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## Contents



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## FIBIS – the First Ten Years

*By Peter Bailey*

Welcome to the 20th edition of the FIBIS Journal. Its publication coincides with the completion of our first ten years of existence – and the start of the next ten.

FIBIS was relatively late into the family history scene and we have until recently been classed by our colleagues as a 'special interest' group. However, over recent years, many have come to realize the excitement involved in the study of the amazingly interesting and special lives of ancestors who built, maintained and worked in the 'Jewel in the Crown' of the British Empire. We see this special excitement as a common thread amongst our 'family' of FIBIS members and the bond which has helped us to stick together and to grow rapidly now to over 1000 members.

Our purpose is both to educate and to provide advice and assistance to all who have ancestors who served in British India and related territories, whatever their background. Our Journals, Bookshop, Research Assistance and Lecture Meetings feature highly in this. Also, and in particular, we endeavour to spread ourselves to reach a world wide audience by providing data and services on the internet. The excellence and relevance of the records made available by the India Office Records at the British Library are amazingly helpful to those who are able to visit St. Pancras with relative ease. Those who cannot have relied for the past twenty years on the microfilms made available by the LDS. More 'researcher-friendly', we believe, are the records that FIBIS now makes available both in our databases and on the Fibiwiki on our website. The types of data that we provide are unique for a family history site in that they are aimed at satisfying not only the genealogists among us, but also the family historians. These latter who, additionally, seek background to the lives led by their ancestors, can find transcriptions of diaries, details of battles in which their ancestors may have fought, plus pictures of the churches in which they were married, East Indiamen who carried them to India, of the uniforms that they may have worn, or gravestones under which they may lie at the end of a worthy career. We are particularly proud of the help offered by our pioneering website in this respect and are pleased to note that its concept has been developed by its designer and is now being made available to other family history groups.

For me, the highlight of the past ten years was the tour that we made to India last year. It was, of course, a visit of great interest from so many points of view, and frequently of great emotion. I hope that we may be able to organize a further visit in the future. Most important for me was the opportunity to meet with FIBIS members from literally the four corners of the world – all with similar family backgrounds embedded in the sub-continent, and all making the visit with a common purpose.

With the help of all of our members, we hope to be able to build on these achievements and to provide improving services like these long into the future.

## My ancestor Matthew Leslie (1755-1804) was a 'White Mughal': building a family history aided by searches on the internet

*By Beverly Hallam*

Many FIBIS members will have read William Dalrymple's book *White Mughals* telling the story of the love affair between James Kirkpatrick and the young Mughal princess Khair un-Nissa, which is set in eighteenth century Hyderabad. Towards the beginning of the book Dalrymple explains that a degree of 'transculturation' existed during this period whereby senior East India Company servants often assimilated native manners and customs. Moreover as was the native way, many of these gentlemen had one or more Indian 'wives' or mistresses – *bibis* – for whom they often developed great affection and loyalty.

I was particularly interested in one sentence: 'Another East India Company merchant, Matthew Leslie, left each of his four wives a house and twenty thousand rupees, a very considerable bequest.'[1] I knew a Matthew Leslie featured in my family tree so I determined to obtain sight of the will. I discovered that this was not only available for inspection in the India Office Records (IOR) at the British Library but also as a download from the TNA website. The latter was a stroke of luck as it is a long and complicated will and it was a great boon being able to blow it up and decipher the various sections.[2] This was indeed my ancestor. Matthew had property and bequests to make both in India and also in his native Ireland and this is why the will existed in two places. It was also a great attestation to his considerable wealth. My curiosity was overwhelming: who was this man and how had he accumulated all this money?

### Matthew's family background

The will also mentioned the names of Matthew's siblings and throwing these into the Latter Day Saints website[3] I began to build up a family tree but had no clue as to Matthew's direct background – until I became curious about one of his brothers, Charles Henry Leslie, as a Charles Henry Leslie had founded the gunpowder mills in Ballincollig, County Cork along with a Mr Travers. Coincidently, in the same year that Matthew died and left his own brother Charles Henry a substantial legacy, this Charles Henry bought out Mr Travers to become sole owner of the mill business.

I fired off a few emails and letters to people connected with Cork heritage and I received an amazing response from Margaret Jordan, webmaster of the Ballincollig Heritage website[4]. To Margaret I owe a huge debt of gratitude as she conducted considerable research in her own time, emerging with a fascinating glimpse into my personal ancestry. In fact she discovered that Matthew featured in older editions of Burke's Landed Gentry and thus I was

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1 William Dalrymple, *White Mughals* (London, 2002), p35.

2 www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/: document PROB 11/1430, will, dated 1805, of Matthew Leslie, 'of Calcutta, Bengal East Indies'.

3 www.familysearch.org.

4 http://ballincollig.wordpress.com.

able to trace my lineage back for a great number of generations beyond Matthew. (Unfortunately, the male line of descent, which stemmed from the Knights of Balquhain has now died out). More recently, I have linked up with another FIBIS member, Nic ApGlyn, who having received the information from Burke's, has traced the direct line of descent even further back to almost certainly link with Robert the Bruce himself!

Matthew was part of a very wealthy family. His father, also a Charles Leslie, had been a prominent surgeon in Cork but he was also a banker. It appears that banks in those days were held by rich merchants who acted as what we would call today money-lenders. In fact, after Matthew's brother Charles Henry Leslie sold the gunpowder mills, he and another brother, John, set up Leslie's bank which was one of the largest private banks in Cork until it collapsed, with so many others, in the 1820s.

Matthew's seven younger siblings had remained in Ireland. Furthermore, his will indicated that he had sent the two eldest of his own children back to 'Europe' – a reference to his homeland of Ireland. The youngest three - my ancestor, Robert Leslie, and two sisters - were in India at the time of Matthew's death and appear to have remained there, although provision was made in the will for their return to Ireland for education should the executors so wish.

### Why did he leave such a favoured background to go to India?

Matthew obviously felt an affinity for his native Ireland and I couldn't see why he would wish to remain so very far from his home and the family he loved. However, when searching for clues I kept turning up references to another Matthew Leslie who was a colonel in the army. He had distinguished himself with James Wolfe in Canada and was to conclude his career in India. This man was the uncle of my own Matthew Leslie who was named as the sole heir to the Colonel's property when he died in 1780[5], although this favouring of his eldest nephew was to lead to a family dispute over the will as the property left was substantial.

I believe it highly probable that Matthew senior engendered a love of adventure in his eldest nephew and namesake and this led to the young man applying to the East India Company for a position as a writer in 1773 at the age of less than eighteen. His petition stated that he was 'educated in writing and accounts and hopes himself educated to serve your majestys abroad.' There is also a reference in the Fort William–India House correspondence papers referring to him as 'the youngest writer'.[6]

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[5] TNA: PROB/11/1061, will, dated 1780, of Matthew Leslie, 'appointed Lieutenant Colonel in the service of the East India Company'.

[6] IOR: H/24/156, Writer's Petition; and Fort William-India House Correspondence *per* Google Books.

## Matthew's career in India

Although Matthew Leslie had six children, there were no early baptismal records to give clues to his career progression. In fact, the baptisms of the youngest two children took place only after his death. Nor could I find any leads in the books of Civil Servants on the open shelves of the British Library – eg Dodwell and Miles – as these all referred to later appointments. So where to look? Again the power of the internet provided some excellent leads *via* the google books website wherein one can search on a name and either references, snippets of text or whole books can be read, many now out of print.[7] Slowly I began to build up a picture of Matthew's career in India. He is referred to as Collector at Hazaribagh, a district of Ramgarh (Bihar) in 1787.[8] He seems to have continued in this post for some time as I later read three letters written by him dated between 1788 and 1790 which exist in The National Archives at Kew. In these he explains that the climate does not agree with his health and entreats Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General, to remove him to a collectorship in a healthier climate as 'my constitution has suffered materially by frequent attacks of fevers'.[9] The post of Collector was a very powerful administrative position in British India at that time: 'besides revenue collection, the district collector exercised civil, judicial and military powers in districts until 1792, when the judicial and magisterial powers were separated from him and transferred to the district judge'.[10] However, it would seem that Matthew's area of jurisdiction was remote from British Society, and this corresponds with the idea of his assimilation into a native way of life.

In fact, it is possible that Matthew Leslie may have been deliberately isolated by the British powers at that time to cover a potential governmental embarrassment. The Access to Archives website[11] indicates the existence of a cache of papers at the London Metropolitan Archives relating to his uncle, Colonel Matthew Leslie. Examining these, I discovered a long account from my ancestor in which he explains the events leading up to his uncle's death and requests that these be reconsidered.[12] In 1778 the Colonel had been chosen, by virtue of his experience and good standing, to lead an inland expedition from the Bengal Presidency to assist the Bombay Government against the Marathas, and he had died as a result of the effort, leaving his reputation in tatters as difficulties had been encountered in traversing the Maratha country.

The family believed that he had been made scapegoat for the bad judgement of the Governor, Warren Hastings, in sending a large detachment through an area not previously explored by Europeans. Young Matthew's account, written only a few years after his arrival in India, questions the attitude of Hastings in betraying his former friendship with his uncle by allowing the stigma of defeat to remain with the Colonel rather than admit his own part in

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7 www.books.google.co.uk.

8 *Journal of Calcutta Historical Society* (per google books).

9 Letters held at TNA: PRO30/11/25 and 26.

10 Wikipedia – the online Encyclopedia.

11 www.a2a.pro.gov.uk

12 London Metropolitan Archives: A/FH/F/08/010/001.

the failure of the expedition. Young Matthew suggested that such 'ungenerous' and 'unexpected conduct' hastened his uncle's death – a contention that may have lead to his own isolated posting.

It was indeed fortuitous that I found reference to this twenty-five page account, written in Matthew's own hand, *via* an internet search, as there appears no reason why this and other contemporary Leslie documents should be held with those of the Foundling Hospital of London in the Metropolitan Archive. The account provides a rare insight into Matthew's character in that he was prepared to question the judgement of the British hierarchy in India in an attempt to defend the family honour at a time when his own career was only just beginning.

Whatever the reason for his posting, there is no doubt that the position of Collector at Ramgarh was a challenging one as Matthew had to maintain a delicate balance between extending the powers of the British Government and upholding the traditions of the *jagirdars* (hereditary landowners) in addition to maintaining peace with native powers – particularly the feuding *Cheros* from whom the British had assumed this area. He also had the responsibility of ensuring the general well-being of the inhabitants. It is, perhaps, a reflection of his successful achievement that an outpost he founded in this administrative area was given the name of Lesliganj as far back as 1784 – and it has been allowed to carry the name to this day.

Another survival of this time is a contemporary article written by a Matthew Leslie around the time my ancestor was a Collector in Ramgarh, comprising an account sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal describing a 'singular animal' - a Pangolin of Bihar.[13] As Matthew Leslie observes, this animal was noteworthy in that it differed from its European counterpart:

> the principal difference is in the tail; that of Buffon's animal[14] being long and tapering almost to a point, while that of ours is much shorter, ends obtusely, and resembles in form and flexibility the tail of a lobster.

Leslie considers it to be the 'first step from the quadruped to the reptile'. He explains his purpose in sending the description :

> There are in our Indian Provinces many animals, and many hundreds of medicinal plants, which have either not been described at all, or, what is worse, ill described by the naturalists of Europe; and to procure perfect descriptions of them from actual examination, with accounts of their several uses in medicine, diet, or manufactures, appears to be one of the most important objects of our institution [*i.e. the Asiatic Society*].

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[13] 'On the Pangolin of Bahar' in *Asiatick Researches*, vol 1 (Calcutta,1788), pp376-378, including a drawing. The text can be read in full at www.books.google.co.uk. Leslie's article prompted a further article by Adam Burt describing the animal's dissection, ibid, vol 2 (Calcutta, 1790), pp353-358.

[14] Evidently a reference to the *Histoire Naturelle* by the Comte de Buffon (Paris, 1776).

I cannot, of course, be sure that the author is the same Matthew Leslie of this narrative but with his influential presence in Bihar, and being from a medical family, I believe he was almost certainly my ancestor.

Following his period as a Collector, maybe sometime after 1792 when as mentioned previously the magisterial powers of the Collector were redefined in a more judicial role, we learn that he had moved to Patna where in October 1801 he was host to the Governor-General of Bengal himself, who was now Richard Marquess Wellesley:

> His Excellency proceeded to Patna, and arrived at that city on the 6th; where he was received, on landing, by the civil officers of the station, accompanied by whom his Excellency proceeded to the house of Mr Leslie, the second judge, where his Lordship resided until the 23rd, having been entertained at dinner during his residence at Patna by Mr Keating the Chief Judge, and by several of the civil officers of the station.[15]

Matthew Leslie continued to rise in position and by 1803 was appointed to the Board of Commissioners for the Ceded and Conquered Provinces as he was considered one of the more 'experienced Bengal Civil Servants'. By the time he died Matthew was 'First Judge in the Court of Appeals and agent to the most noble Marquis Wellesley', according to the details held on his burial records. These show his place of burial as Berhampore, 26 January 1804. There is also a further reference which states that he died in Burmeah Nullah on his way to Benares.[16]

I can find no marriage record for Matthew, nor note of a wife's death, and it is possible that some, if not all, of the children were those of the four 'wives' previously mentioned by Dalrymple. These women would have been known as 'bibis' (native mistresses) and they were accorded respect and status as reflected in the generous provision made for them in Matthew's will. One woman, Zehoorun Kahnum is identifiable as 'the late wife of Meer Mahomed Hussan Khan'. The other three are named as Heera Beebey, Zeban and Afoorun. (If any reader can add background to any of these women I would be most interested). In addition Matthew also made provision for the children of 'young girls living in my families' who may be 'brought to bed within such time after my demise as will admit of a belief that the child or children born may have been begotten by me'. The executors would, of course, have to ascertain as far as possible that these children were indeed sired by Matthew !

### What happened to the money?

Matthew died young at the age of forty-nine and, as stated, his will mentions no wife. A 1789 baptismal entry exists for a Robert Matthew Leslie 'natural son' of Matthew Leslie aged seven years and the birth date is close enough to make me wonder if this is, in fact, my ancestor Robert (1784-1839).[17] A 'natural son' indicates illegitimacy or, at least, a

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[15] Robert Rouiere Pearce, *Memoirs and Correspondence of the Most Noble Richard Marquess Wellesley,* vol 2 (London, 1846), p158, and available on google books.

[16] Bengal burials: IOR: N/1/7/54; and *Gentleman's Magazine*, Nov 1804, per FIBIS website.

[17] Bengal baptisms, IOR: N/1/4/85.

union not recognised in the traditional church. In fact, the executors in India were given charge of Matthew's named children (including Robert) along with the greater part of his wealth which was itemised very carefully. One executor was Ralph Uvedale, who was also affiliated to the Supreme Court of Calcutta. Matthew referred to him as his 'dear friend' and left him a substantial legacy. It is, perhaps, no surprise then that Matthew's son, Robert Leslie married Ralph's daughter, Eliza Uvedale.

Like his father, Robert's career was connected with the Calcutta courts, as the baptismal certificates of his children attest to the fact that he was a Clerk in the Court of Requests. There is little more that I can trace on his career other than the discovery of a throwaway comment which mentions that two wills exist of Claude Martin, founder of La Martiniere School, Lucknow, as well as a portion of a third with the remarks of a Robert Leslie on it.[18] Could this have been my ancestor? I am informed by Dr Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, acclaimed author of books on Claude Martin, that his estate was the largest sum of money ever left by a European in the 18th century and the will took almost forty years to prove, going backwards and forwards in the Calcutta courts. I therefore assume that Robert Leslie was an intelligent man and held in some regard if he was asked to give his opinion on such a complicated matter - what a shock then to discover that he died young leaving no will but that there was an inventory stating that:

> the whole of the property of the late Robert Leslie having being seized by the Sheriff of Calcutta at the insistence of Baboo Mutty Loll Seal a judgement creditor of the deceased the moment his corpse was carried out of the house, the greater part of it was sold.[19]

It was fortunate that Eliza Leslie (*née* Uvedale) had her own wealth and also later inherited money and property from her unmarried sister-in-law, Sarah Leslie. As a young widow with eight daughters and a son to support, for whom she would later have to find partners, the early death of her husband in such circumstances must have been a considerable strain.

