as schoolchildren in Darjeeling, c1940. They are standing outside the door of a Buddhist monastery.

During the days of WW2 we would be allowed to listen to the BBC news, and wept as one country after another fell to the Nazi hordes. We also followed the news of Burma's invasion by the Japanese and received many evacuees from Burma as classmates. By now my father had been called up into the Indian Army and we were posted to Delhi where first we lived in three rather splendid adjoining tents and then graduated to a spacious bungalow.

Soon it would be time for us to return to England as our parents felt that we should continue our secondary education at home. So it was that with my mother we boarded the famous anchor line ship *Strathaird* at Bombay in 1944, bound for Liverpool. Our voyage was uneventful apart from the dropping of depth charges, when we all thought we'd been torpedoed! But we arrived unscathed in Liverpool Docks where we had to explain to the authorities why we needed to go to Eastbourne which was a restricted area. My mother was from Sussex and one of her old school friends had offered to put us up until we found a furnished house there. The powers-that-be finally agreed to our going to Eastbourne and we soon realised why it was a restricted area when the Second Front began. My brother and I were sent to the Grammar and High Schools in Eastbourne, and when the war ended I went to college in Brighton and learnt to be a secretary, and my twin joined the Merchant Navy. My father eventually came back to England and was duly demobbed from the Indian Army. His one memorable story was of how he went to the demob centre to receive his new suit of clothes and was appalled to hear a voice call out 'Forty – portly' before his demob suit was fetched and handed to him.

In 1946 I went back to India with my mother and father, first to Calcutta and then to Madras. In Calcutta I worked as a secretary at *The Statesman* newspaper office, and in Madras I 'temped' for various businessmen. I also had the excitement of spending a couple of

months in the famous hill station of Ootacamund, where I had a gang of girl friends. Oh, how we enjoyed ourselves at parties and dances patronised by young army officers on leave. Our final family move was to Karachi, now in the newly formed state of Pakistan, where my father was in charge of the HMV office set-up there. We lived in the Central Hotel close to the mansion inhabited by Mohamed Ali Jinnah, Pakistan's leader. In Karachi I made friends with some young American boys and girls working at the U.S. Embassy with whom I used to go out to a beach called Sandspit every Sunday and have the time of my life.

In 1949 it was time to return to England with my parents and we went back to Eastbourne and rented yet another furnished house. My poor, long suffering mother never had a house in England that she could call her own. I can't believe how the years have flown. Now I am a widow, and spend many happy hours turning the pages of my photograph albums, remembering my childhood, my girlhood and young womanhood in what I think of as my other country – India. It was magical.

George Bogle, Part 2
The Advent of Warren Hastings 1772- 1774

By Richard Wenger

[Part 1 described Bogle's early life, his voyage to India, and his life during his first eighteen months in Calcutta up to the close of 1771]

In 1772 Warren Hastings arrived in Bengal as a reforming Governor. He was also to play a decisive role in the life of George Bogle. To understand the circumstances in which both men had to work it is first necessary to give a brief summary of the complex and often turbulent events in Bengal since the battle of Plassey, and of the precarious situation of the East India Company in London.

Clive's defeat of Siraj-ud-Daula at Plassey in 1757 resulted in a dramatic change in the East India Company's position in Bengal. As the mariner Captain Thomas Forrest put it in 1760 in a letter to the Director Thomas Phipps:

> Your system of Politicks here in India (in my humble opinion) is diametrically opposite to what it was 10 years ago: You then traded under the Protection of certain Black Princes but now you are sovereign yourselves, you have acquired great things in Bengall but if these Acquisitions are not properly supported and maintained they will be snatched from you in the end.[1]

The new Nawab Mir Jafar Khan owed his throne to Clive and responded by showering him and his entourage with handsome presents but he proved to be an incompetent and extravagant ruler and was unable to pay arrears due to the Company. In 1760 he was deposed by Clive's successor Henry Vansittart in favour of his son-in-law Mir Kasim, by contrast a capable and intelligent ruler who proceeded to carry out various reforms. Private inland trade by Company servants had grown enormously since Plassey. Many of them were making large fortunes in salt, betel nut, opium, tobacco and other commodities and depriving the Nawab's treasury of funds by avoiding payment of his customs dues through the use of the Company's *dustuk* or private permit, and their *gomastahs* or agents often employed sepoys, using intimidation and inflicting floggings and forced contracts on behalf of their masters. Mir Kasim asked Vansittart to put a stop to this trade. The latter recognised the Nawab's right to impose controls and with the support of Warren Hastings tried to reach an agreement but was opposed by the majority of his Council. The enraged Nawab then abolished all duties for both the British and the Bengalis, thus removing the British advantage. Soon hostilities broke out, there was a massacre of Europeans and their Indian supporters, and Mir Kasim was deposed in favour of Mir Jafar again. Despite Mir Kasim allying himself with Shuja-ud-Daula the Nawab of Oudh, and the Mughal Emperor, their combined forces were defeated in a fierce battle at Buxar in October 1764. As a result the Company gained effective control of most of Bengal and Bihar, and its army pushed on into Oudh and captured Allahabad. Vansittart, whose policy of conciliation had

[1] 16 July 1760. West Sussex Record Office. W.S.R.O., Add Ms. 15,405. Quoted by permission of the County Archivist.

failed, resigned and returned home followed by Hastings. When news arrived in London that Bengal was once more 'a scene of bloodshed and confusion', there was a call for Clive to return to re-establish order. He agreed and was made Governor of Bengal and Commander-in-Chief, and Laurence Sulivan the Company's Chairman, who had supported Vansittart, resigned. As one young politician Charles Jenkinson observed: 'the affairs of this Company seem to be much too big for the management of a body of merchants' and he predicted a Parliamentary enquiry.

In the summer of 1765 Clive met Shuja-ud-Daula at Allahabad and signed a treaty returning most of Oudh upon his agreement to pay an indemnity and become an ally. Clive also reached an agreement with the Emperor who, in return for the districts of Kora and Allahabad and an annual tribute, granted to the Company the *diwani* of Bengal empowering it to collect the revenues. However, the Company was reluctant to be involved in administration, merely authorising the Resident at Murshidabad (the Nawab's capital) to receive the money from the young Nawab Najm-ud-Daula whose army had been disbanded and who had no real authority. The mode of collection was left to native officials who raised what they pleased from the *ryots* (peasants) and native traders. The Dual system as it was called proved to be a failure but at home, encouraged by Clive's excessively optimistic dispatches, the *diwani* was considered to mean a sudden and dramatic increase in wealth and triggered speculation in East India Company stock. In 1767 the elder Pitt, now Lord Chatham, who had described the Company's affairs as 'too vast', instituted a Parliamentary enquiry. His cash-strapped Government also passed a Bill limiting its dividend and ordering it to pay £400,000 per annum for two years. In 1769 Sulivan was again re-elected Chairman after a massive share-splitting campaign, but a few weeks later there was a sudden collapse in the share price caused by news that Hyder Ali, the ruler of Mysore, was ravaging the Carnatic up to Madras, and there were rumours that the French were assembling an army in Mauritius. Many of the speculators, including Sulivan and Vansittart, were ruined.

