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Hints on Research in the India Office Records at the British Library Asian and African Studies Reading Room

By Lawrie Butler, FIBIS Research Officer

Introduction

The content of this presentation was suggested by our Treasurer, Elaine MacGregor, at a Committee Meeting and it seemed to me very appropriate. I have seen several queries on the India List (see later) asking how one goes about getting entry to the India Office Records (IOR). I have also seen many readers wandering around the Reading Room obviously at a loss to find something in particular. Further while the standard guide to Biographical Sources is that by Ian Baxter, he does not deal with the primary research of Ecclesiastical Indexes, probably because that is covered by a separate IOR publication. Neither does he deal in any great detail with local or Indian Administrations, Wills and Inventories, yet these are common to all occupations and are here treated as the second stage in research. Thereafter, I have considered occupations on a basis of numbers involved, so that the various Armies are reviewed first, followed by the Civil Service and others.

In this presentation I have provided hints for the 'newcomer' to the India Office Records seeking to give priority to research directed at saving time. Time seems to go quickly in the IOR. Many researchers take advantage of cheaper fares and arrive an hour or more after the normal opening time and probably leave early to avoid the evening rush-hour. When one takes into account the 70 minutes expected delivery time for items ordered by the Catalogue Terminal and the need to take intermittent breaks, time is indeed at a premium and researchers should therefore do their homework and so avoid looking for information in the IOR that can perhaps be located from home sources. But see page 2 for explanation of advance home ordering of items once you have received your BL pass.

Before you go to the IOR…Check 'home' sources: -

- Relatives
- County Record Offices
- Family History Centres (FHCs) where LDS records filmed by the Church of the Latter Day Saints (LDS) and others can be viewed on microfilm.
- *Baxter's Guide: Biographical Sources in the India Office Records* ISBN 0-9547-116-0-2, obtainable from bookshops including that of the British Library, and from FIBIS at a discounted price to members. For the serious researcher, this still remains the indispensable guide to biographical sources in the IOR.
- Above all, present your facts clearly and prepare a basic family tree.

Use Internet Sources: -

The electronic era has brought the benefits of the Internet and these aids can only get better. Provided one takes care in extraction and cross-checks wherever possible, these can reduce research time considerably. For our purposes they fall into three categories.

Firstly 'freebies'

- www.familysearch.org Familysearch is the website of the LDS or Mormon Church and while its accuracy is sometimes limited by its mode of compilation, it can be extremely useful in indicating possible family members of the 19th century and earlier (usually baptisms and marriages only). Part of the website also carries an index to the LDS films both of IOR files and of data from more recent work in Indian parish registers. These films can be seen at FHCs.
- www.ozemail.com.au/~clday Cathy Day's site carries the best part of 250,000 events including Bengal Marriages 1855-1896.
- www.search.fibis.org the website of FIBIS whose volunteers are increasing the data available, month by month. It already carries 365,000 individual entries.
- www.bl.uk/catalogues Reference can be made to the main BL Integrated Catalogue of its printed books and various subsidiary catalogues including a link to the A2A website (see below) which includes most of the IOR catalogues. For those who become registered with the BL, home ordering of items (including India Office Records identified on A2A website (see below) can be done so avoiding delays in the Library.
- www.bacsa.org.uk This is the website of the British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia. As it develops it will probably contain more information of interest to the genealogist, but at present for our purposes it contains only a list of BACSA publications (i.e. 'Cemetery books' listing monumental inscriptions) and a link to the BL's website from which the catalogue of its archives can be found.
- www.a2a.org.uk/ This website provides access to the catalogues of numerous archives including the India Office Records and therefore offers a way in to many of the handlists mentioned below.
- www.images.freebmd.org.uk/cgi/choose.pl This is a freebie site covering the General Register Office (GRO) records from 1837 and has now passed the 1900 mark. It provides the GRO references so that certificates can be ordered on line from the GRO.

Secondly 'pay as you go'

- www.1837online.co.uk
- www.ancestry.co.uk
- www.thegenealogist.co.uk

These three sites provide coverage of GRO events, typically 1837-1983. Censuses and other events are also covered.

- www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/census primarily for Census details. U.K. Censuses often show baptisms/births of family members in India or East Indies, etc.
- www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documentsonline - copies of Wills pre 1859, medal roll indexes, and other items. Some of the wills are those made by residents previously in India.

Thirdly, participation in the 'India Mailing List'

This is an Internet forum for exchange of information between people researching their European or Anglo Indian ancestors in the former British territories of India (including modern Pakistan, Bangladesh and Burma/Myanmar) and Ceylon/Sri Lanka. **To join** simply send an email addressed to **India-L-request@rootsweb** with just the command 'subscribe' in the body of the message. If your system insists on a heading, put 'subscribe' there as well. Note the automated reply and keep for reference.

The India Office Records

Location: The British Library, 96 Euston Road, London, NW1 2DB

Opening times: Mon.1000-1700; Tue – Sat. 0930 – 1700
Visitor information: Tel: 0207 412 7332
Website: http://www.bl.uk/services/reading/admissions.html

To obtain a free pass, issued for 1 month or 3 years at no cost, **apply by post** by filling in application form taken from the Website above (do not send any documents, but produce identification documents on first visit), or **apply in person** by filling in a PC-based application form in the Reader Admissions office on the Upper Ground Floor.

On first visit always:

- take proof of home address – utility bill or bank statement.
- take proof of signature – driving licence or passport.
- and state that research is in respect of family history in India

On first and later visits:

- Leave coats, hats, bags, biros, food & drink, etc in £1 coin-operated locker (coin returnable) in Locker Room or leave items in Cloakroom (both on lower ground floor). Put all essential research information and pencil in a single BL transparent bag.
- Enter the 3rd floor Asian & African Studies Reading Room (previously OIOC) along with pass and transparent bag. (When leaving at the end of research, bag and indeed handbags must be presented for inspection).

Layout of the Asian and African Studies Reading Room

As you enter the Reading Room (see plan opposite) you will see Baptisms, Marriages and Burials (BMB) Indexes and Microfilms on the left, followed by a book of Registrar marriages and miscellaneous microfilms of various L/MIL/ and L/AG/ volumes the originals of which are no longer available for inspection[1], and photocopied volumes of Medal Rolls. In the centre at this point you will see cabinets containing 300,000 plus Biographical Cards, set out in alphabetical order, recording BMB as well as numerous other events.[2] Microfilm Readers will be seen on the far right.

The next 'cross-section' of the Reading Room includes Handlists and numerous reference volumes on the wall shelves; a double line of Online Catalogue Terminals; and on the right Copying Services, followed by **Reference Enquiries,** and finally a Delivery and Returns Desk.

The third and final cross-section includes numerous volumes on the shelves of little biographical use, numbered Readers' Desks and, on the right, further reference books labelled under the Dewey system. For present purposes I have numbered these reference shelves on the plan as R/S1 a&b, 2 a&b … 7 a&b, the lowest number being near the Delivery Desk and the 'a' side of each bank of shelves also being nearest the Delivery Desk, but they do not actually have these numbers. At the extreme right of this cross-section there is a line of 'carrels', cubicles intended to be booked for private study, and behind these is the Print Room, access to which is by prior appointment only, on weekday afternoons, 1400-1700.

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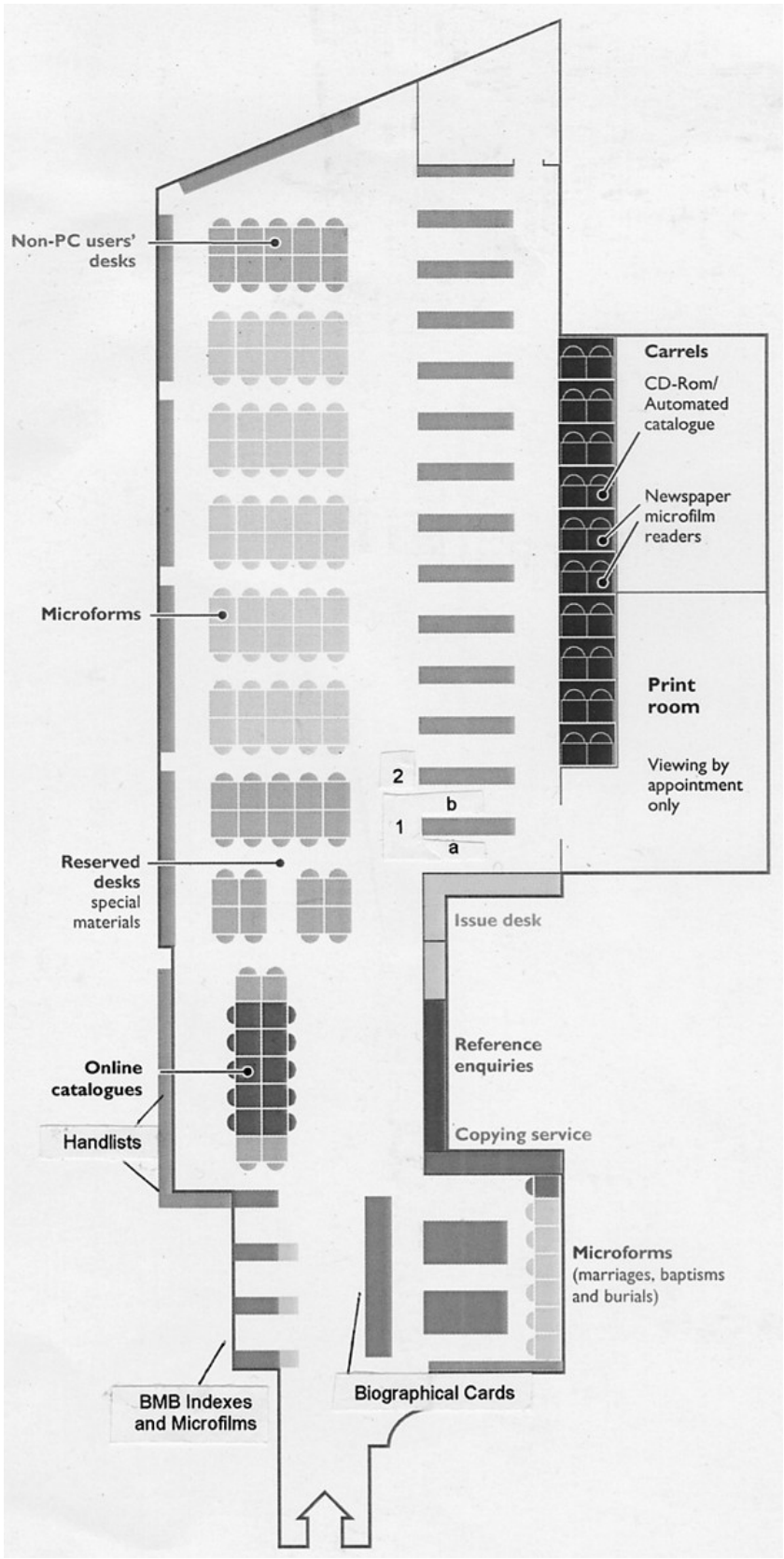
[1] They contain important biographical records from the India Office's Military and Accountant General's Departments.

[2] It is likely that these cards will shortly be on the B.L website.



Get your Priorities right

1. Your priorities in research will depend on what you have already found out but for the researcher who already has family names to research, there is no doubt that the first priority is to inspect the Biographical Cards. (If I myself had inspected these cards on my first visit, I would have found a card listing the 10 children of my great-grandfather; instead, I spent hours looking through the Indexes).
2. Next have a brief look round and finally select a reader's seat, noting its number, all being 4 digits starting with 8.
3. Go to the Reference Counter to get help with your enquiries. You are likely to be shown how to order up documents on the Reader System for which you will definitely need your pass number and password (and if you wish you can also enter your seat number). Select a password which must be 4 to 13 characters in length and include both letters and numbers. Note that the Delivery time is quoted as 70 minutes and that you can order up to 10 requests per day. When you see the last drop-down box where you add your seat number, always check that the Reading Room Location

where you will read the volume is shown as Asian & African Studies – otherwise you will waste time going to another Reading Room! Finally, collect your order at the first opportunity, if only to ensure there has been no hitch requiring your clarification before it can be fulfilled.

Whilst you are waiting for the first delivery have a look at the Ecclesiastical Indexes. In England we refer, particularly post 1837, to BMDs, - Births, Marriages and Deaths – these are all dates that relate to the Government's fiscal requirements. Only the Church is interested in Baptisms and Burials (since neither bring income to the State). In India, the Church, as in England, introduced forms for Baptisms, Marriages and Burials and certainly pre 1947 the system never changed. So remember BMBs refer to Baptisms, Marriages and Burials – the forms when you see them on microfilm will still in most cases show the dates of birth and death where relevant.

The records are shown by Presidency and are referenced by N1 (Bengal), N2 (Madras) and N3 (Bombay) but within each section are subdivided into Baptisms, Marriages and Burials. If in doubt where to find your ancestors, try the more populous area, Bengal first. As always, locate the most recent event and using the information shown, go back in time. Note the area reference at the top of the page, say N1, the volume at the left hand side of the entry and the page or folio number on the right; e.g. N1/21/237 and find the film N1/21 in the adjacent cabinet. Don't forget that some spools have more than one film on them!

In addition to the usual area films, there are 3 sets of unusual content. The first are those prefixed N1/RC/1-5, N2/RC/1-8 and N3/RC/1-5. These relate to the period 1835-1854 when the Roman Catholic entries were recorded in separate volumes and in turn are shown on separate films. The indexes for the period record these *en bloc* at the end of each year's list for each letter. The second set is that of omitted information – these films are listed as N2/O/1-6(Omissions) while the third set lists corrections - N2/C/1-12. You will note that these series of omissions and corrections refer to Madras (N2) only.

Baptisms v Births

Burials usually took place the same day as the death or at latest the next day. But births and baptisms only took place at a similar interval if there was doubt that the baby would survive. Usually baptisms took place 1-3 months after the birth. Occasionally where the parents might have forgotten the baptism or a chaplain might visit the area at wide intervals or where they agreed a price for a multiple baptism, there might be as many as three children from the same family baptised the same day. When searching it may be necessary to look + or – 5 years relative to the assumed date. Unusual instances include adult baptisms up to 25 years or so after the birth. In such cases the birth is often recorded with the same baptism reference but 25 years apart.