### And who was Baboo Mutty Loll Seal?

I must admit I was a bit curious as to who Baboo Mutty Loll Seal could be since he seemed linked to the downfall of the family fortunes. A couple of references in the Goethals online publications[20] seem to indicate he was a landowner as he is referred to as the Founder of Seal's college for the education of Hindoos (1843) and later (1848) it is said that the first proper teaching hospital (Calcutta Medical School) was established on land that he donated for this purpose.[21] He was obviously a person of some means but I have yet no clue as to why Robert Leslie fell so deeply into his debt.

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[18] By Martim de Albuquerque in *Notes and Queries* (1858) found in google books.

[19] RL Inventory, IOR: L/AG/34/27/120.

[20] [0] www.goethals.org

[21] [1] He was probably the same Motilal Seal who is mentioned as a substantial moneylender in Antony Wild, *The richest East India merchant: the life and business of John Palmer of Calcutta, 1767-1836* (Boydell Press, 2007), pp140, 142.

## A sequel to the story

Looking at a conventional family tree with its names and dates, I often wonder whether the persons shown actually shared a relationship with each other. Were siblings actually brought up to know each other? Would one brother recognise another's child or grandchild?

I have discovered that Matthew's eldest son John, who was brought up by his uncles in Ireland, joined the British army and went out to India where he married his Colonel's daughter. He had a distinguished military career, rose to the rank of general, and became a Knight of Hanover before his death in Brighton in 1861. I felt sure this seemingly conventional man had chosen to return to the land of his birth where his siblings still resided. Then only this year, 2008, I was contacted by Keith McMahon of Australia, who had found my name on the Rootsweb IRL-Cork mailing list.[22] Amongst the possessions of his ancestor, Robert Leslie's daughter Margaret Mary (an ancestor he shares with FIBIS member Nic ApGlyn), he holds the original obituary card of John Leslie's wife – which confirms that the brothers remained in touch. This again reflects the power of the internet in compiling a family history.

Moreover, I began to write this article around the time of the launch of the new FIBIS website[23] and there, in the section relating to ships' departures and arrivals, I found evidence that Robert's two eldest children, Eliza and Adeline, were sent back to England in 1819 when they were around seven years old. These young women were later to return to India where they both married soldiers in the British Army.

The Leslies seemed to have retained their links both with the British mainland and India over a number of generations at a time when both travel and communication were difficult - Matthew, himself, spending many years as Collector in an area of India where he probably met few British people. He may have adopted the lifestyle of a 'White Mughal' but he did not forget his own homeland and made provision for the return of his children there. His embracing of native habits should perhaps, therefore, be perceived, not as the abandonment of his origins but rather as a celebration of a period in the history of India in which there was an attempt at the harmonious mingling of two very different worlds.

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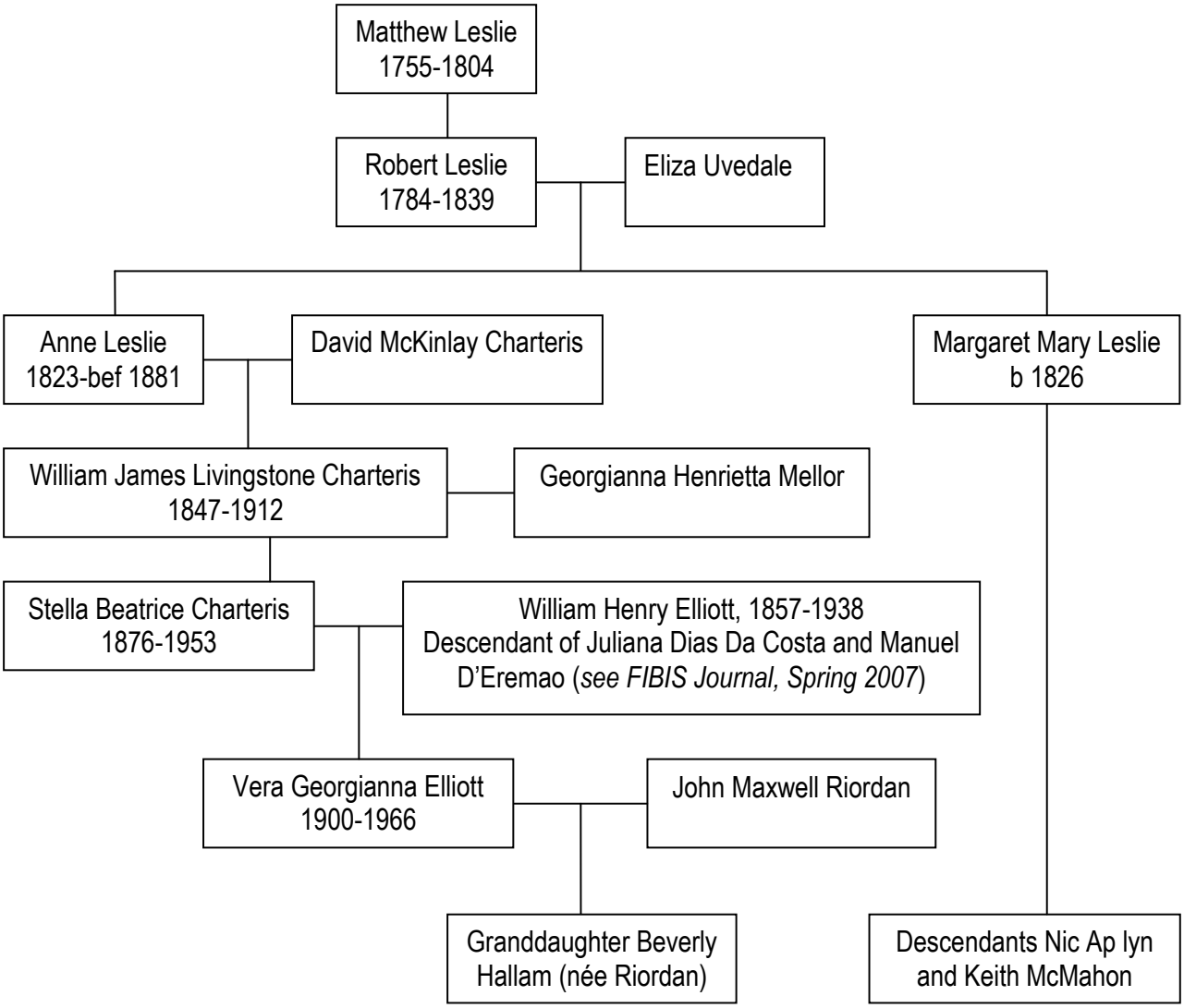
22 2 http://lists.rootsweb.ancestry.com

23 3 www.fibis.org

## Some descendants of Matthew Leslie




### The dogged endurance of the British Soldier in India

'How my heart bled for him as I saw him trudge along, mile after mile, through dense clouds of dust over a parched and burnt-out country. What an uncomplaining fellow he is! In all my campaigning he stands out as that which I am proudest of, and as the character in the great play of my soldier-career that I admire most.'

*Field Marshal Viscount Wolseley quoted in Richard Holmes,* Sahib*, (London, 2005), p292*.

### And it was a life sentence …

Officers might be able to avoid service in India and had a reasonable chance of returning home. 'But in the first half of the nineteenth century a posting to India was effectively a life sentence for most of the soldiers posted there: more of them died in India than ever saw their homes again.'

*Ibid*, p233.

## The Letters of Captain John Orrok

*By Alison McBrayne*

> *I am very much disappointed with India as it does not at all answer my expectations. They talk of the Luxury of the East, but I assure you that I have seen more of it at your Fireside than ever I saw in India.*

This was the way that a home-sick Betsy Orrok, the wife of Captain John Orrok of the 33rd Regiment, wrote home to her father in Banff, Scotland in February 1805. Betsy and John spent six years in India, based at Vellore, Hyderabad and Seringapatam in the Madras Presidency during which time Betsy gave birth to three children. Sadly, however, she died in 1810 after a miscarriage. Her husband was devastated and in a letter to a cousin says that the 'melancholy event has reduced me to a state of absolute misery. I can never cease to lament the untimely fate of that blessed Angel… Her much loved image incessantly haunts my distempered fancy'.

Finding evidence of births, marriages and deaths can be very satisfying to the family historian but if you discover, as we have been lucky enough to, that an ancestor's story can be read in his own words, then the past seems to come alive. Some years ago my mother-in-law came across a book entitled *The Letters of John Orrok* and realised that it related to her own great-great-grandfather. The book had been published by Milne and Hutchison, an Aberdeen firm of printers, publishers and stationers in 1927 and contained ninety-three letters and an introduction and appendix which contained family history information. She wrote to the Aberdeen Local Studies library who were good enough to photocopy their own copy of the book for her.

These photocopied pages have been the focus of much of my own research as I have followed up references in the letters and the editors' notes to find out about the family and their lives. The searches have taken me to many places including The National Archives at Kew to read nineteenth century chancery rolls, to the National Army Museum in London to find out about the army in India, to the British Library, and to local collections in Aberdeen. I spent two days in the Special Libraries and Archives collection at Aberdeen University following up a possibility that the original letters had been deposited there – but without any luck.

### The Orrok family

John Orrok's family originated in Fife, but by the late eighteenth century had moved further north in Scotland. They were members of the gentry but not well off and, as a younger son, John's father William had little claim to anything but a respectable name and the hopes and expectations that went with it. Like so many Scottish younger sons in similar circumstances William chose to earn his living by going into military service, in his case the Madras Army of the East India Company. He joined up in 1778 and spent most of the rest of his life in India. In 1803, he was involved in the battle of Assaye against the Maratha forces and is mentioned in military histories describing the battle (and also the fictional

*Sharpe's Triumph* by Bernard Cornwell) for leading a section of the army in the wrong direction, either ignoring or failing to understand instructions given to him by Maj-Gen Wellesley, later Duke of Wellington.

*John and Betsy Orrok*

William's only son, John Orrok was born around 1779. He joined the British Army and served in India and Ceylon with the 71st and 72nd Regiments in the late 1790s. When his regiment returned home, he spent time with an aunt and uncle in Banff, and fell in love with his cousin Betsy Reid who was a lively, high-spirited girl. The Reids do not seem to have approved of the romance and Betsy was sent to stay with an aunt in Edinburgh, but she managed to escape the aunt's attention one day, was reunited with John and they promptly got married. Faced with a *fait accompli*, Betsy's parents accepted the match and the young couple returned to live with them. The following year John departed for England to try to find work and left Betsy, by now pregnant, in Banff. It was at this point that he began the series of letters to William Reid which runs through to 1816 and takes John from a lovelorn youth to a mature widower with four dependent children.

After failing to find work in London, John rejoined the British Army and in 1803 he and Betsy travelled out to India. The letters recount their frustrations in finding a ship to take them; having originally hoped to leave in early January 1803, they finally departed in late April. At one stage they were told that they should board a ship in Deal – they travelled overnight in a stage coach from London only to find that the ship had already departed. Refusing to be beaten, John hired a sailing boat which set off in hot pursuit down the Channel but finally had to admit defeat six hours later.

**Life in India 1803 – 1811**

Once in India, John transferred into the 33rd Regiment which was under the command of Lt-Col Arthur Gore, the husband of John's cousin Maria. One of the striking aspects of John's and Betsy's letters is the number of family members and Banff acquaintances they met in India. Two of Betsy's younger brothers also came out and there were cousins, including Mrs Isabella Freese, the wife of an artillery officer in Seringapatam, who features in biographies of Wellington as it is believed that she was the Duke's mistress when he was in India in the early 1800s. John's letters reveal that she was still in contact with the Duke ten years later.

John's time in India coincided with a relatively peaceful period in the Madras Presidency. Although he did take part in some manoeuvres, most of his time was spent in garrison

towns where he was able to live with Betsy and enjoy home comforts. He was in fact a very domestic creature and hated to be parted from his wife or children at all. Although the letters contain very little information about battles, there are accounts of army administration (John acted as the regiment's paymaster for some time) and his constant machinations to obtain promotion and favourable postings. The only fighting of which there is a detailed description is the Madras Mutiny of 1809, when officers of the EIC Madras Army rose up in revolt against their commanders, following reductions in the allowances and emoluments which had been added to their salaries.

### John's later life

After Betsy's death in 1810, John and the three children born in India returned to London. He spent nine months as a recruiting officer in Devon but then, rather than leave England, he left the army and took a partnership in a bookselling firm in the city of London. After living rather too extravagantly for a couple of years, he had to give up his house close to the new Regent's Park and moved to Brussels. Throughout this period he continued to write to Betsy's father in Banff and at various times two of his children lived in Banff with their grandparents.

The letters that were published end with John and his children in Brussels in 1816 but it has been possible to discover quite a lot about their future life through more mundane genealogical researches. They returned to London in the 1820s and documents refer to John as a 'Clerk' and a 'Gent'. The three daughters all married well – the youngest married an EIC officer who subsequently rose to the rank of Major - and his son also joined the EIC Army. John himself remarried in 1832, but only after he and his bride had had five children illegitimately.

From the late 1820s, John and his second family lived abroad and by 1837 they were in Jamaica where a final daughter was born; John was working as the Manager of the Jamaica Steam Navigation Company – a company whose finances seem to have been dire. John and his second wife both died in Jamaica in 1838 and the six young children were brought back to England where they were brought up by their mother's family and lived a much harder life than their older half-siblings.

If anyone reading this has any connection to, or knowledge of the Orrok or Reid families, I would be extremely pleased to hear from you.

### A new edition of the letters

As mentioned earlier, John's letters were first published in 1927 but it was only by very good fortune that we rediscovered them. In researching the background to the family and to the events that John describes, I felt that they were of interest to a wider audience than just his descendants. I have therefore republished them, with an Introduction putting John's story in the context of its time and notes explaining people and places he refers to: *The Letters of Captain John Orrok* (Troubador, 2008), £11.95, available via www.troubador.co.uk or write to Troubador Publishing Ltd, 9 De Montfort Mews, Leicester LE1 7FW; phone 0116 255 9311) or through the usual internet sites.

## In God and Company: the life and times of the Reverend William Kew Fletcher (c1802-1867), EIC chaplain

*By Mark William Fletcher*

*I hope this history of my great great grandfather's life is of interest to those connected to the clergy of India at the time.*

At age 30 on 19 September 1832, the Reverend William Kew Fletcher, set sail from Gravesend, Kent, bound for Bombay to begin a career in India that would span nearly 37 years. Accompanying him aboard the East Indiaman Ship *Victory*, commanded by Capt Christopher Biden was William's new bride of seven weeks, the 28 year old Maria Jane (Jewsbury). Maria, a well established and respected author and poet who was used to rubbing shoulders with the likes of William Wordsworth, was considered by many, especially her father, to be a woman way out of this William's league. He on the other hand, having graduated with a MA from Cambridge at 26, had spent the years since as a humble career clergyman at Lichfield Cathedral. In a letter written two years earlier, during their long and protracted courtship, Maria described my great great-grandfather to her friend Dora Wordsworth:

> And who is he? Nobody you ever heard me mention - none of my flirts - none of my favorites - none of my shewy, talking, talked about appendages - nobody in London-nobody who paints, or (Thank Providence) who edits, or who says smart things, - but one who was a smoker, but flung away cigars long before he came and asked me to think about him - who was a sloven, but is trying his very best to be one no longer - and who has promised to make a sacrifice of his present tailor and take lessons in tying his cravat like a gentleman - one who in point of worth is gold; in point of mind silver, in point of manners iron - but in nothing pinchbeck - one who loves me as strong, rugged, yet none nurtures only love when they break up under the influence of an emotion that they have never made a plaything of - one who wants a great deal of polishing and softening and mellowing, but gives promise of all I could ultimately love truly and lean upon safely - one, who, if he realise his own temporal prospects, and satisfy my moral requirements - I shall certainly feel bound in honor and inclination to marry.