It was against this troubled background that George Bogle had arrived in Bengal in 1770. Clive's reforms during his second term as Governor to deal with some of the abuses by Company servants included covenants obtained from senior servants binding them not to accept presents, a prohibition against inland trade in certain profitable commodities, and the setting up of a 'Society of Trade' to benefit senior servants which proved unpopular with those not involved, but the prohibitions were often disobeyed. By the 1770s it was still possible to trade legally and profitably in certain goods although in the early years of the decade it was difficult due to the lack of credit and the great famine (described in Part 1). As George told his father: 'the great number of overgrown fortunes, which were formerly carried home from this country, impoverished it vastly and sets every person's head agog about India … many fortunes have been acquired by the most unjustifiable means not to say the worse of them.' It was therefore his ambition and wish to make only a modest fortune through the service of the Company and by application to trade.

Hastings had been called to give evidence to Chatham's enquiry and 'attracted general notice by his prompt, masterly and intelligent expositions'. In his evidence he

acknowledged that the Emperor and the Nawab no longer had any effective authority in Bengal and that 'possession of the country is in the English' and assured the enquiry that they had it in their power to make it 'the most beneficial spot in the country'. Desperately short of money he was fortunate enough to be appointed second in Council at Madras in 1768. There he supervised the export warehouse and improved both the price and quality of the goods, particularly the fine ones through direct purchase, much to the satisfaction of the Directors. When the *Aurora* was lost, with Vansittart and the other two Supervisors sent out to reform Bengal on board, the Directors considered sending others, but in May 1771 decided to appoint Hastings as Governor to succeed Cartier. In doing so they seemed to be acknowledging a widespread appreciation of his high qualities as an administrator. He described it as 'an honour equally unsolicited and unexpected on my part', and sailed for Calcutta in February 1772. Once there he spent his time 'reading, learning but not inwardly digesting' until he took over on 9 April. George told his friend David Anderson: 'Mr Hastings has been much taken up since his arrival, c'est un homme qui est connu seulement à ses amis – tant mieux heureuse' [*sic*]. A few days later he observed 'how charming to see a great man affable to all the world and yet from superior good sense and a particular behaviour command respect and attention'.

George was now living with Jack Stewart, a kinsman, whom he had known in London. Stewart had had an adventurous life. He had spent some time in America and his private life had been somewhat scandalous. A man of short stature, he was witty and well liked and being a true Scotsman took every opportunity to praise his native country. As he was a good linguist Lord Shelburne had sent him as a Government agent to France and then Corsica prior to its annexation by the French in 1769. Stewart was another victim of the crash of East India stock through his association with the notorious Lauchlan Macleane, and being in straitened financial circumstances had been fortunate enough through the influence of Sir George Colebrooke in May 1771 to obtain the post of Judge-Advocate General in Bengal, with the right to succeed as Secretary to the Council on the first vacancy. Hastings made a mild protest to his friend Sulivan, pointing out that, although 'he is a sensible man and appears to possess a good temper', his appointment created a very dangerous precedent as nominees from home would lack experience and be unfamiliar with all the forms relating to the dispatch of business; also it had always been the practice for the Governor himself to choose a new Secretary for he was more the assistant of the Governor than of the Council as the Governor was 'the only responsible person for the execution of the resolution of the Board'.

Another of George's friends, Alexander Elliot, who had just turned eighteen was now with Anderson at Murshidabad. He was the son of Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto, the Treasurer of the Navy and a patron of David Hume and other members of the Scottish Enlightenment. He was closely related to Stewart through his mother and Stewart informed George that he was also a relative of his, but George was so ignorant of the Bogle genealogy that he didn't really know how he 'came to have that honour and the misfortune is Mr Elliot cannot set me to rights'. With Anderson's help Elliot was learning Persian. George gave his young friend some advice: ride in the morning and do not read Persian at night. Elliot's appointment

was conspicuous for being chiefly political and Sir George Colebrooke, the new Chairman, who was acquainted with his father, took a personal interest in him. Elliot had written to Hastings with a recommendation from Gilbert Pasley, a Company surgeon in Madras, to whom Hastings had made a gift of two horses before leaving for Calcutta. He assured Elliot of his friendly disposition towards him but added that there was one recommendation stronger than connection or a preference for favour - real merit and he was happy to learn it would not be wanting on his part.

George was trading in partnership with Anderson. Early in 1772 he had sent boats up country under the Governor's *dustuk* for rice but on the way they were stopped by 'a son of a bitch of a *Drogha'*,[2] who flogged the crews, extorted money and demanded 1,000 Rupees for duties. His friend Charters got the boats back and Anderson pressed for compensation but George was sure this petty official would do it again if he went unpunished. They were also trading in oil probably extracted from mustard seed. In Cossimbazar, the trading post near Murshidabad, it was being sold for only six or seven rupees per *maund* but in Calcutta it was ten or eleven. Anderson dispatched boats to Calcutta loaded with *dubbers* (containers made of buffalo hide) of oil but two of them sank. They managed to recover the *dubbers* eventually but there was little profit because of the loss of the boats. They then traded a small quantity of long pepper from Purnea in the north, which made them a little profit.

He wrote to his sister Martha, who lived in London, describing the streets in Calcutta. They were rather rowdy and no one walked in them if they had a palanquin. In their shops the Bengalis smoked and chewed betel nut, and when outside would walk about with umbrellas of straw, painted cloth and silk according to their means. The bazaars had small shops on either side and were immensely crowded

> but they are very different to those carnivorous ones of Fleet or Leadenhall Street which seem to threaten the destruction of all the animals of God's creation – here, rice, sweetmeats and greens are almost the only articles exposed to sale and cloths, earthen and copper pots - with plenty of Europe articles – you may buy as many of Mr Abernithy glasses here as at Wapping and for small pictures and looking glasses they are innumerable.

He was sometimes invited to *nautches*, where guests would sit around a carpet to watch singers and dancers. They were usually young girls 'who would begin singing to an instrument something like a fiddle, accompanied by a tambour and castanets, their music has great sameness and is upon a very high key which generally runs into a squeak – after this singing is over they begin to dance to the same instruments'. He soon got tired of it yet some of his countrymen 'have got into the same style of living and [spend] their evenings in being spectators'.

The Company's finances were in a critical state. The revenues failed to cover increased civil and military expenses, having declined rapidly because of the famine and a breakdown of administration. In August 1771 Sulivan had persuaded the Directors to

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[2] Possibly '*Darogha' or* chief officer, here perhaps meaning a customs official or head constable.

declare their determination 'to stand forth as Diwan and by the agency of the Company's servants to take upon themselves the entire care and management of the revenues'. Confident in Hastings's abilities they authorised him 'to plan and execute this important task' and to remove from office the Nawab's chief minister Mahomed Reza Khan and his deputy and associates, whom they considered to be dishonest and responsible for the failing revenues. Upon receiving these instructions Hastings decided to take responsibility for the entire administration. The mask of subservience favoured by Clive was to be set aside and the Company was to take on the burden of Government, which he considered to be

> a confused heap of undigested materials, as wild as the chaos itself … in many cases we must work as an arithmetician does with his Rules of False. We must adopt a plan upon conjecture, try, execute, add and deduct from it till it is brought into perfect shape.