Marriage Records

In all indexes, it was usual to record marriages under the bridegroom's name only; alphabetically by the year, all the 'A's together, the 'B's together except that each letter

within a year would not be in alphabetical order. From 1897, the Bengal Index shows brides and bridegrooms together and after 1910 all are shown strictly alphabetically. The relevant years for Madras are 1899 and 1910 while in Bombay, brides and bridegrooms are shown together in alphabetical order from 1910. **Beware**, occasionally you may find some out of sequence at the end of the year's entries.

In recent years, volunteers have transcribed blocks of marriages so that databases can be interrogated by bridegroom or bride. In the IOR, Bengal transcriptions are available from 1855 – 1864 and Bombay before 1855 but for those using the Internet, Bengal transcriptions from 1855-1896 are available on Cathy Day's site and Bombay transcriptions up to 1893 are available on the FIBIS site.

Where transcriptions have not been done, there is the considerable difficulty of locating a marriage when only the bride's name or the widow's name is known. Fortunately from the records' point of view, widows could not afford to stay single for long. One can attempt to locate the new husband by selecting a Presidency and a year and look down the right hand side column for the bride's or the widow's name against all 26 alphabetical listings of bridegrooms' names for that year. It can be done but is obviously easier in the early, rather than the late19th century.

The Asia Pacific and Africa Reading Room.

On the left are the wall shelves with the IOR handlists, immediately adjacent to them are the Online Catalogue Terminals, and in the background the readers' seats.

Registrar marriages (1852-1911) are listed in a separate index Z/N/124 but they have been transcribed onto the FIBIS site.

Location of place names

It is still difficult to locate a comprehensive listing of place names for pre-1947 India. The place name index on the BMB shelves refers you to the *Imperial Gazetteer of India Atlas* which should be on reference shelf 7b though it is sometimes misplaced. The twenty five volumes of this publication will be found there too including its Index. Thornton's 1857 Gazetteer is extremely useful, as are the following websites:

- http://www.bl.uk/collections/map_links.html then click 'global gazetteer', 'country', 'area', 'initials'; alternatively http://www.fallingrain.com/world/
- www.homepages.rootsweb.com/~poyntz/India/maps.htm may be helpful.
- http://dsal.uchicago.edu/reference/gazetteer/ for the Imperial Gazetteer

In the last resort go to the BL's Map Room staff on the 3rd floor (same pass); or to the Map Room at the Royal Geographical Society where the original listing of locations for the India Mapping is held (but there may well be a charge).

Incomplete Records

Enquirers still refuse to believe that their own particular records may be missing from the IOR. The reasons for absence are numerous: -

- A baptism may never have taken place
- A chaplain may have noted the details of an event and then misplaced them.
- A burial may have taken place in the countryside without a clergyman present.
- The church carrying out the baptisms – the Roman Catholic Church and some Missions – may have retained the records.
- The records may have been misplaced at any stage from church priest to Archdeacon to Secretary to Government and in transit to London.

Where events are not listed it is always possible that the original records are still kept in a local church in India. If anyone finds records that they think should be in the IOR, these may be accepted provided the records are sent directly from the local source to the IOR.

Wills, Administrations and Inventories

The major Biographical Source common to all occupations is undoubtedly the BMBs and the second is probably the Administrations, Wills and Inventories (AW & Is)., for which there are the following indexes:

- General Indexes to AW&Is of deceased estates in Bengal, Bombay & Madras, 1708 -1783
- Indexes to Admons., Bengal 1784 -1909
- Indexes to Wills, Bengal 1780 – 1909
- Indexes to Inventories, Bengal 1780-1909
- Indexes to AW&Is, Madras 1780 -1909
- Indexes to AW&Is, Bombay 1776 -1909
- Indexes to Probates & Administrations granted by District Courts in India 1865 – 1910
- Index to all Wills, P & A and Inv., 1909-1948 (5 vols.)
- Soldiers' Wills, see above & also L/AG/34/3/1-29 and for ….
- Officers' Wills, see L/AG/34/3/30/30

Linking all the above and providing the reference necessary to retrieve the record is a slim volume called ''Guide to Wills''. Having located a name in one of the AW&Is, one must note the year, volume number and the part; then locate these in the relevant part of ''Guide to Wills'' and derive the record number (usually L/AG/). Before ordering up this record, check the Microfilm Records (Handlists) and if there is a film, save time by ordering this instead and then make a copy.

Major Occupations

The Honourable East India Company (HEIC) Army up to 1860 – *Soldiers*

The handlist L/MIL/1-17 is the major guide to all the Armies in India. The HEIC volumes include:-

- **Alphabetical Listings of European Soldiers**

  L/MIL/10/ Bengal 1788 – 1860

  L/MIL/11/ Madras 1786 – 1860

  L/MIL/12/ Bombay 1795 – 1862

  These list the names of the Soldiers in Alphabetical Groupings by the Year of Arrival. BUT observe the dates – and beware – thousands of soldiers went out to India before the dates shown and were never registered in these listings.

- **Muster Rolls (all prefaced by L/MIL/10/ or 11/ or 12/)**

  These include the following…

  1. **Alphabetical Long Roll** – listing of all soldiers in a unit on a particular day
  2. **Alphabetical Annual Casualty Long Roll** – not necessarily injured or dead, but listing all those 'not in their normal place with the unit' – so also including secondments and transfers.
  3. **Alphabetical Annual Account of Estates** – a listing of those who had died, their estate and often to whom the money was paid.

     Separately there are ..

- **Depot Embarkation Lists**
- (L/MIL/9/77 – 84; 1824 – 1860
- **Embarkation Lists** (L/MIL/9/85 – 106 ; 1753 – 1860)

  Frequently the first of these gives the most complete information regarding a soldier (often including the place of birth) but the second might otherwise indicate whether he was accompanied by his wife and children.

  How does one use these volumes?

  HEIC Units were commonly prefaced by the name of the Presidency – Bengal, Madras or Bombay and frequently referred to as 'N.I. (Native Infantry)

  If you already know of an event in the BMBs that indicates a soldier in the HEIC Army, pre 1860, then look into the appropriate Muster Volume covering the year of the event. The soldier's entry will refer to his first arrival in India. Then refer to the relevant Listing of European Soldiers. This entry will give the full details of the soldier and it is this Listing that is usually updated with the details of the soldier's 'destiny', his estate and beneficiary. Commonly, the record will show the date of the Casualty Roll.

The HEIC Army, up to 1860 - *OFFICERS*

Typically, officers were recruited as Cadets and their records are shown in the Cadet Papers (1775-1860); L/MIL/9/107-269 – see the red handlist. Note that officers in the HEIC Army were selected by patronage and interview while officers in the British Army bought their commissions. Engineering and Artillery cadets attended Addiscombe Military Seminary 1809 -1861 and their details are shown in L/MIL/9/333-357.

Details of all officers' services from 1753-1859 are shown in the Officers' Service Lists L/MIL/10/20-67; L/MIL/11/38-66 and L/MIL/12/67-82 and the salient facts of each officer's life are shown up to 1834 in Hodson's List, that for Bengal being published (R/S 4a) while Hodson's Notes on Officers in Madras and Bombay are shown on a card index at the National Army Museum.

For fuller details of all aspects of the HEIC Armies, please refer to Peter Bailey's *Researching Ancestors in the East India Company Armies* due to be published on 25 November 2006.

The British Army in India (18th C to 1947)

Essentially, these included Regiments of Infantry and Cavalry, supported by Artillery and Engineers. The units are recognised by the common prefix H.M., or Royal. Infantry are frequently Regiments of 'Foot' preceded by a number. If in the BMBs you find any of these indications, look no further at the IOR.

So, where are British Army Records?

At the National Archives (TNA) at Kew.

- **Musters,** see WO 12/ up to year 1878
- **Discharges,** see WO 97/ up to 1913
- **Pensions - Disability & Royal Artillery Out-Pensions**, 1715 -1913, see WO 116/; **Length of Service Pensions**, 1823-1920, see WO 117/
- **Officers' details** can be seen in the Army Lists at the TNA

However, both before and after 1860, staff of the British Regiments were seconded to HEIC Regiments and Units to provide essential backbone staff. In Madras, pre 1868, these were shown on Musters as Effective Supernumeraries while in Bengal and Bombay before 1859 they were referred to as staff on the Town Majors' Lists. After these dates, seconded staff were shown on Musters as being on the Unattached List (the 'unattached' referring to the fact that they were no longer attached to their Regiments).

The Indian Army, post 1860 *Soldiers*

During the reorganisation of the Indian Army,1859-1861, 'pre' 1860 HEIC soldiers were given two alternatives: -

- Transfer to the British Army (see L/MIL/10, 11 and 12)
- Discharge and transport back to England – see handlist 1859-61.

British Army staff who preferred to stay in India were allowed to transfer to the continuing Bengal, Madras and Bombay armies, within the Indian Army; see L/MIL/15/23-26. These files show many of the original attestations transferred with the soldiers.

The three Armies were **unified** within the Indian Army as from 1895.

The Indian Army, post 1860 *Officers*

From 1858-1939, officers were appointed to the Indian Army by Queen's/King's India Cadetships via Sandhurst and their details are shown in a red handlist, L/MIL/9/292-301 and L/MIL/7/13090-13205.

Details of Officers' Services continue 1860-1893 via another handlist: L/MIL/10/75-102 (Bengal), L/MIL/11/73-92 (Madras), and L/MIL/12/88-101 (Bombay).

A very useful handlist is **L/MIL/14/239-.** This is a list of files of some 12,000 officers and NCOs (another 23,000 are not yet available for disclosure except by written application). All relate to members of the Indian Army within the years 1895 -1947 and include both Indians and Europeans. For full details of this list and the rules governing access to the closed files see my earlier article in *FIBIS Journal* 14, pp41-48.

Medical Officers

A Handlist shows references to Assistant Surgeons' and Surgeons' Papers over the period 1804-1914 while Crawford's *Roll of the Indian Medical Service 1615 -1930* is on R/S 4a. There is no list relating to Apothecaries and Assistant Apothecaries and references to these occur randomly through the records of the period.

Civil Service (Covenanted)

Baxter defines members of this service as being among the top general administrative grouping of civil servants in India, the 'covenanted' deriving from the good behaviour covenants that they were obliged to enter into before joining the service. Typical sources include the following: -

- Records of East India College, Haileybury (Handlist J/1-4)
- Bonds and Agreements, Overseas Servants, 1771-1946, index Z/O/1/1-5 on the Handlist Shelves.
- Summary Careers , Bengal, Madras and Bombay Civilians 1740-1858 by Prinsep, see O/6/21-36 (Handlists)
- Personal Records c1794-c1841. see Z/O/6/1-2 (Handlists)
- Histories of Services 1875 – 1955, see V/12/ (Handlists)
- Establishment (Civil) Lists 1840 – 1957, see V/13/ (Handlists)
- Annual Lists of Covenanted Civil Servants, see L/F/10/ (Handlists)
- As above, with postings, see *East India Register*, etc (R/S 5b and 5a)

Civil Service (Uncovenanted)

Baxter defines these as being from the lower echelon of the Civil Service and mostly recruited from persons born in India. Sources for these are rather more fragmented: -

- UK Appointments (Appts) to Public Works Dept (PWD), Govt Railways, Telegraphs, 1854 – 1946, see Index Z/L/8/1-2
- UK Appts to Railways 1849 -1925; L/AG/46 (Handlist)
- See also L/F/10, V12/ & V13/ (Handlists)
- Deaths in the Uncovenanted Services 1870 – 1949, L/AG/34/14 (Handlist)
- Miscellaneous Bonds, 1834-65; Index Z/O/1/11-12; see Handlist and also FIBIS Website.
- Police – Appt Papers 1893-1923, see L/PJ/6; 1924-1940, see L/SG/6; Agreements 1893 – 1937, see Z/O/1/3-4

General Reference Books (R/S = Reference Shelf)

These are listed and most are found within the first 5 Reference Shelves proceeding away from the Delivery Desk. Among the most important are:

R/S 1a The Indian Army – Boris Mollo 1981 (Uniforms & History)
The Times 'Atlas of the World'

R/S 1b Dictionary of National Biography; Who was Who; Boase's Modern English Biography

R/S 2a Swinson's Regts. & Corps of the British Army
British Army Pensioners Abroad, Crowder,1772-1899
Who was Who in British India, Riddick, 1998; (missing for some time, but try entering Shelf Mark YC.2000.b.748 in the terminal to obtain a copy)
The British Library, Catalogue of the British Library Vol 6
(A Handlist of those Western Language South Asian Newspapers that are held in the IOR is presently kept on top of the Biographical Card Cabinets)

R/S 3b Bengal Directory, Madras Register, Bombay Almanac; also Asylum Press Almanac (1862-1960)

R/S 4a Thacker's Bengal/India Directory (1863-1960)
History of the Indian Navy, C R Low , vols 1&2
BACSA – Monumental Inscriptions, etc
Dictionary of Indian Biography – Buckland

R/S 4b Indian Mutiny Medal Roll (British Army); India Army List;
Addiscombe by Vibart

R/S 5a East India Register & Directory, India Register, India Office List, 1774 -1947

R/S 5b EIC Ships' Journals and Logs; Maritime Service Officers – both cover the period 1600 – 1834 (by Farrington)

The Chaplains of the EIC, S J McNally 1976

Further Suggestions

In general, the fewer there are in a particular occupation, the less there is available to follow up as research – the exceptions will be those occupations that are more professionalised or regulated as for example the Medical Service above. But even in the most obscure occupation it is likely that Ian Baxter's book will have some comments to make and readers are therefore directed to that book.

Acknowledgements

As always, I am pleased to acknowledge the help from Library Staff, who also have to cope with queries on topics other than Biographical Sources and yet find time to answer the numerous queries I have thrown at them over the past five years. In particular I refer to the help received from Hedley Sutton and Tim Thomas.