Maria's decision to marry William was no doubt also influenced by his appointment the year before as a Chaplain to the Honourable British East India Company (HEIC). The position promised the opportunity of travel and adventure as well as the security of a salary equal to the regimental pay and allowances of an infantry major (around £700 sterling p.a. or about £47,000 today). HEIC Chaplains were expected to do their duty, both for the Queen's and the Company's troops. After arriving in India each chaplain was ordered to a different station, this decision being made by either or both the Bishop of Calcutta or the Governor of the relevant Presidency. Chaplains duties were the same as those of clergymen in general, and they were expected to minister to regimental hospitals and communities of their respective stations. By 1830 there were approximately fifteen chaplains attached to Bombay on top of the ten missionary societies, 106 missionary stations and 147 missionaries in the field throughout the rest of India.

The voyage would take them approximately five months travelling via Madeira around the Cape of Good Hope to Ceylon and then on to Bombay. Maria recorded aspects of the journey in a series of articles entitled 'Extracts from a Lady's Log Book' where she exhibits a sense of humour and a zest for adventure uncommon for a 'lady' of the time, especially in print (See *FIBIS Journal*, No 18 Autumn 2007). Russell Miller also describes travel for passengers such as the Fletchers aboard an East Indiaman in his book*, The East Indiamen.* He points out that the stern nature of the sea would have been manifestly apparent to anyone travelling on an East Indiaman ship, a type of vessel that was not well suited for human cargo. In response to English tax assessments, which were based on a ship's beam with no regard for its length or depth, the East Indiaman ship was designed with a hull too long for its breadth, and sailed very poorly as a result. These ships lurched and rolled in a manner that inevitably produced seasickness in novice travellers. Genteel British travellers like the newly married Fletchers attempted to keep up the amenities of polite society. Well-heeled passengers furnished their cabins before coming on board with sofas and even pianos provided by dock-side purveyors who bought parlour accoutrements from arriving passengers and resold them to travellers poised to embark. But passengers had to nail their tables and chairs to the floor in anticipation of their ship's erratic movements. Similarly, voyaging ladies and gentlemen - at least those who were not retching in their cabins - dressed for meals at regular hours, despite the dinnerware's tendency to fly into their laps.

On 2 March 1833 after a two week stopover in Ceylon, where they stayed with one of Maria's literary friends the Reverend Benjamin Bailey (1791-1853), William and Maria arrived in Bombay. They were hospitably received at the house of the newly appointed Archdeacon, the Reverend Thomas Carr (1788-1859), a man destined to become highly influential in William's life and career. Carr was also a Cambridge man, sharing the same *alma mater* (St John's College) as that of Wilberforce. He had graduated with an M.A. in 1813, the same year the HEIC charter was amended to allow Christian missionaries to establish themselves in India, and he had been there since 1815. Carr was a true evangelist for the missionary cause in India, organising a local CMS (Church Missionary Society) branch in Wellington, Somerset as early as 1814. He was also the first Secretary of the CMS Bombay Corresponding Committee a position that William would later assume. Its aims were to collect information, to act as friends and patrons of missionaries, to watch over the mission and to raise funds. The Bombay Committee was founded by supporters in India, rather than at the instigation of CMS headquarters in London; it had far more independence than a normal CMS Corresponding Committee and its power was rather that of an Auxiliary. His work with the Committee in establishing the missionary presence in Western India would have been a strong influence in his appointment in 1837 as the first Bishop of Bombay.

Maria's initial impressions of India were scathing, describing Bombay as 'alias biscuit-oven, alias brick-kiln, alias burning Babel, alias Pandemonium, alias hot, horrid, glaring, barren, dissonant, and detestable'. Despite William being gazetted to be stationed at Sholapur, for reasons unknown on the 27th the Fletchers departed Bombay by *pattamar* (native boat) and proceeded to Harnai, a port near Dapoli in the Ratnagiri District near Suvarnadrug. William

was assigned to minister to the military station of the Southern Konkan at Dapoli.[1] They anchored off Suvarnadrug at one in the morning and at seven they were carried ashore by *palanquin* (a chair or bed carried on poles by bearers) and pitched their tents equipped with camp furniture overlooking the ocean under an enormous banyan tree. Maria writes:

> my old friend the sea rolling and roaring past in front, and on two sides forts and rocks, black and barren …. the sea side scattered over with tombs, Moorish, Catholic, Protestant, Hindoo, the dead of many creeds, the sleepers after many sorrows, the graves varying from square solid structures of granite to single slabs with head and foot stones, and pillars surmounted by crosses. But only the Europeans have inscriptions, and after turning from the massy Mahometan structure, with its white flag placed in a tree over it, or looking in an open shed at the coarse image of a Hindoo god, it is painfully touching to read an English inscription, 'To the beloved wife of so and so, aged 18'- fact of common occurrence in this land of death.

William set about his duties and during the intervals between his direct professional engagements they both travelled into the hinterland behind their tented home, visiting temples and becoming guests at native entertainments and otherwise trying to familiarize themselves with the people. He also began to study Marathi in an effort to enable him to converse with the local poverty-stricken population and to win his way into their confidence. Both William and Maria struggled, though, with how to reach the 'benighted' native mind, 'how to break down the barriers interposed by immemorial custom between native and European'. However, just as the Fletchers had become accustomed to barren and desolate Karnai, William was ordered to Sholapur and the couple set off on the 270 mile journey by 'palanquin by day and tent by night'. They climbed the steep ascent to Mahableshwar, where they were at the beginning of May, and descended on the other side to Satara, which they reached on the 6th of the same month. Here William and Maria rested a month, and then resumed their journey, along the road that runs almost due west to east. between Satara and Sholapur. On the 10th of June, Maria writes ominously: 'I had an attack of semi-semi-cholera, only demi-semi'.

William and Maria arrived in Sholapur on 17 June and Maria notes: 'drought - famine sweeping off the natives - a people of skeletons - a land that looks covered with the curses of Jeremiah and Ezekiel'. While the famine was desolating the neighbourhood of Sholapur, William's principal employment on his arrival was to mitigate the sufferings of the emaciated and perishing population. In one such incident it was reported that a poor Hindu, deprived by starvation of his wife and all his children, except one infant daughter, crawled with this child in his arms to the foot of his idol and died before the altar, as if arrested in the act of supplicating for relief. The Fletchers hastened to the spot, had the father buried, and the unconscious child thus literally found in the arms of death, they adopted as their own. But within a month William became gravely ill and it fell to Maria to nurse him for the next seven weeks. After this, William was granted a medical certificate that said his health would not bear the climate and they set out on 20 September on the long march back to Karnai. Maria

[1] in 1818 it was constituted the military station of the Southern Konkan but in 1840 the regular troops were withdrawn and a veteran battalion was retained till 1857.

seems to have become more reconciled to her lot and to have ceased spending her time, as she quaintly puts it:

> in conjugating the verb 'I hate India,' in every mood, form, tense, and person …… Much of our unhappiness arose from being unreasonable …… Figs, I find, will only grow on fig-trees. It is only England that can be English; India must be Indian….. I enjoy this rough marching without servants, your materials for a hasty meal hanging to your palanquin, better than the train of baggage when you march with tents by stages ..... the monsoon not being over, the roads are often mid-leg deep in mud. The *nullahs* (gully or ravine) are often swimmable. The rivers are full, and extra palanquin-bearers are needed to meet the extra exertion. We have thirty-two for our two palanquins ..... what marvellous animals these natives are! The Hammal branch, especially stupid, slow, tiresome about other things, but walking a distance with a load over roads that no stout English beef-eater dare look at ..... One new feature in this journey is a new companion, though old pet, in the shape of a superb China cockatoo.

Alas this was to be one of Maria's last commentaries as she was fated never again to see that place of tombs. Three weeks before her thirty-third birthday on 3 October 1833, Maria died at Poona, a victim of cholera, and there she was buried. William added to her journal in his own sorrowing hand: 'More my beloved one never wrote'. Maria may have settled for William in an effort to resolve the conflict between her ambition, independence and Christian faith. Maria's tale however ended sadly as she never came to witness her husband becoming the man she had longed for him to be. After Maria's death, William arranged for the young girl of six or seven (found starving beside the corpse of her father) to enter a missionary school run by the wife of the Reverend Farrar, and for a sum of money for her maintenance.

In the following year, William was appointed a Senior Presidency Chap-lain in Bombay, Byculla and Tanna, which entailed ministering to the European ex-pat community, administering the company mission schools and conducting Sunday services at Christ Church, Byculla. Senior Chaplains, of whom there were generally from three to four in each Presidency, were expressly appointed by the Governor and drew the pay and benefits equivalent to Lieutenant-Colonel (around £1,150p.a. or about £57,000 today**).** William served under the immediate control of the Archdeacon (Thomas Carr) and the Governor, who were supreme in the ecclesiastical arrangements.

On 9 March 1835 at St Thomas's Church, Bombay, William married Elizabeth Catherine Carr (1815-1897), the boss's daughter and the eldest of three children born to her father's first wife, Elizabeth Matilda (*née* Farish) (1789-1825). Her mother was the great-grand daughter of Captain John Bernard Gilpin of Cumberland (1707-1796) and the niece of Professor William Farish (*c*1758-1837), Jacksonian Professor of Natural Philosophy at Cambridge. Although born in England, Elizabeth had travelled with her father to India as an infant and had spent almost her entire life there. The following year William and Elizabeth celebrated the birth of their first child, a daughter Elizabeth Jane (1836-1884) who became the wife (in 1859) of Captain Herbert Sconce (1833-1867), Deputy Commissioner, Sibsagar, Assam 1864-1866. In 1837, William's father in-law returned to England for the first and only time in his entire career and was ordained as Bombay's first Bishop.

During 1838, William's first son and my great-grandfather was born, Major Thomas Carr Fletcher, R.A. (1838-1896). In the same year, a Chaplain of an American navy squadron, the Reverend W Taylor Fitch, visited William's new household and penned a number of interesting accounts including one of a dinner with the family at Government House with the acting Governor and Elizabeth's uncle James Farish (1791-1873):

> I reached the Bishop's residence a little before nine o'clock. I was shown into a spacious upper room, into which other rooms, nearly as spacious, communicated. In front of these rooms runs a spacious and covered verandah, constituting, itself, an upper hall, and extending quite the length of the building. The verandah is common to the best style of houses in Bombay, to protect the rooms from the intense heat of the day, and affording a most agreeable lounge in the cooler hours of the morning and evening. A centre-table, with a large family Bible and Prayer Book upon it, occupied its appropriate place. The Bishop entered with his eldest daughter, Mrs. Fletcher, leaning upon his arm. Who does not love to look at such a sight — a lovely and loved daughter, grown to the pride of young womanhood, pressing gently on the parental arm of a venerable father? …. the party now gathered around the centre-table, when the good, and I am sure, kind-hearted Bishop, opened the sacred volume and read a chapter from one of Saint Paul's epistles, and added his own reflections upon it. We all knelt, and together prayed to the God we worship. I could have wept; for it was the first scene of social worship at the family altar in which I had been privileged to mingle, since I left the United States …. The Rev. Mr. Fletcher, the Bishop's chaplain and son-in-law, joined us at the breakfast-table. The family are on the eve of leaving Bombay for the interior, where they spend some months in the mountains, for health and pleasantness.
>
> At 11 o'clock I accompanied the Rev. Mr. Fletcher, to visit the schools for promoting education among the poor….. The Company has constructed two ranges of fine buildings, for the separate accommodation of the boys and girls, which do credit to the Presidency of Bombay, and speak well of English benevolence and charity. The schools are composed chiefly of the children of soldiers, being mostly of the mixed caste of Mahratta and English. The children exhibited a very neat appearance. We have no schools in our country with which we could with propriety run a parallel; as these children, I am told, originally speak no English, and have to acquire that language as they proceed in their studies. Most of the scholars whom I saw were under the age of twelve. They read English with very considerable accuracy, and seemed to comprehend, as far as children of their age usually do, the instructions which are given to them, in illustration of the religion of Jesus Christ. The boys, when they have reached the suitable age and acquired the necessary attainments, are apprenticed to the different trades, or taken as writers into the Company's offices; or, at the present moment, are attached to the army as drivers of the teams, at a certain rate of pay, to be gradually increased to the maximum allowance of the first of that class.
>
> The Governor gave his dinner at the government-house… in compliment, in part at least, to our Commodore. At half-past seven the carriages disgorged their red-coats, and blue-coats of the English army and American navy, and the black coats of the civil list, composed of the Council and the bench of Judges; together with the Bishop and Chaplain and the variously robed ladies…The Governor's house is a spacious building, said once to have been a Roman Catholic cloister, the chapel of which, on the lower floor, now serves as the dining hall; while the spacious room above it, to which you ascend by two or three flights of steps, with suites of rooms and a verandah on either side of it, forms the reception hall. But the building has been refitted and

> enlarged, and now is every way a creditable establishment for the purposes for which it is appropriated, as the residence of the Governor of the Presidency. Its distance is some six miles from the inwalled portion of the town, and the ride to it is a delightful one through extensive country residences, built by the Parsees for the purposes of being rented to the English; and at this hour of the evening… were lighted up with their hundred lamps, giving forth the beautifully clear flame of the cocoanut oil, burning in open glasses, around which rose a yet longer one to protect the light from flaring in the evening breeze, which comes deliciously through the open windows, swinging on their hinges quite down to the floor, that every breath of the refreshing gale may sweep through the open rooms. The large room with the spacious lobbies on either side formed by the verandahs were soon enlivened by the crowd that entered, and advanced to be presented to Mrs. Farish, the Governor's lady. The organ was accompanied by several voices. The Bishop read a chapter from the Bible and added his comments, and then, together, we knelt in prayer. Is there any heart so callous that would not love such a scene of quiet and social worship, exhibiting the beauty of household religion?

Over the next ten years William went on to serve as Secretary to the Bombay Correspondence Committee, Secretary to the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor, Secretary to the Society for Propagating the Gospel, and Committee Member of the Bombay District Benevolent Society. He also became a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, to which he contributed regularly, including the first English translation of the Portuguese traveller Diogo do Couto's descriptions of the Kanheri caves at Salsette. All the while he continued to baptize, marry or bury many of Bombay's European colonial residents. In 1839, he became the brother-in-law of Sir John Wither Awdry (1795-1878), Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Bombay via marriage to Elizabeth's sister Frances Ellen Carr (1820-1900). Elizabeth also bore him another four children, Frances Margaret (1840- ), Catherine Lucy (1843-1910), Mary Agnes (1844-1852) and William Morris (1846-1925). Frances went on to marry Franklin Richardson Kendall (1839-1907) in 1867, the son of arctic and antarctic explorer Edward Nicholson Kendall (1800-1845) and nephew of ill fated arctic explorer, Sir John Franklin (1786-1847). William was educated in England and returned to join the Bombay Revenue Survey Department in 1865.

As Secretary to the Correspondence Committee William wrote in 1846 on *Symptoms of Spiritual Life in this Mission* (Bombay).

> There is now good reason to believe that the conflict with spiritual wickedness has actually commenced in this country, and particularly in Bombay; that the inertia: of the Hindoos has been overcome; that they are awakening to the importance of the claim of Christianity to be "the only Religion that comes from God". This is evidenced by the constant attacks on our holy faith by the Native Press; by the formation of infidel clubs of Hindoo youths; and by the mockery and blasphemy with which the Scriptures and doctrines of Christianity are openly treated by them.

Chaplains were allowed a furlough to Europe after seven years actual service in India and during 1848 to 1852, William and Elizabeth returned to England to live in Somerset, Elizabeth's birthplace. Elizabeth bore William another two children, a son Capt James Henry, R.N. (1848-1892), and daughter Isabella Charlotte (1850-1937). In 1851 William conducted the marriage of Elizabeth's only brother the Reverend William Carr (1819-1863) to Ellen Presgrave Vipond (1818-1897). During their stay Elizabeth's father resigned due to

ill health and the Carr family returned to England. Thomas Carr must have looked back at his career with a sense of success, there now being twenty-three East India Company Chaplains attached to Bombay.