He believed that Bengal needed only moderate management of the revenues to bring long term prosperity. The most pressing task was the formation of a Land Settlement and as there were no records of the rights of the cultivators to the land they worked it was decided to let the revenues in farm for a period of five years to the highest bidders. It was in effect an experiment and would prove unsuccessful as the bids were often unrealistically high resulting in arrears of quotas and continuing distress in the country-side. A Committee was set up with Hastings as its President to go on tour to settle the leases, readjust relations with the Nawab and his court and reform the administration of justice.

They left Calcutta at the beginning of June 1772 and first visited Kissemnagur [Krishnagar], the capital of Nadia, about fifty miles to the north to settle leases in that district. Stewart, who had introduced George to the Governor, accompanied the party and through his influence George was invited to go with them. He was very happy at the prospect of journeying through the country with the party and seeing his two friends again: he only wished 'it was at an opposite season of the year'. However, he was a little delayed and set out by himself a day or so later in a snug *budgerow* (a type of barge) with two covered compartments and a team of twenty boatmen. They spent the night on the river near a small village. In the evening crowds lined the shore: he was told they were celebrating 'the nativity of the Gods of the Ganges'. At dusk lighted lamps were placed at the water's edge and a great many were washed into the river, which became covered with light. After climbing out of the *budgerow*, he found a good vantage point from where he could see the riverside illuminated for four or five miles. He had never been so delighted by any spectacle. The next day he travelled by land through ancient forest to Kissemnagur to join the Governor's party. They were there for three weeks living in tents pleasantly enough apart from an earthquake, which gave them a fright but did them no harm. Then they set out for Cossimbazar staying overnight at Plassey Lodge, an old moorish hunting lodge adjoining the battlefield. At Cossimbazar he was reunited with his friends, and found that Elliot was shortly to be made a Revenue Assistant. The Committee continued its business in the large and important districts around Murshidabad, but as it was the rainy season the country was flooded which made it very difficult to travel 'but by water and through water'. Hastings visited the young Nawab Mubarak-ud-Daula at Murshidabad and reduced his

pension by half to sixteen lakhs, thereby making reductions in his pension list, and concluded a new arrangement for his household. His chief minister, Mahomed Reza Khan, who had been arrested in April, had formerly been his guardian and the manager of his household. Hastings wanted to take advantage of the Nawab's minority to establish and confirm the Company's authority and appointed Manny [Muni] Begum, a widow of Mir Jafar who had no children of her own, to be his new guardian, in preference to his mother and male relations who might intrigue on his behalf. Some of his advisers protested but they were won over and he acquiesced. Nevertheless the measures had to be performed with some delicacy. It was necessary to avoid acting with *éclat* or the appearance of violence 'as the general courts would have rung with declarations against our perfidy, violation of Justice etc', so when the Committee arrived at the palace there were no sepoys with them and they were accompanied only by a few unarmed attendants, and 'everything passed off without noise nor was a murmur heard without the Perdas [*sic*] of the Zenana'.

Murshidabad was only a few miles up river. George visited the city two or three times, which was now in decay due to the great changes that had recently taken place. Stewart thought it was larger than Calcutta although the population was declining and its splendour had almost gone. George accompanied the Committee on a visit to the Nawab and his court , which he described in a letter to Martha. He was expecting to see a magnificent palace but was sadly disappointed. It was a low building of wood and stone mixed together without any uniform appearance. They all took off their shoes, even the Governor, at the foot of a staircase and were then ushered through several dark rooms until they reached the Nawab's apartment, whose rooms were hung with white sheets and almost devoid of ornamentation. The Nawab was seated on a couch and rose to greet them. The Governor sat down beside him and the rest of the party were seated at a proper distance. After five minutes they took their leave having received perfumes as a mark of distinction and betel nut wrapped in a leaf as a symbol of friendship and protection from the Nawab himself.

> God bless me, says you, how you were honoured – I did not consider myself honoured at all – the nabob himself is about 15 years of a very puny constitution extremely debauched … he possesses no power but over his own servants and all his grandeur is in state and pageantry.

They then visited Muni Begum and were conducted by eunuchs to a room where chairs had been placed in front of a large curtain, just like a theatre curtain. He was surprised to hear a noise from behind and then a voice enquiring after their health. It was Manny Begum, who was immediately on the other side of the curtain. A conversation was carried on for about five minutes full of compliments on both sides, and then one of the eunuchs came out and gave them attar of roses and betel nut and they took their leave. They next visited the Nawab's mother, where the Nawab himself received them. He was now more affable but as little care had been taken of his education he was rather ignorant and childish. They were there about the same time and were treated in the same manner. George was glad when these visits were over.

Hastings decided to transfer the *Khalsa* or Chief Revenue Office from Murshidabad to Calcutta and to institute a new Supreme Revenue Board at Calcutta with its own Council House, secretary and offices under the direct control of the Governor and Council. The administration of justice, which was closely connected with the raising of revenue, was in disorder. He was firmly convinced it was desirable to revive the ancient laws of the country: to impose foreign laws would be both unjust and politically undesirable. In August he set up a judicial plan, which provided amongst other things that

> in all suits regarding inheritance, marriage, caste and other religious usages or institutions, the laws of the Koran with respect to Mahometans and those of the *Shaster* [Shastra, *Hindu code of law*] with respect to Gentoos [Hindus] shall be invariably adhered to.

Leaving petty disputes to the zemindars (landowners) and the revenue farmers, he set up one civil and one criminal court in each district. The civil court was presided over by the Collector for the district (formerly known as the Supervisor) attended by his *diwan*, and the criminal court by Bengali judges. Two Sudder [*Sadr*] or Appeal courts were to be established in Calcutta under European supervision. Loaded with these additional tasks, Hastings returned to Calcutta in late September taking George with him and left the Committee to continue its work in other districts. Thus the Nawab was now 'a mere name', and by these measures Calcutta became the capital of Bengal, which Hastings did 'not despair of seeing the first city in Asia' if he lived long enough and was supported for a few more years.

George's time up country had been well spent. He was now better known by the Governor and a member of his family, he had gained some insight into the Revenue business, and had seen more of the country and its people. The Province was relatively peaceful and was recovering slowly from the effects of the famine although there was a problem with *dacoity* and some fighting in the north with *Sayasis* (bandits) and the Bhutanese. More country people had replaced the victims of the famine in Calcutta – he reckoned the city had a population of about 300,000 of which only 2,000 were Europeans. That figure included members of the Company's brigade stationed there. On this assessment the Europeans would have been less than 1% of the city's population and to the millions outside Calcutta the Company's administration was remote indeed. About two weeks after his return, in October 1772 George was appointed Assistant Secretary to the Revenue Board under his friend Alexander Higginson. He described this new post as 'attended with much trouble and small advantage, but it is highly agreeable to me from placing me immediately under the eye of the Governor and Council'. At the same time he retained his post as Assistant Secretary to the Select Committee. His time was now fully taken up with the Company's business and as he told Robin 'I don't regret it as I would rather be employed about the Company's business than my own'. As a result he gave up being an Alderman so no longer attended the Mayor's Court. He was not sorry. He thought it likely he would soon be employed in some other active department of Government and 'from the polite manner in which Mr Hastings behaves to me I have nothing to ask and leave it entirely to him to employ me in any branch which he may think proper'. His father was

delighted to hear the news and gave him guidance: 'be humble, be thankful'. There was news from home. His cousin Isabella Morehead had written to tell him that his old flame Jessica Dalrymple, whom he had taken as a partner to an assembly in London before leaving, had married a Captain Hesketh. She feared he might not favour the match for officers were not always the most eligible husbands, and as he had been interested in her happiness she had made some enquiries and learnt that Captain Hesketh was a remarkably good young man and heir to the title and estate of Sir George Hesketh. His sister Martha now had two fine boys, his namesake George and little Bob. She had been staying with the children in the country as little Bob had had whooping cough and teething troubles but was now fully recovered.