George Bogle, Part 3 Into Bhutan and Tibet

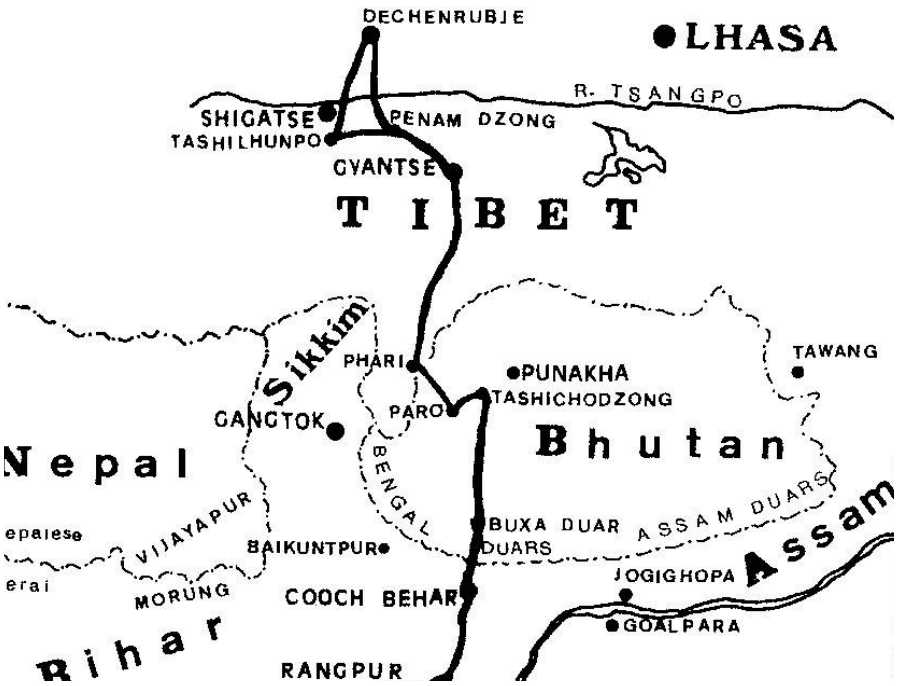
By Richard Wenger

George Bogle, Warren Hastings's ambassador to Tibet, set out with his companion Dr Alexander Hamilton from Calcutta on the long and difficult journey across the Himalayas about 20 May 1774. As it was the hottest time of the year they travelled mostly by night. They passed through Murshidabad, Dinajpur and Rangpur and by the end of the month had crossed into Cooch Behar, the small northern state which had recently been invaded by the Bhutanese. There they rested, and having further equipped their party, they hastened to continue before the monsoon rains began. Soon they were obliged to cut through swamp and dense woodland and after that crossed a river into Bhutan, where unfortunately the map he had with him was of little use and the only information he could obtain about the route was from passing pilgrims. As they passed through hills, the climate became cooler. Towards evening they arrived at their first destination, Buxa Duar, one of the eleven *duars* or 'doors' to Bhutan adjacent to Bengal, which had a small garrison of Bhutanese soldiers, where they were given provisions and provided with passports. Buxa Duar was situated on the top of a hill and they rested there for a day whilst coolies were found, and they were presented with two *tangun* ponies used in the mountains, which although of mean appearance turned out to be patient and sure footed.

They set out again on 9 June and climbed an extremely narrow path around Mount Pichakanum which overhangs Buxa Duar. Near the top they had an extensive view of Bengal 'one continued flat' marked only by woods, rivers and smoking villages. On the other side, which gave George greater pleasure, 'the rapid descent, the deep glens, the hills covered with trees the most lofty and luxuriant … and behind nothing but mountains with their tops hid in the clouds'. Hastings had given him potatoes to take as they were unknown in the Himalayan region, and when they came to the next village he planted ten amongst the turnips and radishes. Below them ran the galloping Chinchu river all the way to Tashichodzong, where the Deb Raja, the ruler of Bhutan, had his summer palace.[1] Passing several waterfalls and foaming rivulets much swollen by the recent rains, they arrived at Murichom on the top of a mountain, a truly delightful place. The climate was now temperate and apricots, peaches, apples and pears were grown in the locality. There was a long and difficult journey to Chuka, their next stop, and a good deal of rain, and on the way they crossed over the first ironclad suspension bridge across the Chinchu river said to have been built by the Tibetan saint Thanteng Gyalpe. From Chuka the countryside gradually opened up and was well cultivated. By now they had been joined by an official of the Deb Raja, who proved rather troublesome. Not only did he cause trouble in a village, but he used to lead the party over difficult mountainous paths instead of by an easier track by the river and on one occasion he took Purangir Gosain, who had been one of the Panchen Lama's delegates in Calcutta, that way with his luggage whilst the rest of them were guided by a more difficult route. Before arriving at Tashichodzong George was met

[1] Now Thimpu, the capital of Bhutan.

by a messenger from the Panchen Lama[2] with a letter telling him that as Tibet was subject to the emperor of China[3] he could not admit him and desired that he should return to Calcutta. In another letter addressed to Purangir the Lama explained that he could not give his permission because of a plague of smallpox. George concluded that these two explanations were excuses but he could not understand the reason for them. They arrived at Tashichodzong, which was situated in a picturesque valley surrounded by high mountains, at the end of the third week of June and were accommodated in a good house near the palace with a balcony overlooking the river.



Bogle's route from Rangpur in northern Bengal through Bhutan into Tibet as far as Dechenrubje. Map reproduced by courtesy of Alastair Lamb (see sources at end of article for full citation of his book).

The Deb Raja was away but returned after a few days and gave him an audience on 5 July. There were large crowds waiting to see him at the windows of the palace and in the road leading up to it – he observed: 'if there is any pleasure at being gazed at, I had enough of it'. In the presence chamber the Deb was seated on a gilded throne dressed in the habit of a priest in scarlet satin, and above him a servant twirled an umbrella with fringes. He was 'a pleasant looking old man with a smirking countenance'. Officials sat against the walls on either side of the room on cushions, and in an alcove there were several large images, little silver temples, china wares, silks, ribbons and other baubles with incense and butter lamps in front. To his surprise he noticed a print of Lady Waldegrave amongst them, which he afterwards had the good fortune to rescue out of the hands of these idols for on his next visit it was hanging on a pillar near the throne as a pretty companion to a looking glass he had given the Deb which was opposite. Having presented a white scarf and laid out his presents, they were all given tea and refreshments. He was then dressed in a flowered satin gown tied with a red girdle and after the intonation of prayers and more complimentary conversation, the Deb tied two scarves together and threw them over his shoulders. Following this he took his leave and after visiting some officials walked home in great state to his lodgings.

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[2] Panchen is the correct modern usage. Bogle, however, called him the Tashoo or Teshoo Lama.

[3] The emperor at this time was the Qianlong emperor who ruled from 1736 to 1796.

George was anxious that the Deb Raja should help him to proceed to Tibet but to his dismay he was advised to return to Calcutta as 'an Englishman sent from Calcutta would no doubt make a noise and an account of it be transmitted to the emperor'. The Panchen Lama's messenger was with them at a subsequent meeting and pleaded with him to take his letters and presents but George insisted that they should remain with the Deb Raja as Hastings could not possibly have foreseen these objections and it would be necessary for him to write for instructions. He concluded that only Purangir could help so he decided to lengthen the negotiations. He had by now become very aware of their suspicion of the English. The Bhutanese had recently felt the might of English arms and he recalled how the Deb's official had guided them over difficult terrain whilst Purangir was allowed to travel by an easy route. Nor had the Gurkha leader Prithvi Narayan Shah forgotten the Company's failed expedition of 1767. As for Tibet its lucrative trade with China and its products as well as the openness of the country were a temptation to an invader and made it vulnerable to attack. He realised it had been a mistake to bring such a large retinue for he had with him at least twenty-five servants and twenty-two porters. Parade excited suspicion. There was also a problem with provisions and many of them had not been paid or adequately fed. He therefore sent most of them back to Cooch Behar. If he was to acquire knowledge he 'must lay aside the Governor's deputy and mix with the people on a more equal footing'. He wrote to Hastings to tell him what had happened and mentioned that as his journey had been undertaken upon Purangir's assurances, the latter was bound in honour to see it accomplished. He was therefore sending him back to the Lama. Purangir agreed to use all means to dissuade the Lama from appealing directly to Peking. He was to stress the positive advantages of an intimate friendship with the Governor, assure him of the Company's peaceful intentions, and represent to him 'the slight he unmeritedly threw upon the Governor by refusing admittance into his country'. Purangir therefore set out with the messenger and Padma, a member of the Lama's court who had been with him in Calcutta, taking a letter from the Deb Raja and a few lines from George. Meanwhile George waited quietly at Tashichodzong. A few weeks later the Deb received a letter to say that the Government at Lhasa had consented to him proceeding provided he came with only a few servants, and that Padma and some other servants would meet him at Pharidzong near the border.

The palace at Tashichodzong, which had recently been rebuilt after a fire during Deb Judhur's rule, was a very large building of wood with gilded turrets divided into four courts, surrounded by galleries supported on pillars. It was home to about three thousand men of whom about a thousand were monks and the rest officials and servants – there was not a woman amongst them. Soon after his arrival he was invited to visit Lama Rimpoche (Je Khenpo), who was head of the priesthood and lived near the top of a high tower in the middle of the building. He was a sickly looking man of about thirty-five, who kept a little pet dog and a mongoose and had an insatiable curiosity about English goods and gadgetry. After the first visit he dispensed with ceremony and would treat them to supper. 'One day Mr Hamilton was showing him a microscope, and went to catch a fly; the whole room was in confusion, and the Lama frightened out of his wits lest he should have killed it'. To kill

any living being in his presence would have been unpardonable. Since his arrival George had been careful not to appear too inquisitive in case other objections should be raised about his journey but after Purangir had left he did not feel so constrained 'but this place is little favourable to commercial inquiries. It is monkish to the greatest degree'. There were only about a dozen houses in the town. In further conversations with the Deb he explained the need for increased trade between Bengal and Tibet and how Bhutan would benefit as a channel of communication, but although the Deb and his officers all subscribed to an annual caravan to Rangpur it was difficult for George to make him understand that it would benefit them directly.

On 20 August he wrote to Hastings to tell him he had been given permission to proceed. Hastings was delighted: 'Go on and prosper. Your journal has travelled as much as you, and is confessed to contain more than Hawkesworth's three volumes.[4] Remember that everything you see is of importance … Be not an economist if you can bring home splendid vouchers of the land you have visited … Your fellow traveller has my good wishes, and God bless you'. He had arranged for Mirza Settar, a Kashmiri merchant at Rangpur, who had visited Lhasa and knew the language to join him but he did not arrive at Tashichodzong until late September and by then there was insurrection in favour of Deb Judhur, who had been living in Tibet. The insurgents had planned to occupy the palace while the Deb and Lama Rimpoche were absent but their plans were discovered so they hurriedly seized Simptoka, a *dzong* five miles from Tashichodzong, which was full of arms and ammunition. However, Government forces surrounding them continued to increase, and seeing no prospect of assistance, the rebels escaped by moonlight over the mountains to Tibet.

The insurrection delayed their departure and Dr Hamilton treated some of the casualties. The weather was now becoming very cold. One night there was a heavy fall of snow and the tops of the mountains were white with it. 'The Bengalis, when they got up in the morning, were much surprised at the sight of it. They inquired of the Bhutanese, who told them it was white cloths, which God almighty sent down to cover the mountains to keep them warm. This solution required, to be sure, some faith'. In a letter to Hastings before his departure he gave his opinion of the people:

> The more I see of the Bhutanese, the more I am pleased with them. The common people are good-humoured, downright, and I think, thoroughly trusty. The statesmen have some of the art, which belongs to their profession. They are the best-built race of men I ever saw; many of them are very handsome, with complexions as fair as the French.

The weather was too hot in Bengal to send yaks but he was able to dispatch the skin of a musk goat and the mounted skull of a lama as a curiosity.

They left Tashichodzong on 13 October 1774 taking the road south along the river until it joined the Paro Chu and then headed north west to the border. On the way they met some

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[4] John Hawkesworth, *An Account of the Voyages undertaken …* [by Captain Cook among others], published in 1773.

soldiers near Simptoka and then passed villagers gathering the harvest. On the 16th they arrived at Paro, the provincial capital, where he visited the Governor, a cousin of the Lama Rimpoche, who gave him more blankets, and on the 19th they stayed at a castle situated rather romantically on the top of a hill, where bee hives were kept in the open under some of the windows – 'they have cold quarters of it'. They then reached Chanon, the last village in Bhutan. The road from Tashichodzong had been pretty level but now it began to rise into the Tremo La pass which leads into Tibet, and the journey became extremely steep. There were high perpendicular rocks overhead and the river, now only a stream, ran rapidly by. The tops of the hills and mountains were covered in snow and the trees ablaze with autumn tints. They stopped the night in a solitary low empty house rather like a stable without doors. By the morning the route along the desolate valley was covered with snow and icicles hung from the boulders and bridges. They then climbed a hill between two small mountains and upon reaching the top they found six heaps of stones with some banners, which marked the boundary between Bhutan and Tibet. Before them it was: 'plain and open to the north, hilly to the west; to the north and south mountains'.

Upon coming down the hill into Tibet they noticed a small mound in the middle of the plain, where the dead were laid out. It so happened that a body was being carried there and eagles, hawks, ravens and other carnivorous birds were soaring about in the sky. A little farther on they came in sight of the castle at Pharidzong surrounded by the town with its flat roofed houses. The next day he had tea with two officers from Lhasa in one of the rooms in the castle, which were little more than garrets. Padma had come to meet them. To George's surprise he was considered in Pharidzong a man of great rank and his levées were crowded with suitors. They set out again on 27 October travelling slowly over the flat sandy and gravelly terrain where nothing grew except small tufts of grass. One of Padma's servants carried a branch with a white scarf. George thought it was a mark of respect for his embassy but he was soon disabused. They halted when they came to a heap of stones opposite the snow covered mountain of Jomo Lhari and cow dung was collected and set alight. As soon as they had a cheerful fire Padma chanted prayers and libations were poured in honour of the sacred mountain. Then the small banner was placed on the heap of stones. Some of George's servants who had been walking were now completely exhausted due to the rarity of the air and had to be carried by porters as there were not enough horses. The next day he procured some yaks but the Bengalis refused to ride them saying that if anything happened to the beasts they would be obliged according to the principles of the *Shastra* to beg their bread for twelve years. He noted: 'inconvenient carrying Hindus into foreign parts'. The next day they travelled along the banks of the half frozen lake of Sham Chu Pelling and sighted plenty of wildfowl and herds of Tibetan antelope and *kyang* which resemble an ass. They would have had excellent shooting but Padma strongly objected particularly near the sacred mountain. They were now travelling almost due north through desolate valleys with ruined houses. At Khangma they spent the night in a shrine at the top of a house where all fifteen of its occupants had died of smallpox in the previous year. There they were visited by a priest from the Panchen Lama, who stayed about an hour and asked for some medicines from Dr Hamilton. At the next village, which belonged to the

Lama, the people were busy singing at their work. This time they lodged with a family practising polygamy. Two brothers were married to a very handsome wife and they had three very pretty children. They seemed to be one of the happiest families in Tibet. They all came to drink tea and eat sugar and candy and after dark they sang and danced for two hours. He noticed that Tibetans were more affable than their southern neighbours and treated their women with greater attention. Soon after leaving they came to a valley which was 'well cultivated and full of whitened houses'. The town of Gyantse, an important trading centre, was located there. They stayed for a day in a house three miles from there where they were joined by Purangir. Its roof was decorated with small flags and inscribed banners and belonged to the priest who had visited them at Khangma. At Gyantse crowds gathered to see them pass through the narrow streets under the walls of the impressive castle where Deb Judhur was detained. After that they travelled along the road to Shigatse and turned east towards Namling. On the way they met a flock of about twelve hundred sheep, which had been carrying salt from western Tibet and was now returning home with barley and wheat. Each sheep carried two bags of grain and were very obedient to their driver's whistles. They then came to the Tsangpo river where it was as wide as the Thames at Putney, and after he had washed his hands and face and thrown a rupee into the water, they all crossed in a ferry boat. On the other side they had fine sandy roads and he enjoyed some races with Purangir. On 8 November they passed near Tashitzay, the Panchen Lama's birthplace, and entered a small secluded valley where his palace was situated. They drank tea in tents specially prepared for them and after being presented with a white scarf by a Gosain sent to meet them, they proceeded to the Lama's palace at Dechenrubje.