Tragically, while in England William and Elizabeth mourned the death of their daughter Mary Agnes, aged eight in Bath. In 1853 William became a brother-in-law of Lord Vere Henry Hobart (1818-1875) with the marriage of Elizabeth's half-sister, Mary Catherine (1832-1914) from her father's second wife Catherine Emily McMahon (1807-1880). Vere later became Director of the Ottoman Bank in 1863 and Governor of Madras in 1872. By 1854 the Fletchers were back in India and William was serving as Senior Chaplain in Karachi, visiting the stations of Sukkur, Shikarpur, Kanghar, Larkhana, Mehar and Sehwan in Upper Sind; meanwhile Elizabeth's father was appointed Rector of Bath Abbey. In 1856 another of Elizabeth's half-sisters Catherine Annesley (1837-1886) married another Hobart brother, Lord Henry Frederick John Hobart (1821-1875), and the following years saw the birth of the last of William's and Elizabeth's children, Charles Farish (1857- ) and Grace Mary (1859-1909). Elizabeth's father died in Bath in 1860 and she became a very wealthy woman.

In 1863 William retired due to illness and the family returned to England. All chaplains after fifteen years actual service in India, were entitled to retire upon the half-pay of a major, or £300.pa. (or about £13,000 today). On 27 October 1867, William died in Worthing, England of malarial Indian fever, aged 65; Elizabeth went on to outlive him by another 30 years. William's surviving grand children included: Robert Clement Sconce (1862-1928), architect, New York; Sir Herbert William Sconce (1864-1936), Commissioner for Education, British Guiana; Thomas Charles Shinkwin Fletcher (1873-1934), contractor, Sydney; Doctor Nicholas Fletcher Kendall (1868- ), GP, London; Franklin Kaye Kendall, R.I.B.A. (1870-1948), architect, Cape Town; Edward William Allen Kendall (1871- ), Australian Meat and Live Stock Company; Sir Charles Henry Bayley Kendall (1878-1935), Judge, High Court of Allahabad; and Frederick Carr Kendall (1881- ), Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank.

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## Oops !

**From the Captain's Journal of the East Indiaman *Plassey* lying off Madras Roads 14 November 1763 (L/MAR/B 567 B)**

Came on board ye Hon'ble George Pigot, Esq., and the rest of the passengers. Saluted with 19 guns. On coming on board in saluting, Frederick Cobarge was blown from one of ye guns and not seen any more.

*IOR ref: L/MAR/B/567B) Frederick Cobarge was probably Jno. Fredk. Kooberry, alias Kooberg, listed as a crew member in L/MAR/B/567F.*

*Contributed by Peter Bailey*

## Jules Henri Jean Schaumburg (1839–1886): a forgotten artist rediscovered

*By Sylvia Murphy*

*Talented and amiable he died in the midst of a career of usefulness*

The Calcutta newspaper *The Statesman* on 20 February 1886 published the following news item which reduced 46 years of life to a small paragraph:

> THE LATE MR. SCHAUMBURG. – We regret to hear of the death of this talented and amiable artist. He had been for a short time only at the head of the Government School of Art, when an attack of fever carried him off in the prime of life, and in the midst of a career of usefulness. A large number of his pupils were present at his funeral, and testified to the deep respect and regard in which they held the deceased gentleman.[1]

This man was my great grandfather. The first I knew of his existence was the brief description on his son's baptism certificate from St John's Church, Calcutta, which, under the heading 'Quality, trade or profession of Father', simply stated *Geological Survey Dept.*[2] Before telling you Jules' story, it might be helpful to summarise why I began the search which found him.

My late father, Dudley Palmer Harris, was born in Calcutta on 21 October 1912. By the time I was born in 1947 in England he was totally estranged from his family and during my father's lifetime I never had contact with any of his relatives. Sadly his parents had divorced when he was very young and although his mother had remarried in 1918 there was no further contact with his father. Little was known and some was clearly the stuff of legend, such as that the family was descended from a line of Austrian barons! The only firm link to the past was my father's baptism certificate which was in the name of Dudley Palmer Schaumburg, and I was fortunate that he had evidence that his father – Jules Leonard Schaumburg had changed his name by deed poll in 1914 to Leonard Harris. It was my father, in the search to find out about his roots, who had not only obtained that deed poll from the Public Record Office, but also a copy of his father's baptism certificate from the India Office.

Like many novices, when I commenced researching my father's family I did all the wrong things, and wasted much time trying to prove or disprove the legend of European nobility. I also accepted that the facts before me told the whole story and assumed that Jules was a Surveyor with the Geological Survey Department. Although I had access to the India Office ecclesiastical indexes near my home in Sydney, Australia, I also made the mistake of trying to proceed without outlaying any money, or travelling further than my local Family History Centre. That was about twelve years ago, since when I have become familiar with the catalogues and reading rooms of many libraries in Australia, used an extensive range of resources from around the world, and visited the British Library in London, the State

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1 *Statesman,* 20 February 1886, accessed at the National Library of Australia, Canberra.

2 IOR: N/1/179, f12. Baptism certificate for Jules Leonard Schaumburg, 15 Mar 1882, St John's Church, Calcutta.

Archives in Antwerp, and the Geological Survey in Calcutta. However, most of my results have been sourced locally in New South Wales.

Jules Schaumburg was born on 15 July 1839 at the family home in Antwerp[3]. Like my father he was the third born, having a sister Constance born in 1835 and brother Robert in 1837. Sadly Jules's mother died just one month after his birth. His father, who was a government clerk, remarried in 1842 but had no more children.

I don't know what led to Jules undertaking art training, but he took his first class at the Academy of Fine Arts in Antwerp in 1855. He is known to have studied under Lucas Schaefels, a member of a family prominent in the local art scene. It is likely that Jules was influenced by Lucas's brother Hendrik 'Rik' Schaefels who was known for his city and seascapes. Details of his studies at the Academy are still to be discovered, but it is known that he became skilled in the technical arts of painting, etching and engraving. Jules completed his art education at the academy in about 1860 or 1861, and at some time in the next few years left Belgium to go in search of the picturesque, as paintings of eastern scenes were much in demand in Europe at the time.

By reviewing the art literature and sales, it appears that Jules' latest paintings with an identifiably Belgian theme were dated 1861, with titles of *Peasants by a river with windmill* and *Les Moulins.* By May 1865 he was in Bombay, though as there are no listings for a Jules Schaumburg in the Bombay Almanac or other directories, it is not yet known when he arrived. According to Professor Sovon Som of Calcutta, Jules is said to have survived a shipwreck in 1861 on his way to Bombay.[4] Sadly I have not been able to find any record of this, but do not believe that he left Antwerp until 1862. Whether he made his way across Europe to the Mediterranean before taking ship to Alexandria, thence overland to Suez before boarding another ship to Bombay; or whether he sailed the long way round Africa is not known. A painting by him, signed and dated 1862, was recently sold in New York and is tantalising in its similarity to his marine series from India, yet the background buildings seem to be neither part of Antwerp nor of Bombay.

From May 1865 until his death in February 1886, much of Jules Schaumburg's life in India is well documented by the writings of others, by his paintings and lithographic illustrations, by newspaper reports of art shows, and by entries in Thacker's Directories. There is not yet any evidence that he left any writing himself, and as a non-official person he is barely mentioned in the India Office Records, apart from commercial publications. Nevertheless, in March 1998 Paul Carter of the British Library responded to my enquiry to advise that the

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[3] Acte # 1315, 'Register der Geboorte-Akten binnen de stad Antwerpen' 1838-39, LDS Film 671447. I have sourced vital records from Belgium and extracted key details of names, dates and places, but am unable to understand the finer points of occupation descriptions in the Dutch language records. Several languages are used in the Belgian documents, including a slightly archaic form of French, and Latin in birth registrations, which leads to naming confusion. Jules himself used the French form, but by the time of his death his name was recorded in the English form.

[4] Prof Sovon Som, D.Litt, 9 Jun 2003, personal communication.

Prints and Drawings section have copies of some of Jules's original work; these copies were limited to art auction catalogue listings. Nevertheless, the brief information supplied was the catalyst for most subsequent findings, including those already reported. Of greatest significance at this time was the mention of a book *India and Its Native Princes* or *L'Inde des Rajahs* in the original French, written by the Frenchman Louis Rousselet.

Rousselet was a young man of eighteen when he arrived in Bombay on P & O's SS *Malta* on the morning of 8 July 1863 during a raging storm. He travelled extensively in India, visiting the princely states, and eventually returned to France in 1868 and wrote a book entitled *L'Inde des Rajahs* documenting his travels. This was first published in Paris in 1875, and the frontispiece of this edition is significant as it shows two men in 'Sirdar' costume – Louis Rousselet and Jules Schaumburg who was his travelling companion from June 1865. At the time they met in May 1865, Rousselet was planning to go to Baroda to visit the Maharaja, or Guicowar (or Gaekwar) as he was known. He says:

*The Frontispiece of L'Indes des Rajahs. Jules Schaumburg on the left, Rousselet on the right.*

> My future travelling companion M. Schaumburg, was not going to join me until a week after my arrival, so I put off for the present my first visit to the Guicowar … *[adding a little later]* Schaumburg rejoined me a few days after and my first care was to go with him to make a call on Colonel W_____ the English Resident[5], who received us courteously.

Rousselet makes much of the need to formally introduce themselves to the English Resident at each new native state to obtain permission to be there. This was not only a courtesy, but also a requirement as neither man was a British subject. These visits of course would have formed part of the official records kept by the British Residents, but sadly these records were destroyed.

The travellers were warmly received by the court of Baroda and treated with great generosity as the following extracts show:

> The king had reserved for me a pavilion in his palace, where I could pass the hours of the siesta without returning to

[5] Lt-Col Robert Wallace, Bombay Staff Corps.

> Motabaugh; and Schaumburg has there established his atelier, in which he painted the portraits of the king and Bhao and several views of Baroda and the neighbourhood.

And a few days later:

> The next day at 3 o'clock Bhao Sahib informed us that a review was about to take place and that the king had ordered him to accompany us. …….. I was overcome with confusion to learn from him that the review had been ordered especially in our honour. We took our places ….. Schaumburg and myself ….. between the General and Bhao Sahib and followed by the staff rode down in front of the line. Each regiment as we approached presented arms and the bands played God Save the Queen.

While at Baroda the travellers were treated to an Antelope Hunt, to which they travelled by means of the Guicowar's private and luxurious railway carriage. In September they were also taken on a tiger hunt, and I regret that my ancestor and party did not acquit themselves well:

> At 4 o'clock Lynch, Schaumburg, Tatia and I were perched in our tree. A few moments after the first streaks of dawn the Tiger appeared. All four of us fired – one ball shattered his hind foot, one entered his side and wounded him severely. He plunged at a bound into the forest.

Rousselet describes how they tracked the tiger by following the trail of blood and eventually provoked him out of a thicket next to a clearing

> … when he was within 20 paces Tatia fired and lodged a ball in his chest without checking his advance. I took careful and deliberate aim and pulled the trigger. The tiger sprung into the air and fell lifeless on the ground a few paces from where we stood. The Captain and Schaumburg discharged their bullets into him to make sure he was dead.

The poor tiger had been a magnificent animal of seven or eight years old and no less than nine feet in length.

The pair eventually managed to leave Baroda in early December 1865 whence they travelled north into Rajputana. The travelogue continues with welcome by the ruling princes usually assured providing they had first secured a meeting with an introduction by the local British Resident. In November 1866 the Viceroy Sir John Lawrence arrived in Agra which was the signal for the Grand Durbar to commence, and our two travellers were invited to attend the grand levée at the Viceroy's. A few nights later they joined a celebration at the Taj Mahal, of which he wrote:

> Suddenly at about ten o'clock there appeared, at the farther end of the great avenue, a snow white mass of colossal proportions, suspended in the air. It was the Taj, which, till now hidden by the darkness, had just been lit up with electric lights. The effect was magical.

As I journeyed around Delhi, Agra, and Jhansi with the FIBIS tour in February 2007 I was very conscious of at least partly travelling in the footsteps of my great grandfather. Nowhere was this feeling clearer than when I saw the Dak bungalow outside the entrance to Futtehpore (or Fatehpur) Sikri, which Rousselet had described as follows:

> The guide … conducted us to a bungalow which is maintained by the English Government for the accommodation of travellers. This bungalow, which was once the ancient kutchery [court] of Akbar is built of red sandstone, and surrounded by a beautiful verandah supported by columns.

> It is situated on the northern extremity of the plateau and overlooks the town on one side and the front of the zenana on the other.

It was easily recognisable and is today used for administrative offices.

It is impossible to extract all the adventures of our travellers from the 615 pages of Rousselet's book, but their visit to the court of the Begum of Bhopal cannot be omitted. They spent the hot months of 1867 from May to October as guests of the Begum, with whom they were clearly impressed. She clearly returned the favour as before their departure a special ceremony was held at which they were presented with state honours and Sirdar costumes, which are described thus:

> They consisted of long tunics of green silk gauze embossed with gold, vast petticoat pantaloons of crimson satin embroidered with silver, kumerbunds or cashmere belts of violet and gold, cloaks of deep scarlet-coloured cashmere embroidered with gold and silver, and to crown all, toque diadems in fine gold.

Unfortunately not in colour but, as we have seen, a picture of the two men thus attired is the frontispiece of the first edition of *L'Inde des Rajahs*.

Jules's journey almost ended in Delhi, as on 14 February 1868 he was taken severely ill with jungle fever, and rather than accompany Rousselet to the Punjab he took the train to Agra to be nursed by their friends the Gilmores. By mid-April, however, the two travellers were together again and making their way east by train, arriving in Calcutta in June. On 1 September they parted company, Rousselet boarding the *Labourdonnais* to return to France, and saying good-bye to his 'good and faithful companion who was detained by fresh projects in the country'.

Once I knew that Jules painted in India, I felt sure that some of his work must be held in galleries or museums there, and wrote to several institutions. These letters elicited only one reply which said that there were none of his works in any public gallery in Calcutta[6]. However, there were other clues in Mr Ghose's letter which directed my subsequent research, including that Henri Hover Locke, Director of Calcutta's first art school, had recruited Jules Schaumburg as a teacher of landscape and oil painting. He also referred to the Calcutta International Exhibition held in 1883-84 and the Calcutta Fine Arts Exhibition in 1879, and mentioned that Jules had been elected as an Associate member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1874 for his learned knowledge in classical Indian Sculpture and Palaeontology. I have been able to verify most of this information by looking through copies of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* from the 1870s and finding many lithographic illustrations both of original fossil specimens and copies of photographs, which carry the caption J. Schaumburg. These journals are held at the State Library of New South Wales, as is the two volume report of the Calcutta International Exhibition held from December 1883 to March 1884.[7]

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6 Shri Arun Ghose, Victoria Memorial, Calcutta, personal communication, 16 May 1998.

7 Official Report of the Calcutta International Exhibition 1883-84, compiled under orders of the Executive Committee, Calcutta (Bengal Secretariat Press, 1885).

This Exhibition was organised and put together only a little over twelve months after it was first proposed by Mr Jules Joubert, a Frenchman living in New South Wales who had already organised international exhibitions in Sydney and New Zealand. Many responsibilities in connection with fine arts exhibits fell to Jules Schaumburg, as Mr Locke, the head of the Art School, was on furlough for health reasons. Jules was Chairman of the Sculpture section and also sat on juries for judging

| | |
|---|---|
| Class 24 | Glassware of all kinds |
| Class 25 | Stone utensils, pottery, porcelain & earthenware |
| Class 31 | Decorative work including carving and artware |
| Class 33 | Marble and alabaster |
| Class 148 | Collections of animals stuffed etc |
| Class 149 | Other natural history specimens; |

And Indian Art Ware

The Certificate of Merit issued to prize winners was designed and drawn by A B Bagchi, teacher at the Government School of Art under the supervision of Mr Jules Schaumburg, Officiating Superintendent. Jules also managed to exhibit some of his oil paintings: *Street scene in Bhopal*, *Early morning on the Hooghly*, and *Evening Scene on the Ganges*.