George was living again with Jack Stewart whom he found good company. As the Governor's Secretary he was much noticed and in great favour. There were a large number of Scots in the Company's service and a great many more had come out recently. As Thomas Graham, a friend of Hastings, said of his fellow countrymen: 'they grow so numerous in Bengal that I am afraid I shall not be able to enumerate them with the exactness I have hitherto done'. When Stewart was at Cossimbazar he had helped Elliot to get the post of Revenue Assistant which is what he wanted. However, since the summer Elliot had become rather tired and depressed without showing any alarming symptoms and in the New Year returned to Calcutta and took up lodgings with them in Stewart's garden house. Stewart came to the conclusion that his condition was due to taking medicine [presumably mercury] too rigidly during a course of treatment in the rainy season for a slight disorder arising from his amours, although he exercised remarkable discretion in eating and drinking and he believed also in love. He improved a little while he was with them and his doctors advised him to take a sea voyage so he sailed to Madras in April 1773. Meanwhile Hastings had made George his personal assistant. He still retained his original post of Assistant Secretary to the Select Committee but was now promised the succession to the Secretaryship upon the first vacancy and anticipated it would soon be available. In addition he was made Registrar or Clerk to the civil appeal court known as the *Sadr Diwani Adalat*, where he could use the languages he had been learning, and relinquished his post at the Revenue Board.

At home news of the horrors of the great famine was contrasted with the fortunes brought home by returning 'nabobs' and public opinion was inflamed by ugly stories of oppressions and the hoarding of rice by Company servants during the famine to push up the price. Two recently published books, Alexander Dow's *The history of Hindostan* and William Bolts's *Considerations on India Affairs* were particularly influential. Bolts was a bad character. He had been a disreputable free merchant who had been deported from Bengal in 1769, and in his book attacked both Clive and Clive's successor Governor Harry Verelst. George had met him in London when he had given him some advice about learning the languages – advice which, needless to say, George did not heed! Although George sometimes could not help regretting the gilded days of the past when a man was almost certain of making a princely fortune by trade, the people had been squeezed and oppressed despite every order and regulation from home, and as he explained to his brother: 'my dear Robin how

amazed you would be to learn the way in which many [fortunes] have been made in this country - and how different people's characters are here from what they are in England'. As a result of the domestic clamour there was a bloc of opinion both inside and outside Parliament, which pushed for an investigation of abuses and in April 1772 a Committee was set up by the Commons to inquire into the Company's affairs. All this was unwelcome news in Calcutta. As George confided to Anderson, with regard to 'the great ferment they are in at home about India I wish they would keep themselves for the Middlesex election and let us alone for I fear they will not do us any good'.

News of an acute financial crisis in the City of London, resulting in numerous casualties, reached Calcutta by the overland route early in 1773. George saw Robin in a list of names and was extremely distressed by it – what a sad reverse! The price of tobacco had fallen substantially due to record breaking crops and there had been a drawing and re-drawing of bills between London and Scotland and also excessive speculation in the stock market. In June 1772 the Scottish banker Alexander Fordyce stopped payment after heavy losses in stock speculation and others followed in both London and Edinburgh. A few, like Sir George Colebrooke, were saved by the intervention of the Bank of England but he would shortly be made bankrupt through cornering the market in alum. Messrs Bogle and Bogle & Scott were amongst the first in the tobacco trade to fall. At the time Robin had more than £30,000 of bills discounted principally for other people. His distress was immense. He was unwell, and having briefly lost his reason after stopping payment, attempted suicide at night by jumping out of a window. Fortunately his servant was nearby and by grabbing his shirt was able to break his fall. After partial recovery, he was able to arrange for a commission in bankruptcy to ensure an orderly transfer of assets. A few months later he wrote to George to explain what had happened. Their father's position was very worrying and Robin was distracted to think of him disturbed in his old age with care and anxiety about money affairs. As the income from his farm had been insufficient to support him in the manner he found agreeable he had drawn on Robin ever since the latter came to London for a sum now totalling £3,800 on which, being a debt in the books, Robin's assignees had a claim. Furthermore he had stood as security for money borrowed by the firm. Robin was getting relatives and friends to stand in his stead but it was only a temporary relief and although they had put up the estate at Whiteinch for sale they had received no offers. He had even thought of selling Daldowie but that was not practical and would have been distressing to their father 'beyond anything'. Maybe George could foresee a time when he could buy it. News of their father's situation distressed George beyond measure but he hoped they would both be able to extricate him.

The Company also had grave financial problems. Its revenues had declined due to the famine and its administrative costs were increasing. The Directors had ordered retrenchment and Hastings was implementing measures to reduce its expenditure but the Company had continued to pay large dividends and make an annual payment to the Government of £400,000. Its financial difficulties were disguised, but there were liquidity problems following the May sales because of the financial crisis caused by the collapse of Fordyce's bank, and it was unable to pay off a loan from the Bank of England Although the

Bank granted a new short term loan the Company had to apply for a postponement of customs dues. In September it passed its half yearly dividend. Soon after, the Bank refused it any further financial assistance, and it was obliged to ask the Government for a substantial loan. Lord North believed the Company's possessions in India belonged to the Crown. However, as it enjoyed a large Parliamentary connection he was persuaded to give financial help, but only in return for the reform of its constitution and greater control by the Government. A secret Committee had been formed to investigate the Company's books and made its report. The final result in June 1773 was the passing of the Tea Act which granted the Company customs concessions on the sale of tea, the Loan Act granting it a loan of £1,400,000 subject to certain stringent conditions, and the Regulating Act which set up *inter alia* a new Council consisting of Hastings as Governor-General and four Councillors to be appointed by the Crown. Whilst all this was going on, Hastings continued to labour in Bengal to retrieve the fallen fortunes of his employers and to establish an efficient system of administration.

George's correspondent William Richardson, who had been private secretary to Lord Cathcart, the British Ambassador in St Petersburg for the last six years, returned home in the autumn of 1772. That winter he had the pleasure of visiting Daldowie and was happy to report that 'Mr Bogle has all the appearance of health, cheerfulness and long life'. He was a little surprised at the harsh criticism of the nabobs and did not know with what justice they deserved it 'yet it is a fact that many of those who have returned with fortunes from India are stigmatized with many hard epithets. The transactions in Bengall are compared to the barbarities of the Spaniards'[3]. As everyone believed that Parliament would soon be taking a share in the management of East Indian affairs, his father wrote strongly advising George to keep a journal or diary of all important transactions which could be used if required as material evidence.