The palace was a small building two stories high decorated with copper-gilt ornaments at the foot of a steep and rocky hill. George was given a small well furnished room above the church and was entertained with the never ceasing notes of 'cymballines and timballines'. Dr Hamilton was with him when the Lama gave him his first audience the following afternoon. He was seated cross legged on cushions on a gilded throne and wore a yellow mitre shaped cloth cap and a sleeveless yellow jacket with a yellow satin mantle over his shoulders. His physician holding smoking scented sandalwood sticks was on one side of him and Solpon Chumbo, his cup bearer and confidant, on the other. The Lama was about thirty-six years of age, small in stature, a little plump and had small black eyes, short jet black hair and a small beard and moustache. He was smiling and good humoured and received them in a most engaging manner, talking in Hindustani, which he knew moderately well. After presenting Hastings's letter and presents, George sat down near him on a high stool, and tea and refreshments were laid out before them. The Lama said he had never approved of the abduction of the Raja of Cooch Behar and the war and described Hastings's cessation of hostilities and the return of captured territory as 'a very pious action' (see *FIBIS Journal15*, pp41-42). George replied by talking at some length about the war and Hastings's intervention. There was then a short and rather embarrassing silence for the Lama did not fully understand what he was saying. After that George took care not to digress and to speak carefully sometimes imitating his Hindustani, so they managed to get along very well. After a few visits he received him without

ceremony, with only Solpon Chumbo present. Sometimes he would sit on a chair or on a bench and at other times walk around the room showing him the pictures, etc., for although he was God's vice-regent throughout eastern Asia he cast aside the awe-inspiring part of his character and accommodated himself to the weakness of mortals, endeavouring to make himself loved rather than feared and was affable with everybody, particularly with strangers. George found him very entertaining – he could tell a good story with plenty of humour and action and was open, frank and generous, and so universally loved that 'not a man could find in his heart to speak ill of him'.

Lobsang Palden Yeshe, the 3rd Panchen Lama, was the second religious hierarch in Tibet after the Dalai Lama, but as the Dalai Lama was a minor, the Government in Lhasa was run by a Regent Gesub Rimpoche. The Chinese empire was then at its greatest extent and the powerful Qing emperors in Peking, who came from Manchuria, were enthusiastic patrons of Tibetan Buddhism. After intervening in Tibetan affairs, they had appointed two *ambans* or representatives, who resided in Lhasa along with a small garrison of Chinese troops and reported to Peking,. Nevertheless the Panchen Lama was free from their interference and had considerable influence in his own jurisdiction. He was also a close friend of Changkya Hutukhtu, the chief Lama in Peking and confidant of the Qianlong emperor. Many people had advised the Lama against George's admission saying 'the Company was like a great king, and fond of war and conflict' but it was the Regent who had chiefly obstructed his journey after hearing that two Englishmen had arrived in Bhutan with a large retinue of servants, as he had a suspicious nature and was afraid of offending the Chinese. However, after Purangir's return the Lama had insisted it was proper to receive him so he had reluctantly agreed but emphatically forbade him to come to Lhasa.

The Lama told him he would like a place on the Ganges where his people could pray, and intended to write to Hastings about it. George said he was sure he would gratify his wish. The Lama then crossed his fingers and asked him if he worshipped 'the Cross', mentioning that there had formerly been some '*Fringy*' priests at Lhasa who had caused disturbances and been driven out of the country.[5] George replied that they had come from another country, spoke a different language, and that their religion differed from his. Everybody was free to worship God in their own way as Purangir would testify. He then changed the subject and George was glad of it. On another occasion the Lama told him they worshipped three Hindu Gods, Vishnu, Brahma and Siva. He asked him how many Gods he worshipped and he said one. The Lama had heard that his God was born three times, but George felt himself unequal to explaining the Trinity and the Lama observed charitably that they all worshipped the same God but under different names and all aimed at the same object through different means. The Lama also brought up the question of trade and talked about its decline. The Deb Raja refused to allow free trade through Bhutan and the Gurkha leader by his aggressive policies and exactions had forced the merchants to leave Nepal. He said he encouraged trade and had already written to the merchants asking them to trade with Bengal.

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[5] 'Firinghee' – term for European implying something of hostility or disparagement. The Lama was presumably referring to Desiderius's Jesuit mission to Lhasa of 1714.

George had many curious visitors. He was the first European they had seen and they came to look at him 'as people go to look at the lions in the tower'. The Lama was concerned that they were troubling him but he always made them welcome and would sometimes exchange a pinch of snuff or pick up a word or two of their language. Every morning a monk brought breakfast of bread and tea or boiled rice and mutton – the latter he used to eat heartily as he always liked 'to do at Rome as they do in Rome'. A week after their arrival the Lama sent for him and his entourage. He again affirmed his good opinion of the English and spoke of Hastings in a very friendly and sincere manner. After remarking about the coldness of the climate, he gave him 'a Tibetan dress, consisting of a purple satin tunic, lined with Siberian fox skins; a yellow satin cap, faced with sable and crowned with a red silk tassel, and a pair of red silk hide boots'. Dr Hamilton received a similar tunic in blue satin and all their servants were given tunics lined with sheep skin and boots. He was glad he could now discard his European dress, as it was both uncomfortable and the cause of much troublesome curiosity.

Whilst at Dechenrubje he witnessed crowds coming to pay their respects and to be blessed by the Lama who would be seated under a canopy on cushions in the courtyard. The people all stood in a circle. Everyone brought a present – a horse, a cow, dried sheep carcasses, sacks of flour, cloth, etc; those who had nothing else presented white scarves. The blessings varied. For monks or laymen of high rank he laid his palms on their heads and for nuns and laymen of lower rank a cloth was laid between his hands and their heads. Ordinary people were touched with a tassel. George admired the dexterity with which he could distinguish the different ranks. Many people would stay behind afterwards to kiss the cushions on which he had sat.

By December the Lama was preparing to return to his monastery at Tashilhunpo which he had left three years earlier to avoid the smallpox. Before leaving he sent some goats which produce the shawl wool, yaks, Tibetan sheep and dogs, together with some seeds, to Cooch Behar as presents for Hastings. On 7 December George and Dr Hamilton set out with the Lama and his court in a procession before sunrise – it was bitterly cold. They proceeded slowly and stayed for a couple of days at Tashitzay where George spent the time watching dancers and playing chess. At the banks of the Tsangpo, crowds had gathered to see the Lama and prostrate themselves. The river was covered with shoals of ice and he invited George to cross it with him in the same boat. That evening he gave him a lofty Tibetan saddle. All the ironwork and bridle were gilt. He also gave him a yellow satin tunic with black fur, 'for', says he, 'you are to go into my capital tomorrow". These little civilities gained a high value from the manner in which they were done. The next day they stopped under the castle at Shigatse, where he blessed the people and took refreshments in a tent pitched for him. From there the road was lined with spectators in holiday clothes. Many were singing and dancing. The great monastery of Tashilhunpo which lay ahead was a majestic sight. Built on the lower slopes of a steep hill it was like a small town with buildings erected in tiers. Amongst them rose four temples and the Lama's palace with its gilded roof. Monks stood in rows to welcome the Lama, some banging drums and clashing cymbals. As he passed 'they bent forward and followed him with their

eyes. But there was a look of veneration mixed with joy in their countenance which pleased me beyond anything'. For him it was surer evidence of satisfaction than the guns of the Tower or the odes of the Poet Laureate. The Lama rode as far as he could, and then walked through the purlieus of the palace, stopping now and then, and casting a cheerful look among the people.

Their accommodation was newly built. George had a large room which was as fine as any, and Dr Hamilton a smaller one which was much warmer. They had plenty of visitors calling at all hours – some would even look down on him through the large hole in the ceiling. On one occasion an important Tibetan general called and they enjoyed a tough game of chess. Another visitor was the governor of a castle up the Tsangpo. Important criminals would be sent to him, where they were imprisoned without food or water so dying without direct human intervention. For the first few weeks the Lama was busy receiving his devotees. A day or so after his arrival he blessed the people and after various ceremonies there was a large feast to celebrate his return. George always made a point of attending religious ceremonies when asked and a tent would be put up on the roof for him whenever the Lama visited a temple, where he could play chess and have refreshments. Then after a couple of hours he would join them for prayers. Two *vakils* from Lhasa came to visit him bringing small boxes of dried fish, Chinese bread and cakes, distilled spirits and dried mushrooms – they gave no valuable gifts. They all talked about trade. The lay *vakil* said their people feared the heat and only travelled as far as Pharidzong where they exchanged their goods for those of Bengal with the Bhutanese. However George explained there was formerly a very large trade between Bengal and Tibet and hoped the Regent would support a reasonable proposal for free trade to which they replied that he would do everything in his power but 'he and all the country was subject to the emperor of China'. This 'stumbling block' crossed him in all his paths. They left him after about an hour 'little satisfied with their manners or conversation'. They called again on 30 December refusing to take a letter from him. He tried to convince them of the Company's good intentions and wanted to know why the Regent was so suspicious, but they said much conversation was not the custom of the country, bid him farewell and wished him a good journey to Bengal. He was so perturbed by their conduct that he immediately visited the Lama – he could not help being upset that the Regent suspected him of entering the country to cause trouble. He said this with some wrath. The Lama calmed him down and wrote a very short letter for him thanking the Regent for the presents and requesting him to allow merchants to trade between his country and Bengal. Next day it was delivered to the *vakils* who said they were sorry and would take it. From this he understood the Lama had spoken to them. A few days later the Lama wrote to the Deb Raja asking him to allow the merchants to pass through his country, saying that by doing so he would not only comply with the Governor's wishes but oblige him also. In any event, he reminded George, the Dalai Lama would soon be of age and the Regency would end.

Prithvi Narayan, who had risen from a petty Raja to become ruler of Nepal, had recently styled himself 'King of the Mountains' and was now attacking Lhasa's vassal state of Sikkim. The Tibetan Government was alarmed by his aggressive actions and had

responded by sending troops. The Lama asked George for his opinion who replied that he thought he was aiming to conquer all the hill country but he was afraid of the English who adhered to treaties and supported their friends. Nothing was more likely to stop him than knowledge of an understanding between the Governments of Bengal and Tibet. The Lama seemed very pleased by what he had said, and asked if he could write and tell the Regent. George readily agreed. He felt sure that the Governor would be willing to intervene to prevent the Gurkhas from invading territories subject to Lhasa but if the Regent continued to be suspicious he would not help. About this time he was asked to write an account of Europe, which gave him a great deal of trouble. He progressed through various countries with which he was familiar but as he had no books to refer to he was unable to finish it. Nevertheless, 'as it was, it affords a great feast for the Lama's insatiable curiosity'. He was also recording information to comply with Hastings's instructions and writing up some useful notes on the history of Asia and its peoples.

The Lama's family came to visit him prior to the start of the New Year's holiday on 19 January and stayed for about two months. Amongst them were his sister-in-law Chum Cusho, his two nieces nuns from Tashitzay, his two nephews the Pung Cushos and their half sister Dorge Phakmo, the 'Thunderbolt Sow', who was the only female Incarnation in Tibet. She was about twenty-seven and had small delicate Chinese features and fine eyes but was pale and sickly. George only visited her once but Dr Hamilton called nearly every day and cured her of a longstanding ailment. They both became very friendly with the Pung Cushos who invited them to stay for a few days at their country estate at Rinjaitzay, where they feasted and enjoyed horse riding, shooting and hare coursing. One day they netted a musk goat and took it home but it died in the night. He became very fond of the monk who always brought his breakfast. Aged about fifty he had been marked by the smallpox. He came to understand George's imperfect attempts to speak Tibetan and they would have long chats together. Seeing George shaving one morning he was persuaded to scrub himself with soap and water. It gave him a new complexion and he viewed himself in the shaving mirror with some satisfaction but was so ridiculed by his friends that he never repeated the experiment.

In March the Lama received confirmation that Prithvi Narayan had died and immediately wrote to his son Pratap Singh urging him to allow all merchants to carry on their trade freely in Nepal. Later that month he again referred to a letter he had written to his friend Changkya Hutukhtu in Peking, who had much influence with the emperor, telling him of the friendship and moderation of the English. He had recommended him to send some of his followers to the religious places in Bengal and hoped Hastings would give them a good reception. It might be a way of opening relations between the Company and the emperor, and through his friend he could possibly get permission for the English to go to Peking. George told him that this would make the Governor very happy. Concerning the temple, which he wished to have on the banks of the Ganges, he proposed that Purangir, who had served him well, should settle it: 'I do not wish it to be a large house, and let it be built in the fashion of Bengal'.