Earlier detailed reports of the 1879 Fine Arts Exhibition in Calcutta were found in copies of the *Statesman* in January and February 1879 held on microfilm at the National Library of Australia in Canberra. It was held in Bow Bazaar adjoining the Art School which elicited criticism from the press as being an undesirable location in the native quarter. The press were also critical of both the delay in judging and of the art works themselves. Jules was one to suffer from their acerbic pen:

> Mr Schaumburg exhibits six pictures in this room. His "Sunset on the Hooghly" is carefully painted from nature but a laborious mannerism in both sky and water is painfully manifest. The Street Scene has certainly disappointed us. At first sight it appeared to us one of the most attractive pictures in the exhibition and we are sorry this feeling was not maintained on closer acquaintance with it. The coloring is crude and the drawing hard ….. [8]

Reports such as these have been invaluable in supplementing the bald facts of Jules Schaumburg's life in India – the information to be found in annual trade directories such as Thacker's Bengal Directory. One of the earliest entries found was in a directory held by the Society of Genealogists in London which shows Jules at the Geological Survey of India, then located in the Geological Museum in Hastings Street, as the Chief Draughtsman and Artist on a salary of Rs 200 per month.[9] This was a rather lowly salary for a European man, but he was still single and presumably was supplementing his income with work at the Art School and through private commissions. The impressive new museum buildings at 27

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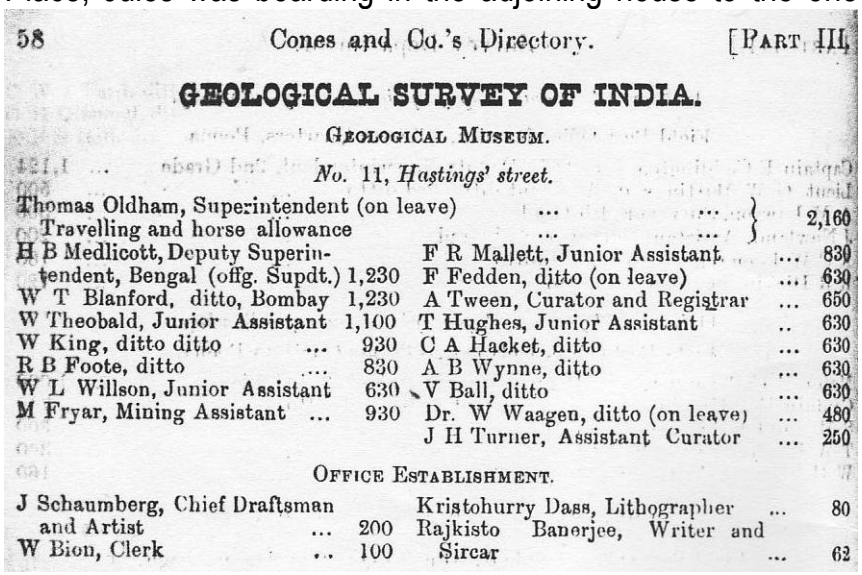
[8] *The Statesman and Friend of India*, 1 February 1879, 'Fine Arts Exhibition'.

[9] Cones & Co's Directory for 1875. In fact, he had been appointed on 12 April 1869 (M K Mukhopadhyay, Geological Survey of India, December 2000, personal communication). Evidently, he had met members of the Geological Survey or the Asiatic Society of Bengal during his travels with Rousselet and illustrated some of their specimens.

Chowringhee Road were completed in 1877 which enabled the Geological Survey to move to larger quarters, and Jules himself is listed in Thacker's Bengal Directory for 1877 as living at 24 Chowringhee Road, part of the new museum complex.

On his 39th birthday, 15 July 1878, Jules Schaumburg married Ruth O'Brien Harris in St Paul's Cathedral.[10] Ruth herself was born in Calcutta in 1858 and her mother is thought to have been widowed shortly after Ruth's birth. With an address in 1879 of 4 Humayun Place, Jules was boarding in the adjoining house to the one managed by Ruth and her mother at 5 Humayun Place – this was just a very short walk from the museum adjoining the present Taj Hotel. It remained as Jules' home for the few years of life remaining to him, and as the home of his widow, mother-in-law and children until the early 1900s. In his reminiscences of Calcutta, Montague Massey says:



58 Cones and Co.'s Directory. [PART III.

GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA.

GEOLOGICAL MUSEUM.

*No. 11, Hastings' street.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Thomas Oldham, Superintendent (on leave) ... ... Travelling and horse allowance ... ... | 2,160 | | |
| H B Medlicott, Deputy Superintendent, Bengal (offg. Supdt.) | 1,230 | F R Mallett, Junior Assistant ... | 830 |
| W T Blanford, ditto, Bombay | 1,230 | F Fedden, ditto (on leave) ... | 630 |
| W Theobald, Junior Assistant | 1,100 | A Tween, Curator and Registrar ... | 650 |
| W King, ditto ditto ... | 930 | T Hughes, Junior Assistant .. | 630 |
| R B Foote, ditto ... | 830 | C A Hacket, ditto ... | 630 |
| W L Willson, Junior Assistant | 630 | A B Wynne, ditto ... | 630 |
| M Fryar, Mining Assistant ... | 930 | V Ball, ditto ... | 630 |
| | | Dr. W Waagen, ditto (on leave) ... | 480 |
| | | J H Turner, Assistant Curator ... | 250 |

OFFICE ESTABLISHMENT.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| J Schaumberg, Chief Draftsman and Artist ... | 200 | Kristohurry Dass, Lithographer ... | 80 |
| W Bion, Clerk .. | 100 | Rajkisto Banerjee, Writer and Sircar ... | 62 |

> Humayun Place is greatly changed from what it used to be. At one time in the very early days it was occupied principally by boarding houses of a second class type, and amongst them was one situated at the top left hand corner, which has since been pulled down …. In which young assistants in offices on not too large a salary used to get comfortable quarters with home life surroundings at a very moderate figure. It was as I remember run by a widow lady …[11]

As number 4 occupied the 'top left hand corner' Mr Massey must have been referring to my ancestors.

By the time of his marriage, Jules's salary from the Geological Survey had increased to Rs 300 per month and subsequently rose to Rs 400. He and Ruth had two children, firstly a daughter, Ruth Nina born 6 June 1879 and secondly Jules Leonard (my grandfather) on 20 December 1881. Both children were baptised at St John's Church, the 'old cathedral'.[12] The years of the early 1880s were clearly the pinnacle of Jules' career, as evidenced by his responsibilities with the International Exhibition and role as Officiating Principal of the Government School of Art since H H Locke went on leave in 1883. Mr Locke died on Christmas Day 1885 and is buried in the Lower Circular Road Cemetery. Buried next to

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[10] IOR: N/1/165, f169; LDS m'film #: 510857.

[11] Montague Massey, *Recollections of Calcutta for over half a century* (Calcutta, 1918)

[12] IOR: N/1/169, f 8, m'film # 510860 (Ruth Nina Schaumburg), and N/1/179, f12 (Jules Leonard Schaumburg).

him almost two months later was Jules Schaumburg who died suddenly of fever on 17 February 1886 before his appointment as Principal of the Art School could be confirmed.

Jules Schaumburg did not leave a will, but Letters of Administration were issued to his widow on 19 March 1886, with his mother in law, Isabella Caroline Harris being one of the sureties. The estate was valued at Rs 17,799 /Annas 6/Pice 8. His widow never remarried and survived until 1933, when she left her estate to her daughter with legacies to two friends. Jules Schaumburg's true legacy lies in the few remaining art works which rarely appear in the auction rooms. Some of these have now found their way into the homes of descendants in England and Australia. They exhibit technical skill but are not 'great art'. However, his paintings show his passion for coastal waterways and shipping, most remarkably expressed in the large 1869 panoramic oil painting of *Shipping on the Hooghly* with a clear depiction of the buildings making up the Calcutta skyline, reproduced on the cover of this Journal.

As well as the notice in the *Statesman* quoted at the beginning of this article, another newspaper, the *Englishman*, also published a brief obituary:

> The death of Mr Jules Schaumberg, the officiating Principal of the Bengal School of Art, is very sudden and very sad. The deceased was about forty-six years of age, and held an appointment as an artist in the Geological Survey. He was a skilled artist, and a man of kindly, genial disposition.[13]

**Acknowledgements**

In addition to those mentioned, I have been fortunate in having assistance in researching Jules Schaumburg's career from Peter Rogers who monitored art auctions and advised when a painting was coming up for sale; from the present director and staff of the Geological Survey of India who showed me much hospitality when I visited in 2003; and from Professor Sovon Som of Calcutta, who wrote in June 2003 with some additional career details pointing me to additional publications which carried Schaumburg lithographs.

## Is this a record?

New member Barney Tyrwhitt-Drake (Mem. No. TYR-1724) writes that the first thing he did on receiving his membership pack was to read the Spring issue of the Journal in which I asked if anyone could better Cheryl Lindsay's achievement of making contact with another researcher on her family tree in less than 24 hours. Well, within 20 minutes Barney had read Liz Wilde's article on the Van Someren family and found there a reference to Caroline Eliza Garling (*née* Hindes) who also happened to be his 4x great grandmother. He sent Liz a quick email filling in some blanks about Caroline Eliza's grandchildren, and before long she was sharing the fruits of her research with him.

*Congratulations Barney, and thanks for letting us know. It's always encouraging to receive feedback like this. - Ed.*

[13] *Englishman*, Saturday, 20 February 1886.

## Eliza Robinson and the Women's Workshop in Allahabad

*The first part of this article is by Eliza herself, the second is by her great-granddaughter, Ann Currie*

**'Some Account of the Women's Workshop in Allahabad'**[1]

When our chaplain, the Revd. A. O Hardy[2], and his wife were arranging to leave Allahabad for furlough to England, they asked me if I would take over the Women's Workshop, saying there were only about six or eight Eurasian women who came regularly, and they were only able to hem dusters and towels, so that they would not need much skill to manage, I consented.

When going into the small room in a low Bazaar dwelling, I found it too stuffy and hot to stay in for even a few minutes, and the work consequently most indifferently done, I asked if there were not more women who would be glad to earn an honest living, and was told that all the work they could do would only bring in about one rupee a week (two shillings was then the value of one rupee), and how could they keep themselves, and perhaps five or seven children upon that? They were better off by begging from wealthy residents. Then I told the charitable people of the Station, and asked them not to give to these people, for I was offering them a chance of supporting themselves by their own industry by learning to do needlework. I went to the Collector of the Station, asking for leave to occupy a deserted compound with twelve houses round it, which had been used as a Hospital, but owing to the persistent performance of operations by Dr. Shirley Deakin[3], no women could be induced to avail themselves of the Charity. Most opportunely the premises with a spacious verandah on all sides, overlooking the pleasant garden with orange and other fruit trees, were all handed over to me without rent or expense of any kind. Soon the news spread of the delight of working in the open verandahs, and of the better paid class of work being given out, brought so many of these outcast women, that I had to engage a matron to live on the premises, and be in daily attendance from six till twelve in the hot season, and eight till four in the cool season.

Friday was pay day, and I soon found the instruction received enabled the women to earn four and five rupees a week, and some of the cleverer ones as much as eight and nine rupees weekly.

There was one of the rooms I could never get any of the women to occupy, and that was the much dreaded operating room. The women who had the largest families of children, I allowed to live rent free in the other eleven rooms, and the children could play in the large compound whilst their mothers worked on the airy verandahs. So many of the women had no more clothing than left off muslin skirts given them by charitable ladies, so in order to

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1 Original spelling and punctuation retained.

2 Arthur Octavius Hardy, Bengal Ecclesiastical Establishment 1865-1886, senior chaplain at Allahabad 12 Nov 1883-14 May 1886 when he went on leave and subsequently retired.

3 Charles Washington Shirley Deakin (1849-1889), Bengal Medical Service, a Junior Civil Surgeon at Allahabad until April 1885.

make them decent to go to and from the bazaar, where they lived, I offered to everyone who could make a skirt and bodice, enough cotton print for both, and soon, it was surprising how respectably every worker was clad; this was the first little gratuity that led to the desire to learn the better-paid sort of work, which gained us quickly so many supporters, and we had from Lady Lyell[4] and her friends, such patronage, that in order to comply with the orders for trousseaux and underlinen garments, I had to send to England for real lace to trim them with; and as the women improved in their needlework, the requests for all kinds of work were so large that I often had to employ as many as six native Durzies or tailors to cut out the garments required. We had miles of punkahs to make, and when it was known that we used no machines, all done by hand work, the amount of orders was simply amazing. Then the native regiments came for their "Khaki" coats and pyjamas, we had patterns of three sizes, and when the orders were completed, I used to take a Durzie (tailor) in the early morning, in the carriage to Cantonments, to see the troop in their new suits, and if one man happened to be unable to wear any of the three sizes, the Durzie would take his measurement, and he would very soon have his finished clothes. But of all the work we did, the most amusing was that for the Government, consisting of Netted Currency Bags - Seeing an advertisement in the "Pioneer" for offers to purchase these bags, I went to the Currency Office where Mr. Cotterell Tupp[5] received me with doubtful satisfaction, saying: "Oh ! this is Government work, and not Charity, besides, I know your women cannot make the bags we require, for the previous lady superintendent, Mrs. Hardy, told me so."

"Well," I replied, "will you kindly let me have a sample bag, and tomorrow I will bring you what the women can do."

"Certainly," he said, "but remember our price is seven annas per bag for the making, and not one pice more."

Next day I took a fine bag, evenly, strongly netted, from cotton freshly gathered and twisted: Mr. Tupp said to the chuprasse [*office messenger*]: "Burr do ek hazar rupeiya," (Fill this bag with one thousand rupees), which the man did, and then banged it with all his might on the marble floor. Not a stitch gave way. Mr. Cotterell Tupp looked at me amazed, then exclaimed: I'll give you eight annas each, for the making of these bags."

You may imagine I thanked him, after his assertion of the previous day that "Not a pice more than seven annas will I give you."

We secured the orders for all the Government Currency Bags for Allahabad that day.

Some years after, when Mr. Tupp was appointed to Bombay, he actually not only ordered two thousand of our bags, for that Presidency, but sent me a cheque for two thousand rupees, before he had seen or received one bag. There being no gold coinage in ordinary

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[4] Evidently Lady Lyall, wife of Sir Alfred Lyall Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces 1882-1887.

[5] Alfred Cotterell Tupp, Bengal Civil Service from 1862;, Accountant-General, NWP, Nov 1883, moved to Bombay Dec 1887, returned to NWP Nov 1888, retired Oct 1889.

use in India, these strong bags are required for the silver rupees, and many officials with large salaries have their pay conveyed to them in these bags on bullock carts, being much too heavy for men to carry.

When I found the clever women able to earn such good pay, I told them the importance of putting some in the Post Office Savings Bank, and they gladly availed themselves of the advice, and in six months I have a record of fifty of the workers putting in no less a sum than two hundred and twenty-nine rupees, four annas; later on, when the workers had increased to one hundred and fifty in number, the business of entering all their savings was so impossible, as I was engaged in inspecting their finished work, paying them for it, keeping accurate accounts, and giving them more garments to make, that I was obliged to have a native clerk to enter all their savings, and it would often take him an afternoon to complete it.

Visitors frequently came to Allahabad, who, having heard of the success of the Workshop, wished to see over it, and to shew their appreciation, have asked me how they could best do so, and I have suggested they would greatly encourage the women by doubling their subscriptions to the Savings Bank. This was always received with the most delighted "salaams" as I explain the fact in Hindoostani, for not one of the women could speak English.

We had now constant supplies of work:- railway men's clothing, Military men's suits, Police suits, Prison garments, Commissariat work, and always as many as forty or fifty private families' orders to carry out, many trousseaux of the most elaborate underclothing, so that I had little time for anything else, except the Home letters, Church organ practices and Sunday Services, for our children were all away in England.

Finding the women had little chance of affording fruit and vegetables for their families, I persuaded several of the well-to-do people who went to the Hills in the hot season to send the produce of their gardens to the Workshop on Fridays, pay-day, when I divided the fine supplies amongst the workers, to their great satisfaction and benefit. Knowing that some of the women indulged in the intoxicating liquor "Arrack," I asked them to try tea instead. They said it was two [*sic*] expensive - they would like it but could never afford it - so I secured some excellent tea from our dependable tea gardens, where the manager kindly allowed it to me for threepence per pound, at which price they bought it most thankfully, and no more Arrack was consumed.