Hastings carried on with his reforms. In December 1772 he refused to pay the Mughal Emperor's yearly tribute of 26 lakhs that Clive had allowed him as he was now a puppet in the hands of the Marathas in Delhi and had assigned to them Kora and Allahabad. The tribute was a drain on the currency of Bengal (still suffering from the effects of the famine) for whereas the Nawab's allowance circulated in the Province, the tribute to the Emperor passed out of it altogether. Many rupees were minted locally, causing loss and confusion, so Hastings adopted the Murshidabad *sicca* rupee as the standard coin and made Calcutta the only place of issue. To assist, he also set up a central bank there which acted as an agent for the *Khalsa* with branches in each collectorate. In March 1773 the *dustuk* was abolished and customs duties lowered to a fixed rate of 2½ % for everyone. All customs posts apart from the five central customs houses were closed and restrictions placed on Europeans settling in the provinces. With the abolition of the *dustuk*, Shuja-ud-Daula, who had forbidden trade with Bengal for fear of the consequences agreed to open Oudh to 'a free and mutual interchange of trade'. Thus the Bengali merchants again had access to the markets of northern India. Other measures introduced included the creation of a new postal service from Patna in the north west to Dacca in the east, the reopening of trade

[3] *cf* Horace Walpole to Horace Man: 'We have outdone the Spaniards in Peru'. (Quoted in Feiling).

with Egypt and Jeddah, and proposals for the building of many more granaries as a safeguard against famine.

Studying languages was a way of gaining Hastings's favour and he encouraged promising young Company servants to become proficient Persian scholars. Anderson, who was official translator to the Resident at Murshidabad, wrote 'a Persian copy of Justice' in the autumn of 1772 and sent it to George, who passed it on to Hastings. He wrote to tell him:

> it was with great pleasure I found how the Governor is satisfied with the translation, he has read it over with his moonshy and says it is masterly and that you have done it all justice, it is not yet promulgated but will be one of these days. They are forming the Sudder Adulat when you know it will be wanted.

Anderson would translate a Persian version of the *Fatawa al-Alamgiri* in 1774, an important source of *Hanafi* law compiled by the Emperor Aurangzeb, and his brother James later translated a part of the *Hidaya*. The new Appeal Court, the *Sadr Diwani Adalat* to which George had already been appointed Registrar or Clerk, opened on 18 March 1773. It sat regularly every Wednesday and by July had given verdicts on most of the appeals, so that the old cases from the Court of Cutcherry which had been dormant for years, now came up for hearing. Soon after it opened the Court resolved that Codes of law were required and that they should be available in English as Europeans were to administer justice. Ten of the most learned *pandits*, professors or expounders of Hindu law, to whom an eleventh was later added, were appointed from every part of Bengal to compile a Code in Sanskrit from leading treatises. Some of these *pandits* were men of the greatest renown and four came from or were connected with the court at Nadia, then the most brilliant centre of learning in Bengal, which Hastings had recently visited. Although he never learnt Sanskrit, he enjoyed going 'pundit hunting' as his contemporaries described it, and they gave their services cheerfully and gratuitously despite their secretive disposition. When that summer he went to meet Shuja-ud-Daula, the Nawab of Oudh, George wrote to him suggesting that the visit might afford 'a good opportunity of obtaining a genuine copy of the Shaster and of engaging some of the learned Brahmins of Benares to assist in compleating that system of Hindu Jurisprudence which has been begun by your Orders'. As no European, and few others, understood Sanskrit at that time the Code was first translated into Persian and then simultaneously into English by Nathaniel Halhed, a young Company servant who had studied Persian at Oxford and Cossimbazar. He also wrote a preface. In March 1774 Hastings sent the first two chapters to Lord Mansfield, the Lord Chief Justice, 'as a proof that the inhabitants of this land are not in a savage state in which they have been unfairly represented'.

George wrote to his father in that month:

> Great improvements have been made since the accession of our present Governor. As my patron I may perhaps be partial to him. Mr Hastings is a man who is every way fitted for the station which he holds. He possesses a steadiness and at the same time a moderation of character, quick and assiduous in business, a fine stile of language, a knowledge of the customs and dispositions of the natives whose tongue he

understands, and although not affable yet of the most ready access to all the world. During his administration many abuses have been reformed and many useful regulations have been established in every department of Government. The natives are possessed of a Code of laws far more ancient than Justinian which have been handed down through a succession of ages, are interwoven with the system of religion, and are framed to suit the manners of the people for whom they are intended. To revive these laws is at present a principal object with Mr Hastings, and some progress has been made in translating them into English. This work, when done, will do great credit to Mr. Hastings, and will furnish an excellent guide to the decisions of the Courts, while it pleases the people, who are attached to their own laws and usages.

George succeeded to the Secretaryship of the Select Committee in the summer of 1773. He was trying to clear the debt of £2,000, which he owed his cousin's husband William Morehead. It was a burden on his spirits but he would not feel easy until it was done. Then he could send home his small savings to his father and the family. Robin had the support of the Gemmells of Lime Street, who had made a substantial fortune through investing in the stock market. The Gemmells had recommended George to the notorious Lauchlan Macleane, who had been made bankrupt after the crash of 1769 and owed very substantial sums to Lord Shelburne, Sulivan and others. Both Shelburne and Sulivan counted on Macleane's recovery to retrieve some of their lost fortunes, and a few days before Sir George Colebrooke resigned the chair, Macleane was appointed Commissary General of the Army in Bengal with the very large annual salary of £18,000. He arrived in Calcutta in October 1773 and brought with him a letter of recommendation from Sulivan who had already told Hastings about him. He had a fever and was soon complaining about the limitations of his appointment. In January the Council gave him the right to choose his own staff, and he wanted George to be his deputy but he was reluctant to agree. George did not wish to appear ungrateful to Hastings whom he had served for nearly two years, and if he accepted the offer he would have to give up being Secretary to the Select Committee and Clerk of the *Sadr Diwani Adalat*. They had a frank talk and Macleane acknowledged that the reasons he had given for declining were quite satisfactory and proposed that the issue should be left to the Governor. George waited in the greatest suspense for two days until Stewart had an opportunity of mentioning it when Hastings expressed a wish that he should remain in Calcutta as his assistant. He therefore declined Macleane's offer and still retained his friendship.

Elliot had recovered amazingly well on his sea voyage to Madras, which lasted nearly seven weeks, and had stayed with his friend doctor Pasley. He booked a passage back in September 1773 but was delayed by an inflammation of the liver, a very common complaint in those parts, and he was unable to leave until the following February. He had heard that he was no longer a Revenue Assistant as Bengal was now administered by five subordinate Provincial Councils and his superior had been recalled. Although living in Calcutta would be expensive, he considered it preferable to living up country as he would learn more about the Company's affairs there. As he told his father Sir Gilbert in a letter before embarking, 'a twelve months residence in Calcutta is almost as necessary to make

a good Company's servant as the grammar is to make a good linguist'. George, with whom he had 'entered into the strictest intimacy of friendship', was Hastings's private assistant and much in his confidence. Knowing the connection between them Hastings had told George that he thought his friend had better stay in Calcutta and 'he desired Bogle to write me what he said and hinted that he would take care of me upon my return'.