The severity of winter was now passing, the weather was more comfortable in the middle of the day, and George began to think about his return to Bengal. The Lama's family was leaving and he bid them all farewell with a heavy heart. The last days were taken up with such ceremonies – all his acquaintances came to him 'with pots of tea, little presents, kind looks and kind expressions'. The Lama gave an order for some very young and tame musk goats and *tus* (Tibetan long haired goats) to be sent to the Governor next winter. On 8 April 1775 he had his last private audience. The Lama repeated his concern at his departure, thanked him for his account of Europe, and concluded with many wishes for his prosperity saying he would pray to heaven on his behalf. Upon observing George's sorry expression he tried to cheer him up by mentioning that he hoped to see him again. He then threw a scarf about his neck, put his hand upon his head, and retired. Soon afterwards George hurried down the hill, got on his horse and began his journey to Bengal.

On reaching Bhutan George, who had previously had conversations with the Deb Raja on trade, concluded difficult negotiations with Padma's support by the end of May. As a result the Deb, who would not admit Company servants, agreed to allow Bengali merchants to pass through his dominions. The Bhutanese were to have exclusive trade in certain commodities like indigo and betel nut and the Company would abolish duties when they traded in Rangpur. After returning to northern Bengal George received a letter from Hastings expressing his delight at the agreement and assuring him that he did not want permission for Company servants to go to Bhutan. 'I have read through the last chapter of your Journal. I am pleased, exceedingly pleased, with all your proceedings but most with this'. A few weeks later Hastings sent a copy of the journal to Dr Johnson requesting his opinion concerning its publication.

Epilogue

George returned to Calcutta near the end of July 1775 to find that his patron had been stripped of authority by three of the new Councillors appointed under the Regulating Act, namely General Clavering, Colonel Monson and Philip Francis, who had all arrived from England the previous October. Richard Barwell, the other Councillor, had lived in Bengal for many years and loyally supported Hastings, but the three formed a majority and without any experience of Indian affairs immediately began to repeal Hastings's valuable reforms and to blacken his character. In this unhappy situation George found himself without employment as the Select Committee ceased to exist under the Act and the majority intended to abolish the *Sadr Diwani Adalat*. Even the militia in which he was a Corporal had been much reduced. Hastings proposed him for high office but the majority refused to agree and the only help Hastings could give was to make him his assistant in his private office. As George's income was now as little as 63 rupees per month he had to alter his lifestyle and took a small garden house by a graveyard. He told his friend David Anderson: 'It is surrounded with trees like a Hermitage and I lead the life of a Hermit. I shun all large Companies'. Hamilton called it 'Melancholy Hall'. Here he fell into a depression. Lauchlan Macleane, anticipating his dismissal by the majority, had resigned and returned home to advocate Hastings's cause, and a few days after George's return his intimate friend

Alexander Elliot, who had recently distinguished himself as an interpreter at Nandakumar's trial, also left to assist him. George wrote: 'Elliot's departure was a severe stroke upon me'. Then his other friend Jack Stewart was dismissed and by October was arranging to leave.

George's appointment as ambassador to Tibet had delighted his family and his brother-in-law Dr Brown had acquired a copy of Hastings's letter to the Court of Directors at East India House, which gave his father 'exquisite pleasure' but George suffered much anxiety about his financial predicament and could only send him £110 that year. Then in December in a rare display of unanimity the Council agreed to pay him 15,000 rupees exclusive of expenses for his trip which was a welcome addition to his finances. As he told his brother Robin, who was now living on a sugar plantation in Grenada, he was the highest Company servant unprovided for and could not get a position without asking for it 'and I can ask nothing of Men who are so hostile to my Patron'. Hastings wanted him to publish something about his 'pilgrimage' and he promised to attempt it, but it was 'a tremendous affair' and he never finished preparing for it. However, he gave sufficient information to Stewart who wrote a letter to the President of the Royal Society entitled 'An Account of the Kingdom of Tibet' which was read to members on 17 April 1777.

In September 1776 Monson died and Hastings regained his authority by the use of his casting vote. As the revenue settlement of 1772 was due to expire he determined to obtain accurate information about land values and in November set up the *Amini* office to make investigations and compile data for a new settlement. The office was to be temporary and he put George, Anderson and another loyal supporter Charles Croftes in charge. They submitted a report in the spring of 1778. George was then made Commissioner of Law Suits but the work risked censure and was very troublesome so he resigned of his own accord after a year. He was looking forward to seeing Stewart again who had been reinstated by the Directors. He had recently married and sailed for Bengal with his young wife in February 1778 but died before reaching the Cape. John Macpherson wrote to Hastings: 'Our friend John had real merit and zeal His marriage was his consumption. I never think of his wit and sociability but with regrets.' Young Elliot returned in 1777 and after the outbreak of hostilities with France in 1778 was appointed ambassador to the Raja of Berar but he died on the journey to Nagpur. Both Hastings and George were distraught with grief. It was said that Hastings wept in Council when he gave the news. George wrote that he never had or could have so much esteem, indeed veneration, for anyone else: 'I was happy beyond everybody in his friendship. I had not a thought that I concealed from him. He had none that he concealed from me. But alas he is gone for ever'.

In December 1775 in accordance with the Panchen Lama's wishes the Company had granted 30 acres of land to Purangir at Ghusari across the river from Calcutta on which to build a monastic establishment which became known as *Bhot Bagan* (Tibet Gardens). There had been frequent communication with the Lama often with Purangir's help and in April 1779, two months after resigning as Commissioner of Law Suits, George was appointed to proceed to Bhutan and Tibet once more. Then news arrived that the Lama was to make the long journey to Peking for the emperor's 70th birthday celebrations, but as George had no passports for China he was unable to go and was obliged to postpone his

visit to Bhutan and Tibet. In September 1779 he was made Collector at Rangpur. He was glad to leave Calcutta and to be within sight of his Bhutan hills. 'Yet I feel a pang at leaving my patron Mr Hastings for whose character and abilities I have a respect bordering on veneration'. He was advising his sister Bess about the planting of trees at Daldowie, and at Rangpur collected seeds to send home. But he gave not a word about his return. His sister feared he would find poor old Scotland 'a plain stupid place after all the fine way you live in Calcutta. We have no Palanquins or Jamie David to go with you wherever you go but we will try to make up the want of that by love and esteem'. The Collectorship was a remunerative post and whilst there he was finally able to pay off the remaining debt on Daldowie. He was attempting to increase trade with Bhutan by introducing new items of commerce and even sent packets of tea seeds into the country. As the Bhutanese merchants were excused duty crowds of them flocked to Rangpur to trade. Company servants there formed a small community of half a dozen and George had a doctor and his medical assistant in his house. In May 1780 he suffered a very severe fit of bile and then another in June and was hoping to get permission to visit Bhutan for reasons of health as much as anything else. However, Hastings had decided to dissolve the Provincial Councils and to set up a Committee of Revenue and wanted him to become a member and return to Calcutta. He agreed and came without delay to perform his new duties. Then tragedy struck. On 3 April 1781 he went bathing and drowned after suffering a haemorrhage. As it was so early in the morning his friends could not get him any assistance until it was too late. The event was recorded in the *Bengal Gazette* a few days after. He was buried in South Park Street Cemetery and his two friends David Anderson and Claud Alexander erected a monument in the form of a sarcophagus. A year later news was brought by Purangir that his friend the Panchen Lama had died of smallpox in Peking.

George had several children by two or more Indian women known as '*bibis'*. Little evidence survives about them, but one was still living in Calcutta in the 19th century and being paid a small pension by Alexander's firm Colvin Barrett & C. from George's estate. 'Bibi Bogle' was receiving 20 rupees a month in 1820 when she was described by the firm as 'an active healthy woman likely to live for many years to come'. Her pension continued to be paid until 1838, when she presumably had died.

Prior to being posted to Rangpur George, who was actively sorting out Stewart's affairs for his impoverished widow in London, sent her a daughter whom she promised to look after and educate. She wrote to him in August 1780 saying 'The present you sent home is a fine creature.....She often mentions you and whenever anything goes not quite to her wish she says she will go back to Bengal, to her Papa Bogle'. We know little about this girl but a note endorsed on the letter in a different hand says 'Mary Bogle of Bengal'. She must have been at least four as children were not sent home before then. There was also a boy called George who died quite suddenly at the end of April 1782. He was buried next to his father but as he was not a Christian the funeral service was not read over him. Three more children are recorded - another boy also called George and two girls Martha and Mary. Alexander received 35,000 rupees from George's estate on their behalf and he and Anderson were their guardians. They were all baptised in 1784 and inoculated and doing

well, but little George died in September 1784. The two girls, who according to family tradition had a Tibetan mother called Tichan, were sent home in December 1784. Robert, who had inherited Daldowie on his father's death in January 1784, was arranging to meet them, and took them to Daldowie. It is said that the girls grew up quite happily at Daldowie with their uncle and aunts and were brought up in good style. When Robert was visiting London in 1788 Anne wrote to say 'Our little girls are in good health and doing well....Jenny Lawson (the cook at Daldowie – see *FIBIS Journal* 13, p10) has reely been very attentive to them'. Both Alexander and Anderson returned to Scotland in the 1780s. About 1798 Robert informed Anderson that his young wards were in good health and much improved. In 1807 Martha married a William Brown and Mary was married to Josias Fairley, a manufacturer in Glasgow, in 1808 and later to a Mr Hamilton. As far as is known Mary had no children but Martha had five and her descendants are living today.

Sources

Mitchell Library, Glasgow	Bogle Family Mss,
British Library	Anderson Collection (Add Mss 45421 and 45424), Hastings Collection (Add Ms 29143), and Bogle Collection (Mss Eur E226)
Markham, Sir Clements R (ed)	*Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet and the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa* (London, 1876)
Lamb, Alastair	*Bhutan and Tibet: the travels of George Bogle and Alexander Hamilton, 1774-1777*, vol 1 *Bogle and Hamilton, letters, journals and memoranda* (Hertingfordbury, Roxford, 2002)
Richardson, H E	'George Bogle and his children', *Scottish Genealogist* vol. XXIX, no. 3 (Sep 1982), pp73-83

The Rind family in India 1830s-1880s: recently discovered papers in the Pembrokeshire Record Office

By Nikki Bosworth, archivist

In the early 19th century, the home of the Rind family was at Wester Livilands, near Stirling, in Scotland, but they may have originated from the Irish family of Rynd. In 1878, Burnet George Rind married Miss Elinor Amy Lloyd Mathias at Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire, and many of the family papers found their way to Wales.

The family's connection with India went back at least to 1778 when James Nathaniel Rind joined the Bengal Army as a young subaltern[1] rising to become a Colonel by the time he died in 1814. Correspondence dating from the 1820s refers to his last few years in India.

One of the Colonel's sons was Lieutenant James Nathaniel Rind (1809-1842) of the 37th Regiment, Bengal Army. His letters, written between 1830 and 1842, give a clear picture of his life in India with references to shooting parties, tiger hunts, playing rackets and news about family and friends. There are two newspaper cuttings referring to Lieutenant Rind's involvement with a fire at Hardwar in 1832 and a battle at Purwan Durrah [Parwandara] in 1840 during the 1st Afghan War. In March 1839, he was camped on the west bank of the Indus between Shikapoor and Duda and his letter recounts military and naval action on the way to Kandahar. By November 1839, he was in Afghanistan and writing about action at Kabul and the Khyber Pass. It was during his time in Afghanistan that James wrote his will, the document being witnessed by Charles Wyndham and John Robertson. By the time of his death in the retreat from Kabul in 1842, James had been promoted to Captain.

Amongst the correspondence of James Nathaniel Rind, there was a letter of condolence to his cousin Mary at Futtehpore [Fatehpur] in India on the death of her husband Douglas Timms.

William James Rind (1806-1869) was a brother of James Nathaniel Rind. His letters from India survive from October 1849 onwards when he intimated to his mother that he was thinking about leaving the army and buying property in India. The letters cover topics such as tea planting, seeds and plants for the garden, politics and the weather and were written between 1849 and 1861, mostly from Mussoorie.

The letters of both James Nathaniel Rind and William James Rind contain frequent references to life in India and to their family, friends and neighbours. Many of the letters are difficult to read because, in an effort to conserve paper, the pages are written across twice, the writing being at right angles to each other.

Burnet George Rind, born in India in 1854, was the son of William James Rind – and the husband of Elinor Amy Lloyd Mathias, whom he had married in 1878. By 1883, Louis Rind of Nagpur was writing to a Miss Rind in England an account of the drunkenness and debts of Burnet George Rind and the departure of his wife Amy and their children for London on

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[1] V C P Hodson, *List of Officers of the Bengal Army 1758-1834*, 4 vols (London, 1927-28, 1946-47).

the P & O Steamer *Pekin*. The letter continued 'Burnet will remain with me till the beginning of June, by which time I hope he will be fit to be trusted to be alone again. I will then send him across to Australia and he must then try to begin a new life'.

These letters form part of the papers of the late Burnet Henry George Rind of Dale, Pembrokeshire, grandson of Burnet George Rind, and were given to the Pembrokeshire Record Office by his widow. The letters are available for public research under the reference D/RIND.

Links with India: Records in the New South Wales State archives relating to settlers and others

By Christine Yeats, Manager, Public Access, State Records Authority of NSW

This article outlines some of the main sources in the New South Wales (NSW) State archives collection[1] of potential interest to British India researchers. Researchers wishing to locate further information should visit State Records' website (www.records.nsw.gov.au) and check *Archives Investigator* (our online catalogue) as well as online guides, indexes and resources including the suite of *Archives in Brief* (fact sheets), particularly *Archives in Brief* (AIB) No. 79: India and NSW Migration and trade.

Arrivals in NSW

Overview

The main ways that people could travel to N.S.W were as free passengers (either paying their own passage or arriving under one of the assisted immigration schemes), crew members, military personnel or convicts. Most of the settlers arriving in NSW from India would have been posted here as members of the military or paid their own passage. There are some examples of military personnel who were stationed in India and later transported to NSW as convicts, often following a court martial. The majority of the assisted immigrants arriving in NSW came direct from the United Kingdom[2] however; two ships brought assisted immigrants to NSW from India in the 1850s.

Records relating to arrivals before 1826

The earliest known application by prospective settlers from India came in 1799 from Messrs. Marshall, Lowder and Seymour to Governor Hunter. The full letter from Alexander Seymour is in Historical Records of Australia.[3] Seymour also makes particular reference to transporting convicts from Bengal to NSW.