The lady Superintendent of a similar Workshop in Calcutta came all the way to Allahabad (564 miles) to see how to induce so many women to come to work. She said she had tried every possible means to get them to her Workshop, but had only six women in it, and felt she must give it up.

I explained my first movement was to ask the charitable people of Allahabad to refrain from giving money to those who came begging, and explained to them how they could earn their own living by industry in the Workshop and then by kind and encouraging assistance in endless little ways, win their hearts just as you would young children's.

Now, to prove how hopeful all this labour was, I need only state that in the course of a year or two, a school was built for the children of these despised ones, which was so regularly attended that it was considered a church should be provided for the mothers and children, and the Revd. Albert Constable was engaged to come out from Cheltenham to take charge of the community. He devoted all his time and energies to the work, and by God's blessing on his labours, the once dreaded and despised Eurasians became law-abiding, respectable citizens.

On leaving India, I handed over the care of the Workshop to three clergymen's wives, who promised to continue the prosperity of the undertaking, by every means in their power.

Since then, I had a pathetic letter from one of the workers, written by a clerk in English, from her dictation in Hindoostani. The direction was this:

To Mrs. Robinson,
Dear "Queen of poor helpless widows,"
From Mrs. De Cruz.

### My great grandmother, Eliza Robinson *née* Mensal

Eliza was born at Wallingford, Berks, on 13 January 1833, the daughter of Philip Johnson and Eliza Mensal, who had married in St Pancras Old Church in 1829. At her baptism Philip was described as an attorney's clerk. Eliza senior was the daughter of Andrew Mensal, a graduate of Aberdeen University, said to have walked from Scotland knitting his stockings as he went. He is documented as a 'famous scholar', well known in his community, who had taken over a school, Gordon House Academy, on the death of its owner, a Mr Cooper, whose widow he married. Eliza senior, however, was apparently the child of a second marriage to a Sarah Higgs. Eliza junior described her own mother's education as very thorough and exhaustive (and exhausting).

In about 1834 after the birth of three of their children, Philip and Eliza moved to Kentish Town, where they had seven more children. Philip set up as a solicitor on his own account in Lincoln's Inn Fields. He was evidently sufficiently well off to employ a governess, and the family moved in cultivated artistic circles. In old age she told a cousin that:

> Their governess left them to marry Coventry Patmore! She was Emily Augusta Andrews, daughter of Dr Andrews – afterwards the original of the "Angel in the House".[6] She knew all the Pre Raphaelites – Holman Hunt, Dante Gabriel & William Rosetti – their sister [Christina] – Millais. She advised Millais to put very plain clothes on the woman in The Huguenot and puffs in her sleeves to give a little colour.[7] She remembered Cruickshank and Tennyson and many more.[8]

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[6] The devotion of the poet, Coventry Patmore, to his wife Emily Andrews whom he married in 1847 was the inspiration for *The Angel in the House*, a series of poems in praise of married love.

[7] Millais's painting shows a catholic girl failing to persuade her Huguenot lover to wear a white armband (signifying Catholicism) to protect himself from the St Bartholomew's Day massacre. The puffs appear at the girl's shoulder. It was first shown at the Royal Academy in 1852.

[8] Notes by Sir Simeon Bull: see note 15 below.

Philip died in 1852 and the family moved to Aston, Birmingham, where Eliza helped her mother with the younger ones and by the time of the 1861 census was working as a governess. It was presumably there that she met her husband, Arthur Wellesley Robinson, a railway carriage builder who was seven years younger than her. They married in Aston on 26 August 1862.

Arthur was the youngest child (of nine) of John Robinson, who was born in Balne, Yorkshire, in about 1779. We have John's indenture of apprenticeship to George Arnall, hairdresser of Birmingham; I strongly suspect George was his uncle. John remained a hairdresser, sometimes also described as a perfumier, in Birmingham until his death in 1851. In 1827 he married Mrs Hannah Langsford, *née* Morecroft, a widow, who seems to have been a formidable lady and claimed to have given Rowland Hill the idea of the Penny Post. I have no information about Arthur's education but it may well have been similar to that of one of his brothers, William Apsley Robinson, who was educated at King Edward's School, Birmingham and is later said to have served a seven year apprenticeship with the London and North Western Railway, followed by a degree at Birmingham University. He emigrated to Canada and had a very successful career with the Canadian Pacific Railway. Other brothers became a bank manager, a doctor, and an 'Australian Merchant' in London.

Immediately after their marriage, Arthur and Eliza left for India, where he had found employment with the East Indian Railway. Eliza left a description of the couple's arrival in India. Her cousin Sara Maclure was already there with her husband,

> who was a Resident Engineer at Serampore and when I went with my husband to India in October 1862 nothing could exceed the kindness they both shewed us on our arrival at Calcutta. To my joy as we came up the broad pleasant Hoogly river for the last ten hours of our voyage, a little steamer stopped and brought letters on board, and one for me from Sara, pressing us to go at once, luggage and all, to them, saying they would meet us on the Steamer; so when the anchor dropped and the crowds of canoes formed a landing place, John Maclure came on board. I did not know him, but he asked the steward, who pointed me out, and then he <u>was</u> kind; getting a boat for our luggage, and finally settling us in two Gharries (Indian carriages) and going with us to the pier, where the boats leave to cross over that dangerous river the Hoogly; (Howrah and Serampore are both on the opposite side of the river to Calcutta); we were too late to reach the 5.30 train to Serampore, so for nearly three hours we had to stay for the 8 o'clock train. As we were now at Howrah, and as John Maclure knew Mr Pearce, who was my husband's chief, he proposed to take us to his house, as Mr Robinson was anxious to see his old friend, we walked down the line and branched off near a pretty little English Church into a wide road; soon a large white stone house with pillared porticos, a drive in front, and lawn, just as at home, only looking deserted and rather damp, was reached, and mounting up the dozen steps to the verandah, looked through the open doors, and there in an immense room, with a punkah moving the whole width of the room, sat a dark, stout lady, with the fairest baby on her lap, and an Ayah standing by, as dark as night with white drapery edged with yellow, a little curly headed girl of five looking on, and an English gentleman turning up a moderator lamp. The tea was spread, and John Maclure called out for the bearer who took in our cards; Mr Pearce did not seem to remember the names, and looked puzzled, till Mr Robinson went up to him, and it was worth much to see his delighted look as he grasped his hand and exclaimed: "Just the boy I remember him, seven years ago"; and then his astonishment when he found Mr Robinson was married,

and how he quizzed me! The first Indian tea we had consisted of sausages, poached eggs and ham, preserved herrings, strawberry jam, bananas, iced water, and tea, with sugar and ants!

This over we chatted until nearly 8 when Mr & Mrs Pearce walked to the station with us; in half an hour we arrived at the quiet little station 15 miles from Howrah or Serampore, and on going out to the gharry I saw the splendid green of the trees one blaze of stars; as I fancied I saw visions from dizziness of sea sickness and the strange motion of the ship, I looked on in wonderment, till I asked John Maclure if he saw anything? "Oh! Yes, myriads of fireflies". Fancy flying all over the trees, often when they come into the rooms they cast a strong light even with two lamps burning. The foliage here is something startling, round pools and in ditches where you might expect leaves about the size of the dock to grow, are great leaves six feet high and proportionately broad, and in wooded copses by the road side are cocoanut trees laden with fruit, and such monstrous convolvulus blooms and other unknown plants, you dare not penetrate for fear of snakes. At last we came upon the bank of a broad rapid river, still the Hoogly, and on stopping opposite a large square house I saw a vision of a light dress in a verandah and in another minute Sara met me on the steps, with so warm and excited a welcome scarcely understood in England, where one has so many friends. She took me to the spacious matted bedroom with the transparent mosquito curtains, arranged to protect you from the first enemy of this hot, tropical land; in another room equally lofty and large beyond, our luggage was lost sight of in one corner, and there was every convenience for dressing, another room still further on is our bath room where each morning a huge, high earthenware jar in which you are covered with water, is replenished from the picturesque pond in the garden; the doors in these rooms amount to five, besides four windows all opening down to the ground, just like venetian blinds, which you must open to admit air, though snakes may walk in occasionally. All that night I could hardly sleep for the loud hum of the cicada or Indian grasshopper, then came the terrifying howls of the jackals, till I started up and looked round the room expecting to see their sparkling eyes close to me, then the mosquitos tortured me, and last most dreaded of all I saw a dark native creep slowly in and walk towards Mr Robinson's clothes, when I shouted the only two words I have learnt in case of necessity: "Quoi hi?" (who's there?), this not only alarmed the intruder but Mr Robinson awoke and loudly and angrily repeated it, when the thief instantly disappeared. Next morning Sara enquired what the bearer went into our room for; with respectful salaams he said "I was trying to find my way out to the compound, and opened the wrong door by mistake"!! Sara is so indulgent she comes and sits by me, and we talk for hours and hours, sing duets, and I sleep and wake just when and where I like, which is quite necessary here on first arrival, the fatigue of dressing even is exhausting in such depressing heat, which requires real determination to fight against it. We are sitting under a punkah now, where the breeze is blowing all off the table that is not under weights, and yet I am much hotter than ever I remember. The dear little English children take their evening walks and rides in thin low necked muslins, no hats, or shawls, and look so pale and spiritless, it seems quite cruel to bring them in to such a land of heat and inactivity. The water, lemonade, beer, brandy, whisky, are all iced. John Maclure has 2 … or 4 lbs daily of ice, costing 6d. Sara manages her house beautifully, she talks Hindoostani just as fast as English, scolds all her servants well, there are about 30, tries to prevent their cheating, keeps accounts, pays the wages and relieves John of all domestic trouble, as his business hours are very long, from 9 till 6, he still looks delicate, though is pretty well. Sara has not altered in the least, except perhaps she is a little paler and thinner, she is quite as lively and active; she calls this the beginning of the cool season! What the hot is to be I know not. Opposite the large shady balcony flows the river like the Thames, with white houses between the bright green foliage; in

one, Lord Elgin lives, and a little farther on, is a gloomy looking spot where the native dead bodies are singed [i.e. *cremated*] and sent down the river, but they do not remain there long, for the vultures and crows station themselves on the floating bodies and soon devour them. The whole air is full of life, the very breakfast room is entered by daring black crows who carry off anything eatable from side tables, or the kitmagar's very hands, as he brings the uncovered dish from the cook house, always far enough off amongst the trees of the compound to be out of sight. John and Sara do not visit the Pearces, though they are the most esteemed people on the line, as John being an Engineer is what is termed here: "In society", that is, goes to Government House or rather, as Sara laughingly calls it: "Goes to Court", which absurd expense and fashion she avoids. The distinctions in society here are most strictly kept.

I am indebted to Donald Jaques for the information that Arthur Robinson was appointed to the East Indian Railway on 4 September 1862 as Foreman of the Locomotive Dept at Allahabad on Rs.240 a month. In 1865 he was Foreman at the Building Shop Carriage & Wagon Dept at Howrah on Rs.350. In 1867 he was District Superintendent Carriage & Wagon Dept at Allahabad on Rs.500, increased to Rs.575 by 1870. I also know that on 6 August 1862 [AL5862][9] he had been received into Freemasonry in Birmingham, and was admitted to the 3rd degree on 3 February 5863 [1863] in the Lodge of Independence in Allahabad. On 10 February 5876 [1876] he was admitted by the Chapter attached to the Lodge no 391 at Allahabad called the Sandeman Chapter[10]. Among the things I inherited from my father is a medal named round the edge to '2nd Lieut. A. W. Robinson, E.I.R[ailway]y Vol[untee]r Rifles' which was a Volunteer Force Long Service and Good Conduct Medal awarded for twenty years' service.[11]

Eliza and Arthur had four sons: Arthur Philip and Alfred Campbell, born in Allahabad in about 1863 and 1864, Hugh Mansfield, my grandfather, born in Howrah on 2 September 1865, and Maurice or Morris, born in Allahabad in about 1873 (when his mother was 40). At the time of the 1871 census[12], on 2 April, Arthur and Eliza were back in England, staying with her mother at Vintage House, Yardley, Worcestershire (Solihull). With them were their first three children and three of Eliza's brothers. Arthur was described as a railway carriage

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9 'AL': the Masonic method of dating, short for *Anno Lucis,* 'in the year of light', 4000 years before the birth of Christ when it was believed the world was created.

10 I have the certificates.

11 Instituted in 1894, but not given to overseas forces until 1896. AWR's medal was probably awarded retrospectively in 1896 or 1897. Information received in response to a query posted on the internet.

12 RG10/3188 f 17 p 2.

*Eliza and Arthur with their first baby, and ayah, c1863/64*

superintendent. Eliza was back again by the 1881[13] census with all four of her children, but Arthur was not there. Three of the children were described as scholars but Alfred Campbell was a corn factor's assistant. She described herself as wife of A W Robinson, District Carriage Superintendent, Indian Railways.

Eliza returned to India and it must have been in about 1886 that she took over the workshop described in her booklet. My grandfather Hugh graduated at London University and became a lawyer. Arthur was witness at his wedding in England on 12 January 1895. By the 1901 census[54] Arthur had retired from the EIR and he and Eliza were living in Sheldon, Birmingham, where they remained. Arthur was described as an insurance broker 'worker' (ie not self employed). Two of their sons were with them: Arthur Philip was described as a railway mechanical engineer, aged 37, retired, and 'Morris', aged 28, was a house builder, retired.

Eliza also left little booklets describing 'Incidents and Memories of Life in India soon after the Mutiny', 'One day of my twenty five years in India' and 'The Story of the Crocodile'. Other writings record many things about her parents' families. In 1908 Sir Simeon Bull, grandson of her sister Frances, visited Eliza in Birmingham[15]. He said she had 'gone through an appalling amount of trouble [*perhaps concerning her sons*] and yet is cheerful with it all'. He left these notes:

> Eliza is supposed to have married beneath her, one Arthur Wellesley Robinson who was the son of a hairdresser! He was apprenticed to a railway carriage maker – went out to India in 1862 and was to become the Locomotive Superintendent of the East Indian Railway.

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13 RG11/3017, f30 p3.

14 RG13/2894, f49, p9.

15 By an extraordinary coincidence in 2006 I found a descendant of this relation, Sir Simeon Bull, who very kindly lent me many letters and reminiscences about Eliza and about the Mensal family, and I am much indebted to him.

> I went down by G.W.R. arrived at Snow Hill took the cab across to New Street – Electric tram to Yardley and there I was met by a housemaid in a pony cart! Who drove me to The Poplars at Sheldon. I learnt to my surprise that there were 2 sons at home, "Master" Arthur and "Master" Maurice. As we drove into the stable yard the girl said "There is Master Arthur". I looked and saw a tall bearded man at work in the garden. His hair was light brown turning grey. He never took the slightest notice of me.
>
> Directly after a little old lady with cheeks like ribstone pippins came out to welcome me. It was Eliza Robinson. I knew her by her likeness to Mrs Simeon Bull No 2. She showed me her garden and introduced me to her husband. … During the next 24 hours she told me a lot about the family. Her own recollections were most interesting.
>
> It was not till 5 minutes before I left that Maurice (named after F.D. Maurice) appeared – like his brother he was in shabby tweed …. Up to the neck and slippers. He had been lying on his bed for 56 hours doing nothing but occasionally sleeping. Both men were a little touched in the upper storey – one by sunstroke – the younger by epilepsy – both by heredity I should say[16]. A third son is in an asylum and it is only Hugh Mansfield Robinson who is sane.

In her subsequent correspondence with Sir Simeon we see the same capable woman who had once managed the Women's Workshop in Allahabad. We learn that she busied herself with her house, garden, chickens and orchard. She had trouble with her servants. At one point she interrupted a letter to say:

> now here come my interruptions:- Arthur shouting from garden: "Just fetch me the [? fagger] and the whetstone"; Arthur Philip "Now for the hot water and the bees supers and two brushes". All in good time I reply but I'm cutting out flannel vests for the Barnardo Homes, writing letters, setting down accounts of this morning's shopping in Birm.