George was having a busy time and was in town all week but at the end of it would usually go out to Stewart's garden house or Hastings's fine new house at Alipore, where he lived with Marian Imhoff and was creating a garden for 'curious and valuable exotics from all quarters'. Elliot was back and Charters and Anderson were in town, and they all used to meet to talk a great deal of nonsense and have a good laugh. George rarely went out to see the ladies but intended to alter that when the last ship had gone. Although attending the militia regularly he was only a corporal but prided himself on being able to load a musket quicker than anyone else in the corps. In a letter to his sister Bess he described a visit to Stewart's garden house one Friday in March 1774. Having finished the hurry scurry business of the day and got all the business letters into packets, he and Elliot decided to get into their palanquins and go out to 'Stewart's gardens' about three miles from town, arriving just in time for tea. Stewart was there with his young clerk

> and after some hearty laughing in those high spirits which one has when their business is finished and each of us having told a good story … we agreed to retire to our rooms & attack our Europe letters, and here I am in a room with a ceiling (almost) as high as my father's barn, with your letters before me in my waistcoat with sleeves & two shirts to keep me cool. The garden in the middle of which the house stands is, (if it were daylight – or indeed whether it is daylight or no) laid out very prettily, plenty of trees and shrubs and not one of them except two peach trees which are dying that you would ever see, there are plenty of deer in a paddock adjoining the garden, among the rest antelopes which are the most beautiful creatures in the world – and two tigers confined in a cage long much to have the pawing of them – but my whole description has been knocked up by a supper, and a chat with Mr. Stewart which is always to me the most agreeable in the world.

We must now turn to events in the north, where the Company had been engaged in a war with the Bhutanese over the small state of Cooch Behar, a fertile country lying between the mountains and Rangpur. They were led by the Deb Judhur, the Deb Raja of Bhutan, who had abducted the Raja of Cooch Behar in 1771, and after the regent had installed his young son as the new ruler, they overran the territory and threatened the northern frontier of Bengal. He appealed to Hastings for help. Troops were sent that drove out the invaders and followed them into the hills, and after his defeat Deb Judhur was deposed by the clergy and fled to Tibet. The third Panchen Lama, the highest spiritual authority in Tibet after the Dalai Lama (who was then a minor), received tribute from the Bhutanese. They entreated the Lama to intervene and in the summer of 1773 he received a large embassy from the Gurkha ruler of Nepal, Prithvi Narayan Shah who was suspicious of the English, asking him to mediate in the dispute. As the Lama considered Bhutan to be a dependency of Tibet, he sent a deputation to Hastings consisting of Padma, a Tibetan lay official of his court, and

Purangir, a Hindu trading pilgrim, with a letter of intercession, which arrived in Calcutta in March 1774. Both Padma and Purangir were 'men of acute understanding and ready information' and brought various gifts including gilded imperial Russian leather, small silver and gold ingots, gold dust, bags of musk, and Chinese silks and Tibetan woollen cloths packed in well made chests, which added to the intelligence they provided. The traditional trade routes through Nepal had been blocked by Prithvi Narayan Shah after his conquest of the valley of Kathmandu in 1768 and it was necessary to find others. Indeed the possibility of opening an inland trade route to China had already been considered. In April Hastings concluded a peace treaty with the new Deb Raja in which, *inter alia*, it was agreed that the Company would withdraw from all captured territory and the Bhutanese would make no further incursions and release the former Raja of Cooch Behar. The Lama's letter to Hastings, which had been written in Persian, was full of sentiments that did 'credit to both his ecclesiastical and political character' and Hastings concluded that the Lama was inviting their friendship. He welcomed the opportunity of establishing friendly relations with a country with which the British had previously made no contact and proposed a treaty of amity and commerce.

On 9 May the Council unanimously agreed to Hastings's proposal that a European servant of the Company should be sent to Tibet as his deputy and entrusted with the negotiations, and confirmed his choice of 'Mr. George Bogle, a servant of the Company well known to this Board for his intelligence, assiduity and exactness in affairs'. He was further expected 'to draw much advantage in the conduct of the business from the coolness and moderation of temper which he seems to possess in an eminent degree'. He was to set out without delay and to be accompanied by Alexander Hamilton, an assistant Company surgeon in Bengal since November 1773. Hamilton was a fine agreeable fellow and a family friend, who had visited Daldowie in 1772, and had served as a surgeon on the *Lord North* and the *Bridgewater*. It was also agreed that George should continue to hold his existing offices and he managed to get Elliot appointed his deputy at the *Sadr Diwani Adalat* in his absence. Samuel Turner, who visited Tibet in 1783, described him as 'eminently qualified for his mission, by a discerning capacity and uncommon gentleness of manners'.

He was given an official letter of appointment to proceed to the Panchen Lama's capital Lhasa and deliver Hastings's reply and various presents. The principal object of his mission was to negotiate 'a mutual and equal communication of trade' between Tibet and Bengal, and he was to take with him trade samples to see what would sell best and to find out what goods could be acquired 'especially such as are of great value and easy transportation such as gold, silver, precious stones, musk, rhubarb[4], mugit [*madder*] etc'. He was expected to report periodically on the progress of his negotiations, and at his discretion to stay long enough to fulfil the purposes of his mission and obtain a complete knowledge of the country.

Hastings also gave him a private commission. He was to send him yaks, and *tus,* the Tibetan long haired goat related to the Kashmir goat, and to dispatch 'carefully packed

[4] In this context, a species grown in China and used as a valuable drug for stomach disorders.

some fresh ripe walnuts for seed, or an entire plant, if it can be transported; and any other curious or valuable seeds or plants, the rhubarb and ginseng especially'. They were all probably destined for Hastings's garden at Alipore. He was to make enquiries about the people, their government and the method of collecting revenue and to keep a diary recording his observations about 'the characteristics of the people, the country, the climate, or the road, their manners, customs, buildings, cookery etc'. He was also to find out what countries lay between Lhasa and Siberia and China and Kashmir and the communications between them, and to inform himself of the course and navigation of the *Brahmaputra*. 'Every nation excels others in some particular art or science. Find out this excellence of the Bhutanese.'[5] These instructions were accompanied by a memorandum on Tibet telling him what Hastings knew of its history, customs, religion and geography.

Thus about 20 May Bogle set off with Alexander Hamilton and a large party of servants at the hottest time of the year on the long and difficult journey to the Land of Snows.

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[5] 'Bhutanese' is here used for Tibetans – Tibet was also known as the land of Bhot.