There are only a few surviving passenger lists in the State archives relating to arrivals to NSW before 1826. There is an Index to miscellaneous early passenger lists, 1792–1825 (24 ships only) which is available in State Records' reading rooms.[4] Some free settlers

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[1] The State archives collection documents the business of government in New South Wales — and its interaction with people and groups in our society — from the arrival of the First Fleet in 1788 until today. It is managed by the State Records Authority of NSW (State Records), the NSW Government's archives and records management authority. One of State Records' key responsibilities is to ensure that the State archives collection is developed, preserved and used.

[2] The assisted immigrants arriving in NSW also included vinedressers and others skilled in the wine industry from what is now modern day Germany together with a few arrivals from North America.

[3] *Historical Records of Australia* Series 1 Volume 2, Library Committee of the Commonwealth Parliament, Sydney, 1914-1925, 1971 reprint, pp 476–81.

[4] State Records has two reading rooms — the Sydney Records Centre at 2 Globe Street, The Rocks which holds microform and facsimile copies of State archives and the Western Sydney

travelled to NSW on convict ships and they may be listed in the Musters and other papers relating to convict ships, 1790-1849 (Series NRS 1155). This series has not been indexed. The Journals of the Surgeon Superintendents on the convict ships may also include references to free settlers on the convict ships if they required medical attention during the voyage. These are available from the UK National Archives (TNA Ref: Adm. 101/1-75. Reels 3187-3213). There is also an online index to soldiers and marines, 1787–1830 on the Society of Australian Genealogists' website, which has been compiled from Army Paylists and Muster Rolls.[5]

There are other references to free settlers arriving before 1826 in the records created by the office of the Colonial Secretary, which first appears in the administration of NSW in 1788. These records are one of the most important resources for researchers interested in the history of NSW, as the office was closely associated with all aspects of administration until the early 20th century. The Colonial Secretary's Papers, 1788–1825, which include letters from officials and individuals as well as memorials and petitions and letters sent (these were copied into out-letter books), are indexed and the index is available on the website[6]. There is also an online guide to the Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, 1788–1982[7], which should be consulted for more information about the Colonial Secretary's Papers.

Examples of records of arrivals in the Colonial Secretary's Papers, 1788–1826

The Index to the Colonial Secretary's Papers can be searched by an individual's name or by subject. Entries relating to individuals can include letters of introduction, petitions from convicts and others, memorials (applications) asking for land and lists of persons arriving in the Colony. Examples include: the arrival of Major-General Lachlan Macquarie, who was Governor of NSW from 1810 to 1821 (Series NRS 897 [4/3490B p.1] Reel 6002); testimonials presented by settler and merchant Lieutenant Vickers Jacob (former Lieutenant in 3rd Regiment Bengal Native Infantry) who arrived on the *Medway* in 1821 (Series NRS 897 [4/1764 pp.23-23c] Reel 6056) and the arrival of Private Henry Collins of the 46th Regiment on the *Larkins* in November 1817 (Series NRS 897 [4/1739 pp.1-2] Reel 6047).

Lists of the British Regiments doing escort duty to the Colony and the British Regiments stationed in the Colony appear under the term 'Military'. There are also entries relating to the movements of particular Regiments for example the disembarkation return of a

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Records Centre, 143 O'Connell Street, Kingswood where microform and facsimile copies and all original (uncopied) State archives are held.

5 Society of Australian Genealogists, Index to soldiers and marines, 1787–1830 (online), URL of website: http://www.sag.org.au/ (cited July 2006).

6 State Records, Index to the Colonial Secretary's Papers, 1788–1825 (online), URL of website: http://www.records.nsw.gov.au/archives/colonial_secretary_1788-1825_252.asp, (cited July 2006).

7 State Records, Colonial Secretary Correspondence Guide (online), URL http://www.records.nsw.gov.au/archives/contents_7424.asp, (cited July 2006).

detachment of the 46th Regiment in Sydney Harbour in May 1818 (Series NRS 897 [4/6579 pp.405-8] Reel 6072) and advice from the Navy Office to the Governor regarding preparations for the 48th Regiment to embark for Madras (Series NRS 897 [4/1095.1 pp.149-56] Reel 6028).

Records relating to arrivals between 1826 and 1853

The main source for information on arrivals between 1826 and 1853 are the Reports of vessels arrived, 1826–59 (Series NRS 1291). The reports record the vessel's name, tonnage, number of crew, master, whence, when sailed, cargo, the first class passengers' names and often only the number of those travelling steerage. For example, the following entry appears under 'Steerage' in the Report for the *Roslyn Castle* (Series NRS 1291 [4/5207] Reel 1264), which arrived in September 1834, ' 29 Rank & File of the 50th Regiment, 2 Rank & File of the 2nd Regiment, 7 women & 14 children'.

State Records has indexed the series for the years 1826–53 and the index is available in State Records' reading rooms. Entries appear under 'military' and then the regiment number. The names of military personnel are indexed if they appear in the records.

Pastkeys (an indexing company) has prepared an Index to unassisted arrivals in NSW, 1842–55. Pastkeys indexed the followed series: Reports of vessels arrived, 1842–55; Shipping Masters' Office (Passengers Arriving), 1854-55 and Passengers arriving at Sydney, 1846. The index is available on State Records' website[8]. It can be searched by a person's name or by port of departure.

If you are searching this index for military arrivals and you know the regiment, check the index under 'R' as the index lists the arrival dates of each regiment. For example, there are entries for the arrival of the 25th and 58th Regiments and the 94th Regiment Infantry from Madras on the *Dawston* on 6 September 1854. Individual members of the military appear in the index only if they are named in the records.

Records relating to arrivals between 1854 and 1922

From 1854 there are more comprehensive details of arrivals in the Colony recorded in the series Shipping Masters' Office (Passengers Arriving), 1854–1922 (series NRS 13278). The lists record name of ship and master; tonnage; where from; date of arrival; seamen's names, station, age and nationality and passengers' names.

The information on each passenger may be quite limited such as this entry from the passenger list of the *Malta,* which arrived on 14 May 1870, 'Mr R F Bayley ex Madras'. Mary-Anne Warner, a private researcher, is progressively indexing this series. State Records is hosting Ms Warner's *Mariners and Ships in Australian Waters* website, which includes the index[9].

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[8] State Records, Index to the Unassisted Arrivals NSW, 1842-1855 (Copyright Pastkeys) (online), URL of website: http://www.records.nsw.gov.au/indexes/searchform.aspx?id=43, (cited July 2006).

[9] State Records, Mariners and Ships in Australian Waters (online), URL of website**:** http://mariners.records.nsw.gov.au/, (cited July 2006).

Records relating to orphans from India

At least three groups of orphans from India arrived in NSW between 1841 and 1843. The first group of 'Indian' orphans arrived on February 1841 on the *Sesostris*, with the passage paid by the East India Company's Marine Board (Series NRS 1291 [4/5219 Reel 1268]). The next group arrived on the *British Sovereign* in 1841 (Series NRS 1291 [4/5220, Reel 1268]) and the third group were on the *Duchess of Kent* in 1843 (Series NRS 1291 [4/5223 Reel 1270]). There is correspondence relating to the arrival of the orphans in the copies of Letters sent by the Colonial Secretary, 1843 (Series NRS 939 [4/3525, reel 900].

Records relating to assisted immigrants from India

There are records of assisted immigrants arriving in NSW between 1828 and 1896. Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints compiled an index, on microfilm, to Bounty Immigrants arriving in NSW, 1828–42. This is available in the reading rooms and through the Church. There are indexes to the arrivals of assisted immigrants in Sydney and Newcastle, 1844–96, Moreton Bay 1848–59 and Port Phillip on State Records website[10]. Two ships brought assisted immigrants to NSW from Madras under a scheme supported by Sir William Burton, when he was the puisne judge at Madras. The lists of the assisted immigrants arriving on the two ships — *William Prowse* (arrived 1853) and the *Palmyra* (arrived 1854) — are included in the Index to assisted immigrants arriving in Sydney and Newcastle, 1844–59.

Records relating to arrivals in NSW after 1922

The National Archives of Australia holds records of arrivals in NSW after 1922 as shipping became a Commonwealth responsibility from 1923. Microfilm copies of the passenger lists from 1923 to 1966 are in the reading room at the Sydney Records Centre in The Rocks.

Records relating to convict arrivals from India

State Records holds the records of convicts transported to NSW between 1788 — the arrival of the First Fleet — and 1842, including convicts transported from India. Most of the convicts from India were military prisoners such as William Toole and James Garthelny who arrived on the *Guide* (Series NRS 12188 fiche 627) on 9 November 1818. Marie Jones' book *From Places Now Forgotten*: *An Index of Convicts Whose Places of Trial were outside the UK & Ireland* (Marie Jones, Wild and Woolly P/L, 1996) will help in identifying convicts tried in India.

The key records relating to convicts are listed in AIB No. 2: Convict records. There is also a recently published *Guide to NSW State Archives relating to Convicts and Convict Administration*, which is available from State Records.

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1 [0] State Records, Index to assisted immigrants arriving in Sydney and Newcastle, 1844–59 (online), URL of website: http://www.records.nsw.gov.au/archives/indexes_online_3357.asp, (cited July 2006).

The Convict indent is the starting point when researching convicts. The early indents provide name, date and place of trial and sentence but later indents contain more information such as a physical description, native place, age and crime. The indents may also contain numbers of tickets of leave, pardons or certificates of freedom as well as details of any further crimes committed in the Colony. The Convict indents have been indexed by the Genealogical Society of Victoria (GSV) and the index is available on CD-ROM from the GSV.

Colonial Secretary's records, 1826 *et seq*

The Colonial Secretary's records continue to be a valuable source for researching individuals arriving and settling in the Colony, including convicts until late into the nineteenth century. There are contemporary indexes and registers to the letters received from 1826 to 1921, which are available in the reading rooms. There are also Indexes to letters received (1826–77) and to letters sent (1826–55) relating to convicts and others, which have been published on microfiche by Joan Reese. These are also available in the reading rooms.

Requests for land — leases and purchases — continued to be received by the Colonial Secretary's office between 1826 and 1856. These letters were separated out of the main series of incoming correspondence. They can be very important because applicants often provided background information about themselves, such as details of the date and ship of arrival, which may not be available from other sources. There is an online Index to the Letters received by the Colonial Secretary relating to land, 1826–56.[11]

The series of Special Bundles which were created by the Colonial Secretary are sometimes a useful source. They relate to a wide range of subjects and topics. There is a full listing of the Special Bundles from 1788–1982 in the online guide to the Colonial Secretary's Correspondence.

Settling in NSW

Overview

Having established the arrival of a person in NSW, the next step is to try to determine what dealings they may have had with the government. In this way it may be possible to locate further information about their life in the Colony.

Examples of some of the ways settlers coming to NSW from India may have dealt with the government include acquiring land, trade, business and government employment.

Muster and census records

Muster and census records are a good way of establishing that a person has settled in NSW. They also give the name of the ship of arrival. Population musters were held

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1 [1] State Records, Index to letters received by the Colonial Secretary relating to land, 1826–56 (online), URL of website: http://www.records.nsw.gov.au/indexes/searchform.aspx?id=14 (cited July 2006).

regularly in NSW until 1825 to find out who was in the Colony and to confirm the whereabouts of the convicts; however, members of the military are not included.

The first census was held in November 1828 after it was found that a Governor had no right to compel free men to come to a muster. Although the Census fulfilled the same functions as the muster, there were some differences. It was taken by specially appointed collectors, generally responsible to a Commissioner or a Bench of Magistrates, who completed printed forms for each household in the territory allotted to them. The muster and census records up to 1828 have been transcribed and published by the Library of Australian History.

Although thereafter censuses were held regularly throughout the nineteenth century, records of individuals' names are available only for the 1841, 1891 and 1901 censuses. The returns for the heads of households have survived from the 1841 Census and there is an online index to the records on State Records' website.[12] The Collector's books (records maintained by the collector as he/she distributed and collected the census returns) for the 1891 and 1901 Census are held in the State archives. These are not indexed.

Records relating to land holdings

Many early settlers were attracted by the opportunity of obtaining land either through a free grant or by lease or purchase from the Crown. As mentioned already, their memorials asking for land may appear in the Colonial Secretary's Papers, 1788–1825 and in the Colonial Secretary's Letters received relating to land, 1826–56.

If the applicant was successful and received a land grant or lease these are recorded in the Surveyor General's Registers of land grants and leases, 1791-1924 (Series NRS 13836). There are contemporary indexes to the Registers covering the years 1792–1865 (Series NRS 13836).

Examples of land holders from India

Robert and Helenus Scott, who arrived in 1822 on the *Britomart*, are examples of early settlers from India who acquired significant land holdings in NSW. They were born in Bombay, sons of Dr Helenus Scott and his wife Augusta Maria, daughter of Colonel Charles Frederick. Their sister Augusta Maria married Dr James Mitchell the father of book collector David Scott Mitchell who bequeathed his entire collection and an endowment to the Public Library of NSW and after whom the Mitchell Library of NSW is named[13].

The brothers received grants of land near Singleton in the Hunter Valley where they bred blood horses. There are entries relating to both Robert and Helenus in the Index to the Colonial Secretary's Papers, 1788–1825 as well as in the Index to the Letters received by the Colonial Secretary relating to Land, 1826–56. While many of those who settled in NSW

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1 [2] State Records, Index to the 1841 Census (online), URL of website: http://www.records.nsw.gov.au/indexes/searchform.aspx?id=18 (cited July 2006).

1 [3] Australian Dictionary of Biography (online), URL of website: http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A050297b.htm (cited July 2006).

achieved financial success and stability, others such as the Scott brothers were forced into insolvency and there are entries relating to them in the online Insolvency index, 1842–87[14].

Edward Charles Close, a Lieutenant in the 48th Regiment, who was born at Rangamati, Bengal in 1790 was another settler from India. He arrived in 1817 on the *Matilda* and was the Acting Engineer at Newcastle (NSW) from 1821 to 1822. Edward Close received a land grant at Newcastle after resigning his commission in 1822. There are references to him in the online indexes to the Colonial Secretary's Papers, 1788–1825 and the Letters received by the Colonial Secretary relating to Land, 1826–56.

Dudley North, a retired officer from the British East India Company Navy, also appears in the Letters received by the Colonial Secretary relating to Land, 1826–56. According to the correspondence he had to send to England to obtain a copy of his certificate of service with the East India Company.