In October 1908 she wrote that they had again been very busy: 'my nephew and niece bound for India wanting all kinds of information, then another niece going to America and lastly this day Judge Williams from Jamaica whom we had not seen for 40 years left us after a most interesting revival of old days and incidents'.

By 1910 Arthur's health was beginning to break down, but Eliza continued to correspond with Sir Simeon on the subject of family history. In February 1913 she wrote:

> Mr Robinson's severe illness just now gives me but little time for anything but household duties, and necessary business matters which for the past two years I have had to manage on his account; and though he has had a nurse in attendance night and day with other helpers, he will not be left, and the house resounds with his calls for everyone most of the day; very fortunately he does not suffer much pain. [By 21 May] Mr Robinson has been <u>so much</u> weaker, and the demands on my time and attention so doubly increased with business matters, that I can seldom during a whole week get one evening for ordinary home duties; but I will try and finish, what is only yet half done, as soon as I possibly can, you may be sure. The Digby Scouts have secured our orchard and field for their weekly evolutions; and the Scout Master, a most unique manager, lives in a tent under our blossoming apple tree! We could not refuse them these country blessings, they appreciate so keenly; it all makes more for us to do, with cricket, bowls, football, and general thirsty youngsters about forty in number; but they are becoming so perfect

[16] This seems to be a reference to Philip Johnson.

in training that we shall feel rewarded as we did with the last troop, who won the shield and Baden Powell's highest praise, when last in Birmingham he reviewed them.

That same month her cousin Sara Maclure died, followed by Arthur Wellesley a few months later. He died at home on 20 November 1913, aged 73, following a stroke and 'exhaustion'. The correspondence with Sir Simeon ends about the same time.

Eliza died on 21 January 1921 of 'senile decay'. Her son Arthur Philip was present. He died in 1928 and my grandfather Hugh in December 1940. I have not been able to trace the other two sons. In her will Eliza mentioned many nieces and nephews scattered round the world, in India and South Africa as well as at home in England, as well as my father, John Denis Mansfield-Robinson and his elder brother Leonard (Leo). There are now no male descendants from this line of Robinsons, but the Canadian branch seems to thrive. I don't know what happened to the Johnsons; there were a lot of them and there ought to be some about somewhere.

I feel very proud of my great grandmother.

## The Scottish Cemetery in Kolkata (Calcutta)

The Kolkata Scottish Heritage Trust is planning to restore and maintain in perpetuity the **Scottish Cemetery in Kolkata**. First laid out in 1826, the Cemetery is an important historic site, representing the shared heritage of Scotland and Bengal over a period of 250 years.

The Trust has the support of the Indian Consulate in Edinburgh and has received the endorsement of the Scottish Government. The trustees believe that the relevance of the project lies not only in the importance of preserving the past but also in stimulating in Indian minds, a curiosity for Scotland.

After conducting a full survey of the Cemetery in November, the Trust is planning to conserve the surviving memorials; establish a training programme in traditional building and conservation techniques; and provide an endowment to manage the site as public open space.

In November. the Trust will send an architectural team under the direction of James Simpson, one of Scotland's leading conservation architects, to undertake a comprehensive survey of the Cemetery.

The Trust will be represented at the Kolkata International Book Fair in January 2009 (Kolkata Boi Mela) where the Scottish Cemetery Project will be launched.

If you are interested in supporting our work please send donations and address enquiries to:

Arielle Juler, Simpson & Brown *Architects,* St Ninian's Manse, Quayside Street, Edinburgh, EH6 6EJ

T: 0131 555 4678 F: 0131 553 4576

Email: ajuler@simpsonandbrown.co.uk

We would *greatly* appreciate any support or assistance which you can offer us.

## Freemasonry in India

*By Susan Snell*

*An overview, with advice on tracing details of family members who may have been freemasons in the Indian Sub-continent at the Library and Museum of Freemasonry, Freemasons' Hall, Great Queen Street, London.*

When Peter Bailey, FIBIS Chairman, contacted the Library and Museum of Freemasonry (L&M) a while ago, I seized the opportunity to deliver a presentation about freemasonry in India. I had already undertaken some research into the Masonic careers of members of the Cama family, Parsis or Zoroastrians, from Mumbai who lived in London, c1855 – 1955. My trail of discovery within our archives revealed unexpected levels of inclusion and participation by members of Lodges and Chapters in India that transgressed all religious and caste barriers. This preliminary research encouraged me to share with others, in particular FIBIS members, how to find information about members of British, Anglo-Indian and Indian communities who became freemasons.

First, however, a brief administrative history of freemasonry in the UK will provide context for the later development of the organisation within the Indian sub-continent. The origins of modern freemasonry lie in the emergence of 'speculative' as opposed to 'operative' groups meeting in lodges from the mid-seventeenth century. Operative or working stonemasons had met together, using specific rules and regulations from at least the Elizabethan period and these groups became a popular feature in local communities. Men who were not stonemasons may have been keen to emulate such groups. Lodges comprising 'speculative' Masons, following rules and regulations developed by operative or working stonemasons, began to emerge. In Scotland, unlike England, there is some evidence for a direct transition from operative to speculative lodges. Some operative lodges continued to meet as operative groups, others became an amalgam of operative and speculative members, but others developed as groups of speculative masons.

Meanwhile in England, four lodges of speculative masons in London decided to form a Grand Lodge, known as the Moderns or *premier* Grand Lodge, in 1717. Other lodges joined the new Grand Lodge, which grew in popularity as it began to regulate working practices and attract royal patronage. Some lodges, whose members were not eligible to join the Moderns Grand Lodge, decided to join its rival, which was established in 1751 as the Antients or *Atholl* Grand Lodge. Competition for members became keen during the second half of the eighteenth century, not only in England but also overseas, as British dominion began to expand. In the meantime the Grand Lodge of Ireland was formed in 1725 and the Grand Lodge of Scotland was established in 1736. By the end of the century, lodges in many areas of the world, such as in India, operated under the jurisdiction of either the Antients, Moderns, Irish or Scottish constitutions. Rivalry was intense – several Antients lodges later became Moderns lodges, and lodges established under the English Constitution sometimes transferred to the Scottish Constitution. Almost a century later the

Moderns and the Antients Grand Lodges decided to merge in 1813 to form the United Grand Lodge of England and Wales.

The Moderns Grand Lodge pioneered much of the early development of freemasonry in India. They appointed District Grand Masters (DGMs) for the Bengal area in 1729, Bombay and the Punjab in 1764, Madras and the Coramandel Coast in 1767 and Sri Lanka or Ceylon in 1810. Not all attempts at implementing a centralised Masonic administration were successful. Sometimes gaps occurred after the death of a DGM or if an area failed to maintain a viable number of active lodges. For example, a separate District continued operating in Sri Lanka until 1849, when its lodges transferred under the control of the Madras District. The Punjab District included the area that became Pakistan after Partition in 1947 and in 1951 a new District Grand Lodge (DGL) of Northern India was created. The DGL of Northern India later merged with the Bombay DGL, which became known as the Bombay and Northern India DGL from 1989. Freemasonry became a proscribed organisation in Pakistan during the early 1970's.

Earlier attempts were made to centralise Masonic administration, for example, a Grand Lodge of All Scottish Freemasonry in India was formed in 1875. A little more than a decade after partition, an independent Grand Lodge of India was established in 1961. The English, Scottish and Irish Constitutions signed a concordat that the Grand Lodge of India would warrant all new lodges but it would not warrant any lodges outside this administrative area. All lodges meeting under the three jurisdictions in India voted on whether to transfer to the new Grand Lodge or to remain under existing Masonic jurisdictions. Roughly half of all Scottish and English, and about a third of Irish, lodges voted to transfer. As a result information about members of lodges working under the three Constitutions in India before 1961, in addition to those lodges that decided to remain under their respective jurisdictions, are held in records now maintained by the United Grand Lodge in London, the Grand Lodge of Scotland in Edinburgh or the Grand Lodge of Ireland in Dublin.

Freemasonry emerged in India as the East India Company began to consolidate and expand its operations. In fact the first lodge established in India was formed at Fort William or Calcutta (Kolkata) in 1729 as No. 72 on the roll of the Moderns or *premier* Grand Lodge. Officials from John Company were prominent members and the lodge adopted its coat of arms – a golden lion supporting a regal crown – as its emblem. Despite this promising start, the lodge proved unsustainable and it was erased by 1756. Early lodges were formed also in Madras in 1752 and 1765, and in Bombay in 1758. Other attempts were more successful - two early Bengal-based lodges remain on the register, namely Star in the East Lodge, No. 67 (formed 1740) and Industry and Perseverance, No. 109 (formed 1761). In Madras the oldest lodge still meeting is Lodge of Perfect Unanimity, No. 150, formed in 1786. As well as these early static lodges, often associated with trading centres, travelling warrants were granted to senior officers in army regiments or on naval ships which enabled lodges to meet wherever their posting. Awarded by all British Grand Lodges from the mid-18th century, more than 300 travelling warrants were in operation by 1813.

In fact the Duke of Sussex (a son of George III), the first Grand Master after the union between the Antients and Moderns in 1813, fostered the development of lodges overseas. A supporter of Catholic and many other forms of emancipation, Sussex encouraged the initiation of Indian brethren in lodges but this met with considerable local resistance from high-ranking Masons, many of whom were army officers. In many cases Indians and Anglo-Indians wishing to become freemasons found a warmer welcome amongst lodges operating under the Scottish Constitution. There are examples of Indians joining lodges in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: for example, two Muslims were initiated at Trichinopoly and Calcutta respectively in 1775 and 1812. However, membership remained an elusive dream for many Indians before the drawn out but eventually successful campaign by a Parsi, Manockjee Cursetjee.

Cursetjee, later a high profile member of the judiciary in India, tried to join an English Constitution lodge, Lodge of Perseverance, No. 546. When his application was rejected he travelled to England to seek assistance from the Duke of Sussex who supported the key Masonic concept of universal brotherhood. Unfortunately Sussex was abroad but Duc Decazes initiated Cursetjee in a French Scottish Rite Loge in Paris, A la Gloire de L'Univers. On his return to India, however, Manockjee was again refused membership by Lodge Perseverance. This led to the consecration in 1843 of a new, inclusive Scottish lodge, Rising Star of Western India, No. 342 in Bombay. As the recently appointed Provincial Grand Master, Dr James Burnes facilitated the foundation of this lodge. Its members paid for a medal, featuring the profile of Dr Burnes on the obverse and impressions of Manockjee Cursetjee and Mahomed Jaffer on the reverse, to be struck in his honour. The Burnes Medal is still presented sparingly to great and distinguished masons as a token of esteem and respect.

Scottish and Irish lodges, regarded as more egal-itarian and less restrict-ive, were popular and flourished in India. Burnes led a revival of Scottish freemasonry following his arrival as DGM in 1838 and several lodges, including Perseverance Lodge, switched allegiance from the English to the Scottish Constitution. The first Scottish lodge established in India met in the Royal Scots Regiment in 1732 and lodges also worked in regiments from 1754 under warrants granted by the Grand Lodge of Ireland. The Grand Lodge of Ireland issued its first static warrant to Lodge Light of the North at Kurnaul, India on 31 July 1837 but this was shortlived. There was intense competition between the English, Scottish and Irish Constitutions. For example, the Grand Secretary of England objected to a petition for an Irish lodge at Bombay in 1862 on the grounds that English and Scottish lodges were already working there. Despite this rivalry, members of different lodges often organised joint charitable and social events. Army members in particular would move between lodges operating under different constitutions, depending on where they had been posted. Membership of Irish or Scottish lodges in India does not necessarily mean that an individual came from that country.

Despite Cursetjee's early success, membership remained predominantly British, especially following the revolt in 1857. Gradually men with enlightened views replaced the military-based Masonic hierarchy and membership expanded to encompass more members of the

Anglo-Indian and Indian communities. Meanwhile, Prosonno Coomar Dutt achieved a further breakthrough within the English Constitution by becoming the first Hindu freemason in Bengal in 1872, following a nine-year campaign for membership. For many years freemasons believed that Hindus, adherents of a multi-theistic belief system, would not recognise a Masonic supreme being. However, Dutt's Masonic career flourished and in 1895 he became the DGM of Bengal.

For the British community in India, J Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936) probably represents the most well-known freemason in India. His parents, both offspring of evangelical Methodist ministers, raised their children in indifference to organised religion. However the spiritual aspects of freemasonry, often described as a secular religion, attracted Kipling. He was initiated in Lodge of Hope and Perseverance, No. 782 in 1886, serving as a secretary but never a lodge officer. In his autobiography, *Something of Myself*, Kipling recalled that he was initiated by a Hindu, passed by a Muslim, and raised by an Englishman and stated that the Tyler of his Lodge was Jewish. As a poet, Kipling consolidated his viewpoint that freemasonry crossed all religious and caste boundaries in *The Mother Lodge*, which appeared in 1896. Many of his novels and poetry compilations include references to freemasonry including *To be filed for reference* in Plain Tales from the Hills, a hit in 1888; *The days work* (1898); *With the main guard* and *The man who would be king*.

Kipling is only one of many men within the British, Anglo-Indian and Indian communities who became freemasons. It is almost impossible to provide an estimate of the percentage of members among the British, Anglo-Indian and Indian communities at any one date. On the formation of the Grand Lodge of India in 1961, by which time the numbers of active lodges had declined from a late 19th to early 20th century heyday, there were 184 English, 76 Scottish and 16 Irish lodges. If each lodge had an average of twenty to thirty members, statistically this extrapolates to an approximate membership of over 8,000 at any one time, although some members belonged to more than one lodge. Membership became attractive to those from all sectors of Indian life – it facilitated meetings among those from different religions and backgrounds, provided a theatrical outlet for those seeking diversion from monotonous colonial social circles, and its public parades and ceremonies offered a sense of occasion. For others it provided familiarity, comradeship, common aims and identity.

To help illustrate what information Library and Museum (L&M) records can provide about members, I asked Peter Bailey to provide examples of names from FIBIS members for whom I might trace information. He provided details of the Masonic career of his step-grandfather, Henry Edward Dallison (1847-1913), who had been a member of the United Services Lodge, No. 2735 in 1898. Dallison was initiated at the slightly advanced age of 51 and remained a member until 1906 when he returned to England. In addition to the basic details from our membership registers, I advised Peter to look at the annual returns, submitted each year by lodge secretaries to Grand Lodge in London. These confirmed that Dallison's occupation was listed as a saddler in 1902 after he retired from his position as a conductor in the army. Peter had found references to an H E Dallimore in the Bangalore Spectator and Thacker's Directory as a saddler but he had dismissed these, as there was

no other evidence to support this change of occupation. As a result, our records have been able to confirm this information and complete some missing links.

Another recent genealogical enquiry received by the L&M involved research to locate details for a William James Drake, a member of the Public Works Department posted to Simla. This revealed that Drake had been initiated in a Scottish Lodge but transferred to Himalayan Brotherhood Lodge, No. 459 in 1912. Details for a possible relative, Thomas Oakley Drake, came to light in the same lodge and were provided to the researcher. Thomas, a clerk in the ordnance department, had moved from Bolan Lodge, No. 691, Quetta, another Scottish lodge, to Himalayan Brotherhood Lodge, No. 459 in 1890, rejoining this lodge between 1905 and 1908. By August 1905, Thomas Drake, listed as a Captain aged 42, had become a member of a Royal Arch Chapter, Dalhousie Chapter of Lodge 459 in Simla. The Masonic career of another, probably unrelated Drake, Samuel, who was a colour-sergeant in the Hants regiment, uncovered his movements between Peshawar, Murree and Kasauli in The Punjab. Sometimes these details enable the L&M to encourage researchers to contact the Grand Lodges of Scotland and Ireland for further information. Occasionally information comes to light to indicate that an individual was a member of one of the affiliated Masonic orders, such as the Knights Templar or the Order of the Secret Monitor. The latter organisation was extremely popular in India, especially among members of the Parsi community. Although the L&M does not hold records relating to these orders, staff can provide contact details for them and also for various friendly societies such as the Buffaloes and Oddfellows.