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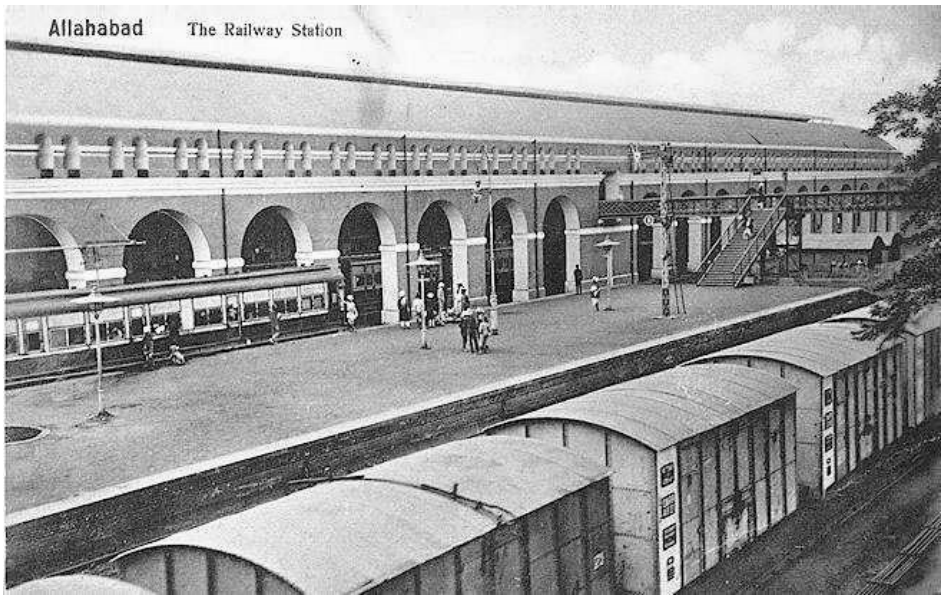
Official Lists of East India Company Servants from 1770 onwards

India through old Picture Postcards

By Douglas Evans

I began collecting postcards of India more by accident than design. One Monday lunchtime I was browsing through Covent Garden antiques market and stumbled across a stall laden with dozens of boxes, rather like shoeboxes, each packed with postcards. They were neatly organised by subject and by country. My eyes fell upon the box marked INDIA and I began to look through its contents.

At first I had no particular interest other than what I suppose was idle curiosity until I came across a card of Allahabad Railway Station. I knew from my grandmother that she was born in Allahabad; I also knew from my research at the IOR at the British Library that her father had worked for the East India Railway Co. I was born in the UK so had at that time no personal experience of India and for private family reasons, there was no family photo album from India. So here was a connection, albeit a tenuous one, with my ancestors in India. I was hooked, and all the more so when in the same box I found a postcard of Rawalpindi, where my mother had been born in 1917. By the time I finished looking through the box it was 2.15pm and high time I was back at the office - thank heavens for flexi-time!



Allahabad Railway Station. The card which began the Collection.

By the time the next Monday came I had decided it would be nice to collect cards of the places I had heard my grandmother reminisce about and so I was on the lookout for cards of Bangalore, Agra and Bombay. I knew four of my great-uncles had left India to work in Burma, then considered part of the Indian Empire falling under the Bengal Presidency, so my collection widened to include cards of the places at which they were married and their children born.

Over the few years I have been collecting, my interests have broadened. I am particularly interested in the 'Oilettes' published by Raphael Tuck. These are in many ways miniature works of art but Tuck's chaotic system of numbering is quite frustrating. Cards of different scenes often have the same number, so to know if one has ever collected a complete set is

as good as impossible. Recently J H D Smith has edited a limited edition, *The Picture Postcards of Raphael Tuck & Sons* (Colchester, IPM, 2000) in which he writes of this particular problem and the difficulties he encountered and which he emphasises is not a definitive listing. By contrast the 'Special Series' photographic cards published by K C Mehra and Sons of Peshawar are clearly numbered. Unfortunately I have no idea if a catalogue was ever published so again it is impossible to know if one has collected the complete series - but that's part of the fun of collecting.

Hornby Road and the Floral Fountain. A Raphael Tuck oilette. The original is in colour.

I had learnt that collecting old picture postcards was, and still is, a very popular hobby and its devotees are well catered for. On the last Sunday of each month there is a Collectors Fair at the Royal National Hotel in Bloomsbury at which there are usually over 100 tables. Whatever your interest may be, particular countries, luxury liners, trains, planes, historical personalities, you can be sure of finding something somewhere among those tables. Prices range from as little as a few pence to tens of pounds depending on the condition and rarity of the cards; the most I have ever paid for a single card was £3.50. Such fairs are not confined to London and the dedicated magazine *Picture Postcard Monthly* lists dates and venues and also details of clubs devoted to this absorbing hobby. I hope this article may inspire some readers to take it up – on the other hand, if anyone has some old postcards of India they do not want , I would be very interested to hear from them!

Public Buildings, Bangalore. Printed in Saxony.

Reviews

***Sahib: the British Soldier in India 1750-1914,* by Richard Holmes (HarperCollins, 2005). ISBN 0 00 713753 2 (0 00721941 5 Australia). £20**

I read this book with immense enjoyment. Holmes is a distinguished historian of the British Army and can be seen much on television nowadays, a bespectacled and moustached academic speaking in a low voice as he explains how a battle took place.

'Sahib' is about both Company and British Army soldiers, and both the officers and the rankers. He seems to be on surer ground when it comes to the British Army and to the officers but still has much to tell us on the rankers, with his source material coming from a mixture of the ten page bibliography and memoirs and letters. He lists eighteen such sources in the National Army Museum and thirteen in the British Library (as well as published sources), and gives numerous extracts from them as he describes what life was like.

I would have liked something about the Company's recruitment process (other than the examples of soldiers moving from the Army to the Company and vice versa) and we begin with life on the troopships. The lower status, pay and worse promotion prospects of Company officers compared to Army officers are covered in some detail, as are marriage and sexual habits and the plight of the Anglo-Indians wishing to serve. Perhaps my favourite anecdote in the book was about the private's widow who was proposed to by a company sergeant-major on her return from the funeral. She burst into tears, and he apologised for his insensitivity, only for her to explain that she had just accepted the corporal of the honour guard.

As nearly every fact is footnoted with the citation, anyone who is interested can follow up clues in the bibliography. All in all, this 500 page book is excellent background reading for anyone with a soldier ancestor.

Steve van Dulken

***The Ruling Caste: Imperial Lives in the Victorian Raj*, by David Gilmour (John Murray, 2005), pp385. ISBN 0-7195-5534-5. £25**

This is a well written and impressively researched account of the elite group of civil servants which governed India during the Victorian era (1837-1901). Until 1858 they were known as the Honourable East India Company's Civil Service (HEICS), after that date, when the administration of India was transferred from the Company to the Crown, as the Indian Civil Service (ICS). The author approaches the institution through its members, not *vice versa*, and to this end has made extensive use of the large collection of ICS private papers held by the British Library, enlivening his narrative with many individual anecdotes.

During the nineteenth century almost all the appointees to the top civil service in India were natural born Britons from a gentry or middle class background – very few Indians were appointed. Until 1855 appointments were made by patronage (nomination by an EIC

Director) and appointees spent two years at the East India College, Haileybury, before proceeding to India; thereafter recruitment was by an open examination held in the UK. There were inevitable tensions – social and intellectual – between the Haileyburians and the new 'competition wallahs', and the author highlights several examples. As regards the nature of ICS employment in India he shows how the service came to be divided into two distinct branches - the executive and the judicial. From the 1870s onwards a young officer, after having been tested in various junior executive posts, was expected to spend the rest of his career either as an administrator or as a judge. Those who opted for, or more often were directed towards, the judiciary could expect to have a well paid and intellectually challenging, if sedentary, career, and might rise to become a Judicial Commissioner or a High Court Judge. Those who remained on the executive side would be primarily engaged in the active and varied work of district administration, punctuated occasionally, especially if they were high-flyers, with a stint in the provincial or the central secretariat. The most successful would become Lt-Governor of a Province or a Member of the Viceroy's Council.