Colonial Secretary's Special Bundles relating to land

There are two Colonial Secretary's Special Bundles which may be of interest. The first Special Bundle relates to Land for officers of the East India Company, 1830–31 (Series NRS 906 [2/8017.3]; Reel 2156). While it does not appear to contain any applications for land in NSW, there are applications for land in Tasmania (Van Diemen's Land). The Bundle also includes the 'Regulations for locating land to officers in the East India Company's Service' which lists 'the conditions needed…..for the officers to abide with before they acquire a land'.

The second Bundle relates to Land and buildings for Military Veterans settling in the various districts, 1829–36 (Series NRS 906 [6/1039]). It includes correspondence from the Surveyor General to the Colonial Secretary, listing the names of Veterans who had been allotted lands. There is no direct reference to suggest that these veterans had arrived from India but some may have served in India at some stage in their military career.

Trading with India

Records relating to trade with India

Trade links between NSW and India were established in the early days of the Colony. Again, the records of the Colonial Secretary will be the key source for this information.

There may also be references to these trade links in the Governors' Despatches. The published Historical Records of Australia, which are indexed, include transcriptions of many of the Despatches.

Examples of trading with India

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1 [4] State Records, Index to insolvency, 1842–87 (online), URL of website: http://www.records.nsw.gov.au/indexes/searchform.aspx?id=10 (cited July 2006).

Early settlers who developed business and trade links between India and NSW include Robert Campbell and his son Robert Campbell. Robert senior had been in business with his brother John in India before establishing himself as a merchant in Sydney.

Another important trade link with India was the export of horses from NSW — Walers — to India. The name 'Waler' is derived from the term 'New South Waler', a horse bred in NSW. It was a term for colonial bred horses used in Australia and as remounts for the British Army in India. Walers were sold to India from the 1840s to the 1940s.[15]

There is a Colonial Secretary's Special Bundle dated 1834 relating to the export to India of horses adapted for cavalry and horse artillery (Series NRS 906 [4/2237.1]). The Special Bundle includes lists of the names of some of the local settlers involved with the export of the horses, including Helenus and Robert Scott.

Government employment

Records relating to government employment in NSW

Other settlers from India may have been employed by the government, perhaps working in the public (civil) service. Those in government employment can generally be readily located. The main sources are the Returns of the Colony, ('Blue Books'), 1822-57 (Series NRS 1286), which include annual lists of officers employed by Government, including an alphabetical index, showing name, position, date of appointment and salary and the Public Service Lists, 1858–1960, which are a continuation of the series Returns of the Colony.

There are separate employment records for police, teachers and those working with the railways. There is an online Index to Police service registers, 1853–1913.[16] It provides the searcher the option of searching by name, date of appointment as well as native (birth) place. State Rail Personal History Cards, 1870–1966 (Series NRS 12922) include details of the employee's birthplace. They relate to employees born before 1900 and still employed when the Railway Service Superannuation Act was introduced in 1910.

The main records relating to teachers employed by the government are the Teachers Rolls, 1869–1908 (Series NRS 4073) and Teacher Career Cards, 1908–45 (Series NRS 15320). State Records does not hold records of teachers employed in non-government schools.

The online short guide to Professions and Occupations lists a selection of the more significant State archives relating to particular professions and occupations, such as firemen, lawyers, publicans and seamen.[17]

Examples of government employment in NSW

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[5] Waler Horse Society of Australia Inc., Walers (online), URL of website: http://www.walerhorse.com/whsa/welcome.htm (cited July 2006).

[6] State Records, Index to police service registers, 1852–1913 (online), URL of website: http://www.records.nsw.gov.au/indexes/searchform.aspx?id=31 (cited July 2006).

[17] State Records, Short Guide 10 - Professions and Occupations (online), URL of website: http://www.records.nsw.gov.au/guides/short guide 10 professions and occupations 10041.asp

There are 21 references to those who gave India as their birthplace in the online Index to Police Service Registers, 1852–1913. They include: Charles Cooper who was born in Madras in 1844, Arthur Watson born in 1853 and Mortimer O'Brien born in 1871.

Sir Frederick Pottinger was one of the more colourful members in the nineteenth century police service. He was born in India in 1831, the second and eldest surviving son of Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Pottinger of the East India Company who rose to become Governor of Madras between 1848 and 1854. Frederick Pottinger arrived in NSW in the late 1850s. He joined the NSW police force as a mounted trooper but he was dismissed in 1865 after he rode at the Wowingragong races (near Forbes) contrary to instructions that officers of the police were not to 'take any part in racing matters'[18]. In his defence, he claimed his action was justified because he was trying to draw Ben Hall and other bushrangers into the open. There is correspondence about his dismissal in the Colonial Secretary's Letters Received, 1865 (Series NRS 905 [letter 65/573 in 4/544]). Frederick Pottinger died intestate (Series NRS 13538 Intestate Estate Case file 2708 in [6/3575] in the same year after he accidentally shot himself. There is an NSW county called Pottinger. While the information on the Geographical names cards (NRS 15382) is inconclusive as to whether the county was named after Sir Henry or Sir Frederick Pottinger, it is nevertheless an enduring tribute to the family name.

Another Pottinger to get himself dismissed from the police was Lionel Henry Pottinger (born in Ireland), a former soldier from India who came to NSW. He joined the police service in 1864 but was dismissed in 1866 (Series 10945 [7/6213 p.205], Fiche 849). He was sent to gaol in 1874, after being convicted of stealing a horse and a gosling (Series 849, Reel 2760).

Other records

Indian Civil Service Examination

The Colonial Secretary's Special Bundle dated 1899 relates to the Indian Civil Service Examination Series NRS 906 [4/947.2, Reel 2156]. It includes applicat-ion forms for the Civil Service of India, a copy of the syllabus showing the extent of the examination in certain subjects and an outline of regulations for examination in certain subjects.

The Bundle includes advice for selected candidates that they will be tested during their probation as to their proficiency in riding (horses). It is not clear from the Bundle whether anyone in NSW sat for the examination and took up employment in the Indian Civil Service.

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1 [8] Australian Dictionary of Biography (online), URL of website: http://www.adb.online.anu.edu.au/biogs/A050500b.htm, (cited July 2006).

'Black sheep'

The online index to the Gaol Photographs, c1870–1930[19] is a useful starting point for the search for the 'black sheep' in a family. It is possible to search the index by birthplace as well as name, gaol and date of photograph.

Leaving NSW

State Records holds two important record series relating to the administration of the estates of those who died or had 'estates' in NSW. They are Probate packets, 1817 *et seq* (Series NRS 13660) and Deceased estate files, 1880–1958 (Series NRS 13340).

Probate Packets

Probate packets, 1817 *et seq*[20] were created by the Supreme Court of NSW as part of the administration of the deceased's estate. The packets contain the deceased's 'last will and testament' or the letters of administration if there was no will as well as other legal documents. Occasionally copies of birth, death and marriage certificates are included because the Court required these documents to be presented. The Probate packets are indexed and the indexes are available in State Records' reading rooms. They are also being progressively listed on *Archives Investigator* on State Records' website.

Deceased estate files

Before probate (wills) or letters of administration could be granted, the death duty had to be paid. The resulting record is called a Deceased estate file[21] and a file was created for every individual who died leaving property or other assets ('estates'), which were subject to death duties.

The files provide information on the value of the estate and the amount of death duties that were payable. They include detailed lists of the deceased's assets, such as furniture, shop fittings and even personal items such as clothing and jewellery. Death duties were payable on 'estates' even if the deceased was not resident in NSW. For example, there is a Deceased estate file for Rudyard Kipling (No. 105278 [20/2147]) because he had government stock (shares).

The Deceased estate files records are indexed and microfilm copies of the indexes are available in both reading rooms. There is also an ongoing project to compile an online Index to the Deceased Estate records, 1880–1923 on State Records' website.[22]

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1 9 State Records, Index to gaol photographs, c.1870–1930 (online), URL of website: http://www.records.nsw.gov.au/indexes/searchform.aspx?id=22 (cited July 2006).

2 0 State Records, AIB No. 84: Probate packets (online), URL of website: http://www.records.nsw.gov.au/archives/archives_in_brief_84_2145.asp, (cited July 2006).

2 1 State Records, AIB No. 29: Deceased estate files, 1880-1958 (online), URL of website: http://www.records.nsw.gov.au/archives/archives_in_brief_29_1493.asp, (cited July 2006).

2 2 State Records, Index to Deceased estate files, 1880-cMay 1907 (online), URL of website: http://www.records.nsw.gov.au/indexes/searchform.aspx?id=15 (cited July 2006).

Records relating to passenger departures

Passenger departures may be difficult to trace because there are no comprehensive records. The earliest record is the series Ships' Musters (Passengers and crew departing NSW), 1816-25 (Series NRS 1289). There is an index to the series on the Society of Australian Genealogists' website.[23]

There are no records of passengers departing from NSW after 1825 until 1898. The Vessels and Persons Departing (outward lists), 1898–1922 (Series NRS 13279) contain ship's name, master, where bound, date, passengers' names, and occasionally the port where the passengers planned to disembark. These lists are not indexed and the period 1911–22 is not microfilmed.

Conclusion

This brief overview has highlighted a selection of key sources in the NSW State archives that may assist researchers interested in British India. There may be some exciting discoveries and even some hidden secrets waiting in the records. The increasing availability of online finding aids and other resources offers all researchers the opportunity to explore the archives further.

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2 [3] Society of Australian Genealogists, Index to ships' musters, 1816–25 (online), URL of website: http://www.sag.org.au/ (cited July 2006).

The Children of John Company – The Anglo-Indians, Part 2

From a talk by Geraldine Charles to the FIBIS Annual Open Meeting on 19 November 2005. In part 1, which appeared in the previous issue of the Journal, Geraldine discussed the definition of 'Anglo-Indians', explained how the Community originated and developed, and offered advice on researching Anglo-Indian genealogy.

I would now like touch upon the history of the Anglo-Indian Community and perhaps whet your appetite to find out more by reading the books by Anglo-Indian authors such as Herbert Stark, Reginald Maher and Gloria Jean Moore and contrasting them with the works of non Anglo-Indians such as Christopher Hawes.

Restrictions of 1791-95 against the East Indians[1]

In 1786 Charles Cornwallis became Governor-General of India. Previously Cornwallis had commanded the British troops defeated at the battle of Yorktown in 1781. One might speculate that his experience with the colonial population in America made him wary of an armed 'country born' population in the British settlements in India. Possibly he viewed them as a potential source of insurrection. In 1789 Cornwallis excluded Eurasians from joining the King's Army (the British Army) and in 1790 the British War Office forbade the employment of men as officers or soldiers unless they could prove both their parents to be European. The disqualification was extended to the EIC's Military and Marine Services. It meant Eurasian men were no longer eligible to hold commissions in either the King's Army or the EIC's Armies. By 1795 persons not descended from European parents on both sides were disqualified from serving even as Privates. The only army positions open to them were as Assistant Apothecaries, Bandsmen and Farriers.[2]

Stark attributes the restrictions placed on the Anglo-Indians after 1790 as measures to prevent an uprising similar to that which occurred on Haiti in 1791 when the Creole population successfully rebelled against the French. I would recommend reading the chapters in his *Hostages to India* entitled 'The Heavy Hand of Repression', 'Disinherited' and 'Cause and Effect'. Raymond Callahan, in *East India Company and Army Reform 1783-98*, records that some Eurasian men chose to serve in the armies of the Princely States where they could hold commissioned rank. Anglo-Indian tradition holds that when Britain was under threat in India many of these men chose to return to fight with the British rather than against them.

The restrictions remained in place until the Community decided to petition the British Parliament with regard to lifting them. In 1829 John Ricketts was elected by the East Indian Community to convey the 'East Indian Petition' to England. When the East India Company's Charter was renewed in 1833 it included the following clause 'no native [of

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1 For the use of 'East Indian' rather than 'Anglo-Indian' to describe the community at this date, see Part 1.

2 Further discussion on the restrictions and on Cornwallis can be found within (Hawes), (Maher), (Spear) and (Stark).

India] shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, be disqualified from holding any place, office or employment under the East India Company'. This charter also lifted the restriction that only 'Company Servants' could reside in India.[3]

2nd Maratha War 1803-04

At the outbreak of the War a proclamation was issued that summoned all British and Anglo-Indian men serving in the Maratha Army under the French General Perron and in other Indian States to return to the Company's Armies. It warned that men who did not return would be considered traitors – the threat wasn't needed: the men returned of their own volition.

In 1804 three Anglo-Indians officers in the Maratha army, Major[4] Vickers and his comrades Dodd and Ryan refused to fight against the British and sought release from the Maratha army. They were beheaded in front of the troops they had commanded as a deterrent to other Anglo-Indians rejoining the British ranks. Bribes were also offered, but to no avail: to quote Stark, they answered 'the call of the blood'.

Mutiny

In Delhi the three Anglo-Indian telegraphists, Brendish, Pilkington and Todd, kept the telegraph lines open long enough to send warning messages to Lahore, Peshawar and the Punjab, thus preventing the spread of the uprising. For accounts of Anglo-Indians during the Mutiny see Stark's *Call of the Blood.*

Amelia Horne, also an Anglo-Indian, survived the Cawnpore Massacre – an account of her story can be found in *Angels of Albion.*

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[3] See (Hawes) and (Stark) for detailed discussions regarding the East Indian Petition.

[4] Hawes gives Vickers the rank of Major. In my original talk I took the information from a source that gave him the rank of Colonel.

Anglo-Indians in the 20th century theatre of war

Few people are aware that during WWI an Anglo-Indian Force (AIF) was raised. This was the brainchild of the Hon J Abbott who, when WWI broke out, also offered to raise an Anglo-Indian regiment for service abroad and a corps of Army nurses – this offer was refused. According to Gaylor, although the ranks of the British Army were open to 'Anglo-Indians and Domiciled Europeans' (many served with the Dorsetshire Regiment), it was felt by the Anglo-Indian Community as a whole that its contribution was being lost. Abbott persisted in his offers and in March 1916 an Anglo-Indian Regiment was formed comprising Cavalry, Artillery and Infantry.

During WWII men and women from the Anglo-Indian community played their part in the theatre of War, serving in the Far East, in Europe and at sea. Guy Gibson VC (of Dam Busters fame) was Anglo-Indian. Members of the Community were also caught up when Singapore fell to the Japanese, some were interned in PoW camps, others were to take part in the 'Burma Death March' trying to escape from the Japanese advance.