Members of the Anglo-Indian community were also attracted by freemasonry. One example, Henry William Bunn Moreno (1876–c1930s), was the author of a small Masonic volume entitled *Freemasonry Revealed!* which was published by the Imperial Press in 1907. This small collection of short stories contained parables relating to Anglo-Indian life and the benefits of Masonic membership in Calcutta. A school master and printer, Moreno was initiated, passed and raised in Thomas Jones Lodge, No. 2441, Calcutta where he was listed as a member between 1902 and 1909. He became its worshipful master aged 26 in 1906 before joining another Calcutta lodge, True Brotherhood, No. 3335 in 1909. He also joined Progress Chapter, No. 3054, from a Scottish Constitution Royal Arch Chapter, becoming its first principal in 1907. Moreno also became District Grand Sword Bearer and District Grand Organist for Bengal District in 1908.

The above cases prove that the membership registers and other records relating to freemasonry held by the L&M can reveal a significant amount of new information about individuals. As with all research materials, there are sometimes discrepancies in the information provided. Records relating to overseas lodges may not be as comprehensive as those provided by lodges in England due to the distances involved. However, they often reveal how members moved between postings in India, sometimes providing a link to lodges that they joined on returning to England. The major drawback, however, for researchers is that the membership registers are arranged by Lodge name and number, not by individual member. In addition it is not possible to provide access to the large and unwieldy original registers for conservation reasons.

Despite these problems, where researchers already know a member's lodge name and number, there is no charge made by L&M staff, who will try and provide details of an individual's Masonic career. If the lodge or chapter name or number is not known, then L&M staff will attempt to find the individual among our various indexes, but these are incomplete and not comprehensive. If an individual's geographical location is known, staff will check membership registers for lodges/chapters in that area. A charge of £30 per search (£15 for UGLE members) is made in these cases. A search will usually provide details about the name of the member, age, occupation, address, dates of joining or initiation, raising and passing. Sometimes it is possible to provide information about all the lodges and chapters that that member joined, any ranks or Masonic offices held and date of death or when membership ceased. The information will not usually provide any information about the wife or children of the individual or their religious beliefs.

Researchers are welcome to visit the L&M in person to follow up leads about individuals. The L&M is open for research Monday to Friday 10am until 5pm and guided tours of Freemasons' Hall are provided free of charge most days at 11am, 12 noon, 2pm, 3pm and 4pm – please check before your intended visit. Other records, such as annual returns, printed lodge histories, lodge files, lodge petitions and sometimes photographs may add to the basic Masonic career information provided by our genealogical research service. Pre-1887 membership registers are available for personal research as CD Roms, indexed by Lodge name and number. Depending on the age of the lodge, its numeration will have changed over time (it is vital to know all the numbers a lodge held in order to find it within the membership registers). Details for lodge numeration changes are provided by searching the on-line version of Lane's Masonic Records, available temporarily (until the website of the Centre for Research of Freemasonry at Sheffield University is redesigned) at: http://www.freemasonry.dept.shef.ac.uk/oldversion/lane/

L&M curatorial staff are also able to help identify Masonic artefacts, photographs and documents to help provide more information about former members. Items can be brought in to the L&M for identification by appointment, or if researchers are unable to visit in person, digital images can be sent to libmus@freemasonry.london.museum

Researchers wishing to visit the L&M to carry our further research must register as a reader and show identification such as a driving licence, passport, utility bill with an address etc. There is no charge for using L&M resources but photocopying/photographic fees apply for reprographic requests. Researchers are welcome to use their own laptops at the L&M but please check that space is available. The Reader Registration Form can be downloaded from the L&M website at: http://freemasonry.london.museum/library.php. Researchers are also encouraged to check the on-line L&M catalogue to find information about lodges and individuals – see http://freemasonry.london.museum/catalogue.php.

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Following this talk, I was asked by one FIBIS member to confirm whether the Nana Sahib (born Dhondu Pant), one of the leaders of the revolt against the British, had been admitted to Lodge Harmony, No. 438 at Cawnpore (now Kanpur). Despite P J O Taylor[1] and other historians stating that he was a Mason, his name does not appear in the membership registers of UGLE and this lodge had at least three Indian members before 1857. It is possible that as an Anglophile, the Nana Sahib was invited to visit a lodge but no evidence exists to support this although he provided various entertainments for Europeans at Cawnpore. A history of this Lodge states that although there is no proof that he was initiated, an account that he was a Mason had been handed down to Indian brethren from their forebears.

## Campaign and other medals to Anglo-Indians

*By Allan Stanistreet*

While my principal medallic interest is in the Albert Medal (a predecessor of the George Cross),[1] my own modest collection of medals currently includes no fewer than seven individual medals and groups (i.e. more than one medal) to members of the Anglo-Indian community, without whom the British would undoubtedly have found the government of India during the Raj much more difficult.

As readers will be aware, Anglo-Indians were principally employed in Government service and many departments reserved positions especially for them, particularly in middle management. They did, of course, appear elsewhere, such as in teaching, medicine and the church but it was in Government that the majority were to be found. They were rarer in the higher echelons of Government, since the British saw them as potential rivals and they were regarded very much as second class citizens, which is evident from the titles of the positions they held.

Collecting medals is unlike any other form of collecting in that what one collects is personal, that is, they can always be linked to an individual and his or her service to the country. I always regard it as a privilege to be the temporary custodian of someone else's medals and when I am gone they will pass to another interested person who will, one hopes, treat them with the same respect as I do.

Chronologically, my first group of medals is to a member of the Postal Department: Mr T J Hill. I know almost nothing about Mr Hill, save that he joined the Telegraph Department on 16 May 1867 and had achieved the grade of Sub-Assistant Superintendent 1st Grade on 1 April 1898 while serving in the Rajputana Division. Somewhere along the line, he had ventured into the field with the army, for he was awarded the India General Service Medal

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1 *A Companion to the 'Indian Mutiny' of 1857* (OUP, Delhi, 1996), p132.

1 See FIBIS Journal 17, Spring 2007, for my article on Anglo-Indians who won this medal.

1854 with bars Hazara 1888 and Chin-Lushai 1889-90 and the India General Service Medal 1895 with bar Relief of Chitral 1895.

I know a little more about the next man, Charles Alexander Stowell. Mr Stowell was born on 30 January 1868 and joined the Postal Service on 1 April 1887. He spent his early years at Simla as Deputy Postmaster, later leaving for Peshawar, Lahore, Nowshera and Malakand. He was still serving in 1902 as a Superintendent 2nd Grade at Ambala. He, too, went into the field and earned the India General Service Medal 1895 with three bars: Relief of Chitral 1895, Punjab Frontier 1897-98 and Tirah 1897-98.

The next official and perhaps the most impressive of all is Mr Owen Henry George Rulach. Mr Rulach was born on 22 August 1873 and joined the Postal Service as a non-gazetted officer on 5 July 1893. He was appointed Postmaster at Meerut on 22 April 1898. He progressed up the grades until, in July 1927, he was appointed Postmaster-General of Bihar and Orissa. He had also held the post of PMG Punjab from 7 to 25 April 1926. He held the rank of Major in the army and his name was brought to the notice of the Government of India for valuable services during operations March-Agust 1917. He retired in August 1928. For his service with the army, Mr Rulach received the India General Service Medal 1895 with three bars: Relief of Chitral 1895, Punjab Frontier 1897-98 and Tirah 1897-98; the British War Medal 1914-18 and the India General Service Medal 1908 with bar Waziristan 1919-21 – a remarkable record for a civilian.

Two members of the Indian Medical Department feature in the collection. The first is a pair of medals to Second Class Assistant Surgeon William John Gillson, Indian Subordinate Medical Department. He was born on 3 June 1870 and joined the ISMD (Bengal) as a Sub-Assistant Apothecary (Sub-Conductor) on 10 June 1892. The title of Apothecary was changed in the 1890s to Assistant Surgeon and the word 'Subordinate' was dropped from the unit title. In later days, doctors like Mr Gillson could aspire to commissioned rank as Senior Assistant Surgeons (the equivalent of Viceroy's Commissioned Officers) and in due course Mr Gillson was promoted to Lieutenant in 1915, Captain in 1920 and Major in 1923. He retired on 3 June 1925 but he was still in the Indian Army List in 1939 as a retired officer. Mr Gillson was awarded the India General Service Medal 1895 with bar Punjab Frontier 1897-98 and the Long Service and Good Conduct Medal of King Edward VII, which he would have earned around 1910. Most of his appointments were in civilian medical establishments in Bengal. It is an odd fact that members of the Indian (Subordinate) Medical Department were not officially allowed to treat Europeans. However, this did apparently happen on odd occasions and one ventures to suggest that if one were *in extremis,* most people, even in those unenlightened days, would have been pleased to see anyone who might alleviate their suffering.

Our next subject is a lady. Ladies' medals are, of course, much less common than men's and the medal in question is a General Service Medal 1918 with bar Iraq to a Miss W McGregor of Queen Alexandra's Nursing Service (India). I know absolutely nothing at all about Miss McGregor, save that she was a Temporary Nurse and that she was also awarded the British War and Victory Medals for her service in World War One. I imagine

there were very few nurses indeed serving in Iraq in 1919. Unfortunately, I do not have her two WWI medals but a search is ongoing for these.

Arthur Thomas Winder received three medals for his services both to India and the United Kingdom. He was a civilian working for Henley's Cables and was an Assistant Office Manager for them in their Bombay Office. Mr Winder was also a member of the Auxiliary Force (India), the Indian equivalent of the Territorial Army, a force intended for the internal defence of India in the event of the regular forces being required elsewhere. In this capacity he was awarded two medals: the first was in 1935, when he received the Silver Jubilee Medal of King George V. His rank at the time was Sergeant and it is of some interest that a fellow recipient in the Calcutta Scottish, to which Mr Winder belonged, was Lieutenant Albert Ker VC, who had won his decoration in France in 1918. In 1936 Mr Winder was awarded the Efficiency Medal (India) for twelve years' service in the AFI, his rank at that time being Company Quartermaster-Sergeant. Finally, he received the Defence Medal for service during World War Two, though no circumstances of his service are known.

Lastly we come to Eric Bertram Iago Wynne, who was born on 28 October 1896 and joined the Indian Medical Department as a Fourth Class Assistant Surgeon (Sub-Conductor) on 7 October 1918. On 3 April 1943, Mr Wynne was commissioned as a Second Lieutenant in the newly formed Indian Army Medical Corps and he was promoted to Captain on 3 October 1943. He was still listed in the last Indian Army List of 1947, so presumably he soldiered on into Independence. His medal in my collection is the Long Service and Good Conduct Medal of King George VI. Captain Wynne must have had other medals if he served throughout the war but I do not know what these were.

I know little or nothing of the lives of any of the above and would welcome any information any reader can supply.

### Sources


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| **Hill** | Government of India Telegraph Lists, 1896, 1898, 1900 |
| **Stowell and Rulach** | History of Services of Gazetted Officers of the Postal Department |
| **Gillson** | Indian Army Lists, 1892-1942 |
| **McGregor** | The National Archives, Medal Index Card |
| **Winder** | Thacker's Indian Directory, 1929, p363<br>Indian Army Orders, 1936, p721 for his Territorial Efficiency Medal (India)<br>Nominal Roll for the King's Silver Jubilee Medal 1935 – Indian Issue |
| **Wynne** | Indian Army Lists, 1918-1947 |

## The Trichinopoly Registers

*By Richard Morgan*

Eleanor Neil, a FIBIS Trustee, noticed a reference in a bibliography to very early Registers from Trichinopoly and followed the matter up to find them safely lodged by the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (USPG) at Rhodes House, Oxford. These have now been added to the FIBIS website.

The Trichinopoly Registers cover baptisms and marriages 1778-1847. They start in 1751 and are unusual in several ways: first many entries predate the East India Company's authority in the area; secondly the origins of the Registers lie in German missionary endeavour; thirdly their survival is also remarkable.

The earliest entries are in 1751. Trichinopoly's hereditary rulers had died out in 1731 and it became in 1744 part of the territories of the Nawab of Arcot. In 1751 this was Muhammad Ali whose portrait looks down on us in the APAC reading room in the British Library. He was backed by the British, and so there came to be a British garrison in Trichinopoly. Trichinopoly suffered a siege in 1751 by a French-backed local claimant, again in 1753 by the Sultan of Mysore, and a further assault by the French in 1756. All were unsuccessful. The Treaty of Paris in 1763 between Britain and France recognised Muhammad Ali as the ruler of Trichinopoly. In 1781 the Nawab assigned Trichinopoly and its revenues to the East India Company and it was formally annexed in 1801. Its modern name is Tiruchchirapalli.

Swiss and German mercenaries worked for many of the Indian states and Capt John William Berg from Hamburg wanted missionaries in nearby Tanjore. Apparently sent by the English Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK), the Reverend Christian Fredrik Schwartz arrived from the Danish territory of Tranquebar . Thence Schwartz went on to Trichinopoly and was welcomed by the British commandant, Major Preston. A simple church was erected in 1765 for Schwartz, which became Christ Church. Most of Schwartz's successors up to the 1840s continued to be Germans or Danes.

Unfortunately the earliest register entries from 1751 to 1791 are written in German – and more seriously in a German handwriting which has so far proved impenetrable.

From 1791 the entries are written in English and it is these later, English, entries which have been transcribed and posted to the FIBIS website, together with a small number of entries for 1778 onwards inserted long after the date. The earliest entries are mostly concerned with conversions of Indian Roman Catholics to Protestantism:

> Received Elizabeth daughter of a Heathen, Ramen, and of Elizabeth who was this day baptized ... her Cast[e] native of Cuddalore, the daughter was born in Seringapatam Dec 15 1783 has, it appeared, been baptized by one Lynch ...

> Received from Popery into the Protestant Church Juliana of Heathenish parents of Wölarber Cast[e] of Porreiar a Slave girl belongs to Chr Florenz Lŭstgarten invalid Artillery aged about 14 years...

Gradually the emphasis starts to shift from the reclamation of Roman Catholics to Protestantism to more standard entries dealing with the lives of the British garrison at Trichinopoly especially the Madras Artillery. Those using these Registers should get used to the word Matross (meaning an artilleryman).

One examples of the later insertions is:

> This is to certify, that the late Capt Swain when he was Ensign has been lawfully married to Miss Fitzgerald Colonel Fitzgerald's daughter by me Christian Fredrik Schwartz at Trichinopoly in the year [*blank*].

This implies that there may perhaps have been an even earlier register lost now, and indeed a very long time ago.

These remarkable Registers were evidently discovered by the Reverend Arthur Henry Dolphin, who travelled in the area in the 1920s as Foreign Secretary to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (now United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel). He brought them back to England and they are now deposited at the Library of Commonwealth and African Studies at Rhodes House, Oxford. We are grateful to the USPG and to Rhodes House for permission to transcribe these early Registers and make them available on our website.

## In Memoriam

**Alan Harfield**

We have been sorry to learn of the death of Major Alan Harfield, BEM, FRHistS, FCMH, (FIBIS member No.729). Alan was a meticulous researcher, and his work recording memorial inscriptions in Bencoolen, Malaysia, Singapore, and Meerut, published by the British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia in its series of Cemetery Record Books, will be familiar to many FIBIS members with ancestors who served in those parts. Among his other publications were books on the British and Indian Armies in the East Indies, Bencoolen, and China. Many genealogists, or those who simply wish to commemorate their loved ones, owe him a debt of gratitude.

**Anthony John Farrington**

We have also to report the sad loss of Anthony Farrington who died last month after a long illness. Tony's career was spent in the India Office Records which he joined in the 1960s, eventually becoming Head of the Records and Deputy Director of Oriental and India Office Collections of the British Library. Even after retirement in 1999 he remained a familiar figure at the Library, almost always in his carrel in the reading room, and still pursuing his researches with the same fierce and disciplined determination which he had shown throughout his professional life. Few archivists can have matched his output of invaluable finding aids starting with his monumental *Guide to the Records of the India Office Military Department* and continuing with a stream of documentary collections and biographical indexes too numerous to list. In 2002 he curated a notable exhibition on *Trading Places: the East India Company and Asia 1600-1834* which he followed up with a finely illustrated book with the same title. Both academic and family historians are greatly in his debt.