For most Civilians, as the ICS were called, retirement came as a considerable anti-climax. Civilians who had completed a full term of service retired between the ages of forty-eight and fifty-seven when still mentally and physically active but they often found that opportunities for re-employment in England were limited and that their knowledge and experience were not greatly in demand. The most distinguished might obtain a seat on the Council of India, the body which advised the Secretary of State for India in London, some became Members of Parliament (though, as the author points out, none particularly distinguished themselves in that role). Others obtained posts in academia or became directors of companies which did business in India. The retired Civilian at least had the solace of a comfortable pension (from 1871 all Civilians whatever their position in the service, retired on a minimum of £1,000 per annum). In retirement they would tend to seek out the company of other old India hands, and gravitate towards towns like Cheltenham or Eastbourne where there was already an established Indian service community.

The author has much of interest to say on most aspects of ICS life in India – marriage and children, social life in the Hill Stations, relations with the local population, leisure activities, death and disease, etc. He emphasises how free the Service was from corruption and instances a few notorious exceptions. He also notes the comparative leniency with which the odd political dissident was treated. For instance, the fervent Irish nationalist Charles James O'Donnell and the supporter of Indian nationalism Sir Henry Cotton might both have experienced setbacks in their career, but neither was in the end denied promotion.

All in all, this is an excellent read which will be found rewarding both by the general reader new to the subject and by those already acquainted with the history of the Raj.

Ian A Baxter

***A handbook for Irish War Graves in India Burma & Beyond*, compiled by Eileen Hewson (Kabristan Archives, 2005)**

Obtainable from the author, 19 Foxleigh Grove, Wem, SY4 5BS, price £7.50 plus postage of £0.60 in UK, £1.25 Europe, £1.25 overseas, £2.00 airmail, £5 registered airmail.

In her earlier book *The Forgotten Irish: memorials of the Raj* (Kabristan Archives 2004, reviewed *FIBIS Journal*, Spring 2005) Eileen Hewson provided biographical data on Irish men and women who served the Raj. She has now followed this up with a book listing the Irish commemorated in war graves and war memorials in India, Burma and Beyond. The 'Beyond' includes Indonesia, Malaya and Ceylon. Most of the entries relate to casualties of the two World Wars, but it should be noted that there are also a few casualties from the Afghan War of 1919 recorded on the New Delhi War Memorial, while the Kirkee War Memorial at Poona covers soldiers who died throughout India from 1914 up to 1920. Most entries provide the biographical details which one expects to find on a monumental inscription: age, names of parents, wife or husband, and battalion and regiment in which the deceased was serving. The book is easy to use, being arranged by cemetery with a comprehensive nominal index.

There are over 650 entries, the great majority of course recording personnel of the Irish regiments serving in the east. Among these, the Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers suffered by far the largest number of casualties mostly incurred during operations in Burma in 1942 and 1943. How complete the book's coverage of the (surely numerous?) Irish soldiers in 'non-Irish' regiments or other formations may be it is hard to say. This reviewer guesses that there may have been more deaths among them than are recorded here, but at any rate the author has cast her net wide enough to include some women, for example members of the Nursing Services. It also seems possible that some of those who are included were not Irish, since recruitment to the Irish regiments (as with almost all British Army regiments) was not necessarily confined to their home countries or counties, especially during the exigencies of war when ranks depleted by fighting had to be made up as and where they could. This, however, must be counted as a bonus, especially by British genealogists researching forebears who fell while serving in Irish regiments. In sum, the author has compiled another very useful work of reference for family history researchers whose ancestors come within her remit.

David Blake

***In Those Days: A Scrapbook of Growing up in India in the days of the Raj*, by Justine Dowley-Wise (iUniverse, Inc, 2005), pp220. ISBN 0-595-36350-4. $26.95 U.S.**

Available via Amazon and other online booksellers, or from the publisher iUniverse, Inc, 2021 Pine Lake Road, Suite 100, Lincoln, NE 68512, USA

There have been many memoirs of life in India during the last days of the Raj, but this is a worthy addition to that number, not least because the author was the daughter of a Calcutta businessman, and the British business community in India is perhaps less well

represented in our collective memory of India under British rule than the Indian Civil Service or the Indian Army. When dealing with the historical background, the book does contain some errors of detail, but these do not detract from the authenticity of the author's account of her own personal experience as a child of the Raj. This is where the strength of the book lies, and Dowley-Wise gives a very full account of the life experienced by a young girl growing up in India, of those ever occurring 'partings and reunions', and of that ordeal which so many British Indian children underwent – separation from their parents in order to have the often dubious benefit of an English education. Indeed, the chapters on her four years at a school in Malvern with a grimly puritan ethic are perhaps the most compelling in the book. It may be argued that boarding school was something experienced by many English children of the upper and middle classes before the Second World War. That is true, but at least most of them had some relief during the holidays. For children from India this was not always possible, and on top of the purgatory of boarding school was sometimes added 'the holiday from hell' as one chapter is headed.

However, there was also much to be enjoyed in a young person's life in British India: riding on a pony or donkey for children as young as three and a half, with a *syce* to look after you, a succession of pets, a splendid house in Calcutta, and two wonderful holidays in Kashmir, with a trek to the Zojila Pass complete with a train of 22 ponies to carry the family's impedimenta including a gramophone. The book also contains much of general interest: for example the faithfulness and miraculous skills of Indian servants (cooks able to serve delicious food, including freshly baked bread, even while on trek, washermen able to produce spotless laundry from the dirty water of Calcutta, dressmakers able to create beautiful dresses on ancient sewing machines); train journeys in India, sometimes dreadful, sometimes delightful (the latter including trips on the narrow gauge railways at Darjeeling and Simla, and the less well known route from Madras to Coonoor); and a vividly described voyage in 1940 in convoy from England to India round the Cape. There is also a description of wartime Calcutta where, it has to be said, Europeans continued to enjoy an opulent lifestyle in sharp contrast to the austerities of wartime Britain. Her family did however offer a great deal of hospitality to the troops.

Near the book's beginning the author recounts her parents' marriage at Bhopal where the Nawab arranged a magnificent reception and also ordered the Delhi-Bombay Express to be halted for two hours to enable the honeymoon couple to catch it. The book closes with the newly married author and her husband beginning life in a two room attic in England. This disparity epitomises the contrast which British Indian families so often experienced between the spaciousness, drama and excitement of India and the cramped, prosaic ordinariness of life in the home country. And it is the justification for writing this book. As the author remarks in her preface

> some may wonder why I should have decided to record my life in India. As I was born in 1926, I was fortunate to have lived during the remarkable period that has come to be known as 'The Days of the Raj', which ended when India obtained her Independence in 1947. … No one else will ever again have the chance to experience the kind of life I led

… because those days are history now. My wish is that this record will succeed in giving the reader a glimpse into that past.

The author has, I think, succeeded in achieving that wish. Excerpts from her book are at www.raj-memories.co.uk with a Guest Book in which readers can add their own comments.

David Blake