Late 19th and 20th century Professions of Anglo-Indians

Anglo-Indians tended to be particularly associated with the Posts and Telegraphs, Customs and Excise, Police/Prison service, Railways, Teaching, Army, Navy and Air force. However, others can be found pursuing careers in a wide range of professions including Medicine, the Church, Forestry, as Merchants, as Planters, in the Gold fields and in Politics.

Women pursued careers in professions such as teaching, nursing and medicine, as secretaries, and during WWII, in the women's armed forces in India.

Post Independence

After Independence the Anglo Indian Community was under pressure to adapt to life in the newly formed India and Pakistan or to leave. Emigration meant severing all ties with the land of their birth, leaving behind careers, property, financial stability, family and their whole way of life. Many of the younger members of the Community made the decision to leave. Initially life was difficult but the adaptability and resilience that has marked the Community from its beginnings enabled these families to settle into a new way of life.

Today, it is difficult to imagine, in an age of cheap flights and one where computers, phones and texts give us almost instant access to family in the far corners of the earth, how final the break was for many Anglo-Indian families back in the 1950s. A family could end up scattered as far afield as Britain, Canada, India and Australia and often the only means of contact would be by letter. Travel from India for the majority was by ship and took many days, very different from today when one can stand in front of the Taj Mahal one day and within 48 hours be back at home in London. It is no wonder that in the first two decades following Independence there are many instances of members of families losing contact with each other.

Yet just forty years on there is a definite attempt by the Anglo-Indian Community to re-forge links at local and international levels. Old Scholars' Societies and Anglo-Indian Associations now exist in a number of countries. Since 1989 there have been biennial international reunions, each held in a different country within which Anglo-Indians have settled. The year 2002 saw two significant events; the 2nd of August was adopted as Anglo-Indian Day, now celebrated to varying degrees by the international Anglo-Indian Community. The second was the convening of the first international conference dedicated to the subject of Anglo-Indians, by the East Indian Club of Melbourne and entitled 'Who are the Anglo-Indians?'.

There is now an international Anglo-Indian magazine *Anglos in the Wind* and a number of useful web sites. Of particular interest are:

- Adam Gilbert's Anglo-Indian Home page
  http://www.alphalink.com.au/~agilbert/indexold.html
- Bert Payne's Anglo-Indians.com http://www.anglo-indians.com
- Blair Williams's Helping Anglo-Indians in India
  http://home.att.net/~blairrw/wsb/html/view.cgi-resources.html-.html
- Ronnie Johnson's Bangalore Wallah **http://www.geocities.com/Athens/2960/** -
  Bangalore is now one of the biggest Anglo-Indian enclaves in India and is also where I was born.

Other websites are devoted to Anglo-Indian genealogy or contain pages dedicated to the subject:

Anglo- Indian Family Trees and their links to British India http://www.sumgenius.com.au/
Indological, Genealogical, General Research
http://warrenbrown.tripod.com/angloindian/id6.html
Family History in India (Anglo-Indian and Non British Ancestors pages)
http://members.ozemail.com.au/~clday/

Hostages No longer!

Herbert Stark entitled his history of the Anglo-Indians *Hostages to India or the Life Story of the Anglo-Indian Race* implying they were bound to India by the nature of the development of the Community over five centuries. If that be the case, it took Independence to force the Anglo-Indian Community to 'break the chains' that bound them to India.

The Anglo-Indian Community of pre-Independence India comprised many smaller close knit communities that were spread throughout the Indian subcontinent and Burma. It is within these smaller groups that one had an Anglo-Indian identity. If you moved between communities, as a newcomer, people would try and place you in the context of members of your family (or close friends) whom they had known. Even if you came from another part of

India it was still likely that you would meet someone within this group who knew or had met a member of your family. This was a result of many of the Anglo-Indians being employed in jobs that necessitated their posting to different parts of India during their career.

Despite what Hollywood and fiction writers would have us believe, most Anglo-Indians married within the Anglo-Indian Community rather than outside of it. The characters of Victoria Jones and Patrick Taylor in Bhowani Junction are no more representative of 20th century Anglo-Indians than Dickens's Fagin is of Victorian Jewish Society.

Anglo-Indian identity is not static, it changes with respect to the group of Anglo-Indians you are with. For example, if I am with people from Bangalore (whether in India, London or Australia) my identity is seen in terms of my mother's family, the Bradbury's: I am introduced as 'Daisy Bradbury's granddaughter'. Whereas at a reunion of people from Bombay my identity is more likely to be as a member of my father's family, the Charles's.

Anglo-Indian Identity is dependent on the Community's living memory - mutual family and friends, a shared childhood or work experiences. When the generation of Anglo-Indians born before Independence have passed on, the concept of having an Anglo-Indian identity will also rapidly disappear. If I were able to travel 100 years into the future, although I would still be able to meet others who, like me, have Anglo-Indian ancestry, we would no longer share the common bond of being part of a small, tight-knit community: our identity as members of the Anglo-Indian community that our forebears had, would have vanished forever.

I would like to end with some words by the Anglo-Indian poet Henry Derozio. Although written over 180 years ago it expresses the thoughts of those Anglo-Indians who were to experience the final parting from close friends and family who had chosen to leave the subcontinent and to create a new life overseas.

Nor dream thou once, far o'er the sea, that hearts are aching here for thee.
Then, o'er the boundless, watery waste, to that far land where now thou art,
Be many a blessing borne to thee, by guardian seraphs of the heart!
Yes – O'er the blue eternal sea, be many a blessing born to thee!

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Percy Wyndham: an unforgettable meritorious British Administrator of bygone days

By N C Shah[1]

Percy Wyndham I.C.S. was one of the most popular British administrators in the annals of Mirzapur and Kumaon. He served in Mirzapur for fourteen years and in Kumaon for twelve in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh (Uttar Pradesh) India. And, even after more than a century has passed, he is remembered for his able administration, developmental works and his paternal interest in his subordinates.

Coming to India

He was born in 1866 in Oxford (England) and after passing the I.C.S. examination he joined the services in India in 1889 as an Assistant Commissioner in the North-Western Provinces (as the United Provinces were then called). In 1893, he was appointed as a Joint Magistrate in Oudh, and as Deputy Superintendent of the family domains of the Maharaja of Benares in 1894, where he served till 1899.

At Mirzapur as Deputy Commissioner

In the year 1900 he was appointed Deputy Commissioner in Mirzapur and served in different capacities as a Magistrate and Collector. In 1901 he was promoted to Deputy Commissioner, 1st grade. During those days, Mirzapur was a forlorn district**.** He initiated developmental works in every sphere in the district, whether it was road making, carpet weaving or its marketing, establishing tourist spots, and so on. Not only this, he developed good rapport and relations with the tribal peoples of this region by personally listening to their difficulties and solving them. He fluently spoke the local dialect among the local and tribal peoples and made them his friends and therefore they liked him and loved him.

The naming of a bazaar in Mirzapur as 'Wyndham-ganj' and a waterfall which he had discovered as ‘Wyndham fall’ is the true testimony of his work for the people of this district. Though there are a number of waterfalls such as Mukha fall or Deodhari fall, the most scenic is the Wyndham fall, which is 15km from Mirzapur on the Mirzapur–Chunar road and a kilometre away from the main road. Near this waterfall, there is a picnic spot developed by him and a tourist bungalow, which was also built by him and was inaugurated by Mr H R Hopkins, the Commissioner of Benares (Varanasi) in 1912.

Hunting was his pastime and during his career he killed some 500 tigers including man eaters, and for which he was nicknamed by the people of Mirzapur as 'Bagmaroo Wyndham' (the tiger killer Wyndham).

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[1] The author is a retired scientist and freelance writer.

In Kumaon as Commissioner

In 1913, he became Commissioner of Kumaon and served for twelve years. He was an honest, able and a polished administrator. He knew his subordinates personally by name and never let them suffer a loss, however small, in executing government work. He never dismissed any of his subordinates when found guilty of embezzling government money, but demoted them. He took a paternal interest in his subordinates.

In Naini Tal he came in contact with Jim Corbett and they became good and fast friends. Both were bachelors, both wore khaki shorts and finally both were hunters. Whenever Jim Corbett went hunting in the Terai, Wyndham used to accompany him, and when Wyndham visited Mirzapur then Corbett joined him.

In 1922, when Sultana Daku, named as the 'Robin Hood of India' by Jim Corbett, was at large in the Terai and Bhabar regions and all the Government's efforts had failed to capture him, then Wyndham as Commissioner asked the Government for a Special Dacoity[2] Force of 300 men, who were picked from all the districts of the province. Frederick Young, the Superintendent of Police, Kumaon, was placed in sole charge of this force. In due course, Young captured Sultana alive in a most dramatic way with his courage, intelligence and endurance, but that is another interesting story. For one of the raids near Hardwar to capture Sultana, Young had invited Commissioner Wyndham and Jim Corbett, and both of them duly participated, but unfortunately Sultana escaped unhurt. After this mission Wyndham proceeded to Tehri as he was also a Political Agent to Tehri State in addition to being Commissioner of Kumaon.

Jim Corbett has described Wyndham as follows: 'he was of a medium build, of robust constitution and generally indifferent to his dress. His technique of administration was to strike terror in the hearts of his subordinates and he was a colourful person in his own right.' On the contrary, Wyndham used to say to his subordinates: 'I only bark but do not bite.' But, he was very considerate and polite to the local public and used to listen to their grievances patiently and tried to help them.

Departure from India

In the year 1922, Wyndham purchased a coffee plantation on the slopes of Mount Kilimanjaro in Tanzania and shared it jointly with Jim Corbett, where they could both go lion hunting.

He retired from the ICS as Commissioner Kumaon in December 1924 and was given two big farewell parties, one at Almora by the people of that district, and another at Haldwani by the people of Naini Tal district. At Almora, his successor, Mr Pearson a very senior ICS officer, Raja Ananda Singh the descendant of the Chanda dynasty of Kumaon, and Jim Corbett attended. At Haldwani, all the title holders such as Rai Bahdur Jai Lal Shah of Naini Tal who fought the famous case against Sultana as a state lawyer, Rai Bahadur Anup Singh a rich jamirdar of the Terai, Rai Bahadur Chiranji Lal Shah, Rai Sahib Lachi Ram

[2] 'gang robbery'.

Sah of Almora, and Rai Sahib Harkishen Lall Shah of Ranikhet, many retired officers and civil and forest officers still in service, all the prominent people from public life, businessmen, and Frederick Young were all present at the farewell party.

After his retirement he settled in his Tanzania coffee plantation, where Jim Corbett also regularly joined him. It is stated that he died in Scotland. Wyndham was awarded the C.I.E (Companion of the Order of the Indian Empire) in January 1909 and the C.B.E (Commander of the Order of the British Empire) in June 1918 for his meritorious and unforgettable service in India.

r 1924 at Haldwani, Kumaon District, at the Farewell party given for Percy Wyndham by the people of Naini Tal and Haldwani. Wyndham is seated sixth from the left and on his left is Frederick Young. Distinguished guests are sitting round him including the author's grandfather Rai Sahib Harkishen Lall Shah of Ranikhet (seated fourth from left) and his granduncle Shri Bhwani Das Shah (sitting on ground third from left). Standing behind are the Collectorate and Forest Officials.

Review

***The Black Hole: Money, Myth and Empire*, by Jan Dalley (Penguin, Fig Tree, 2006). ISBN 0 670 91446 9. £ 16.99**

In 2007 many people will be commemorating the 60th anniversary of Indian Independence from British rule. However fewer people are aware that 2006 marks the 250th anniversary of the event which is felt to have initiated the beginnings of British rule on the Indian Subcontinent: the Black Hole of Calcutta. Jan Dalley, author and arts editor of the Financial Times, has published a book titled *The Black Hole: Money, Myth and Empire* to mark this anniversary. In doing so she has set herself a challenging task which she manages rather well.

The Black Hole is a term used to describe an incident which has been mired in myth, conjecture and controversy. In 1756 the Nawab of Bengal besieged the British East India Company's fort at Calcutta. During the evening following the fort's surrender, contemporary sources claimed that 146 men and women were forced into a tiny military cell known colloquially as the Black Hole. The horrific conditions in the cell that night ensured that only 23 survivors emerged from it the following morning. In the first chapter of her book Dalley synthesises the work of various academics in addition to the many inconsistencies in such contemporary accounts and correctly concludes that the event, as I have just summarised it, was largely the spin of prominent individuals like John Zephaniah Holwell, who reported it in such a way as to further their own ambitions.

Having shown that the sources concerning the event are largely inaccurate and stating that the way it has been passed down the ages is wrong, Dalley then proceeds to place the events leading up to the siege in their proper context. Chapter 2 briefly outlines the establishment of the East India Company in 1600 to procure spices from the 'East Indies' and how Dutch and Portuguese hostilities forced the Company to focus the main thrust of its activities in India. Having done this, chapter 3 then goes on to provide an account of the establishment of the Company's major settlements in Bombay, Madras and Bengal; whilst chapters 4-6 outline the living and trading conditions in India up to the mid-eighteenth century. It is not until chapter 7 that Dalley returns to the events leading up to the Black Hole and from then until chapter 10 the book is a colourful narrative of the siege, the individuals involved in it and what happened afterwards.

Many may feel that a book based on an event clouded by such dubious accuracy and exaggeration is a pointless exercise, that the people and events in question cannot be trusted. It has been amply illustrated over the years that the death toll was nowhere near the 146 mark. However I, like the author, think that to totally ignore the Black Hole on such grounds would be sheer folly. Regardless of whether or not it happened like it was claimed is beside the point. The way the Black Hole was portrayed had a significant impact on the mindset of the British nation. Furthermore, by overthrowing an Indian ruler, in response to the so called Black Hole, a new precedent was set for British activity in India. In her final chapter Dalley addresses this by focusing on the more interesting issue of the impact this

event had in the national myth-bank of the British. Entitled ‘Biography of a Phrase’ this chapter looks at how the event was perceived at different times in the past and how the event has been used as a tool by imperialists and their opponents to fulfil a variety of agendas right up to the modern age.

Those who are expecting original research in this book will be somewhat disappointed as it is largely a synthesis of secondary material. However it is a very good brief and up to date introduction to the British in India up to the mid eighteenth century in addition to the foundation of the British Raj.

Richard Scott Morel
Archivist, Pre-1858 India Office Records