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Contributions:

The Editor is happy to consider material, articles, letters and information for inclusion in the Journal. Receipt of such material does not necessarily indicate that the material will be published.

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A Message from the Chairman

This is the first *FIBIS Journal* produced by our new Editor Sarah Bilton and I am pleased to say that it achieves the same very high standard established by David Blake.

David has been our Journal Editor since Journal 10, that is to say for the last seven years. During this time he has raised both the standard of its content and of its presentation so that it has become the envy of most other editors of family history journals. The breadth, depth and quality of its articles are difficult to match. As all may know, David spent many years in a senior position on the staff of the British Library, including responsibility for the highly valuable 'European Manuscripts' collection of the India Office Records. As a result we have been truly blessed in having had the benefit of David's special knowledge and contacts in the production of our Journal. For the future, most fortunately, David remains on our Board of Trustees and has generously offered to advise and assist Sarah to draw on his expertise.

I know that all members will wish to join me in expressing both our sincere appreciation to David for his efforts in the past and our best wishes to Sarah for the future.

Peter Bailey

Editorial

My India connection has led me in a direction I would never have expected and now I find myself your humble editor. May I echo Peter's best wishes to David Blake and personally thank David for all the help he has given me with the Journal thus far.

Before I began my own research, I believed only two generations of my family were born on the subcontinent. As I wound microfilms back and forth at the British Library, I found out my India ancestry reeled back past 1800. I am always keen to uncover what initially took each of my ancestral lines out to India. Many of my connections are military, so it is fascinating to read about those with a different experience.

Two articles in this issue detail ancestors who found their way to India via some of the country's biggest industries; tea and jute. Others contain the stories of those who were in India via a military connection, but who left the country in directions they or their forbears might have been surprised by when they set sail for India. Rick Pringle's ancestor headed to Australia, whereas Carol Gilbert's returned to Britain but found that his India connection continued in a more unusual way. However, the Journal begins with new research into the life of Eliza Fay, who travelled to India and back many times, but left nothing for the country to remember her by except the fruits of her travels, her letters.

How did *your* ancestors' lives lead them to India? I remind members that the Journal is the medium through which they can present the results of their research and share with readers the expertise they have gained. I look forward to helping you tell your stories.

Sarah Bilton

Eliza Fay: New Aspects

By David Atkinson

I first encountered mention of Mrs Fay when I read JJ Cotton's work on tombs and monuments in Madras.[1] Eliza Fay had arrived at Vizagapatam aboard the *Hero* in October 1796 and presented a letter of introduction addressed to Mrs Mary Hodson[2] of Waltair. It had been written by Mrs Elizabeth Child[3] who was Mrs Hodson's sister. I had research interests regarding these two, which drew me into Eliza Fay's story. It has led to a substantial revision of her entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* online (May 2010) which is further expanded here.

As I read more about her life I learnt that many others had become enthralled by her adventurous spirit and observations of India, including Rev. Walter Kelly Firminger, Sir William Foster, Sir Evan Cotton,[4] EM Forster, MM Kaye and Simon Winchester. Firminger and Forster wrote excellent introductory and terminal notes about her and the Bengal of her era. Others had written much about the captivity of Eliza Fay, her husband and eight other souls, at the hands of Hyder Ali's functionaries. Historians were happy to explore her letters for information about persons and places in Calcutta (and beyond) in the latter 1700s. But it also became obvious she remained very much a mystery person and as research proceeded I came across several false trails and lots of unfinished detail.

For example, she claims in her book, *Original Letters from India*[5] that she made five journeys to Calcutta under various circumstances, but tantalizingly only four are described, a point missed by several commentators. Her father is only ever referred to as Mr C., and on the strength of an Honourable East India Company (HEIC) bond application in April 1804,[6] Sir William Foster, Historiographer of the India Office, proposed that her surname was Cookson, being that of one of her sureties, John Cookson, haberdasher.[7] This turned out to be entirely wrong. Her biography in the *Oxford DNB* and reiterations thereof, indicated that she had died intestate in Calcutta. In a sense this was true, but she did leave

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[1] Julian James Cotton, *List of Inscriptions on Tombs or Monuments in Madras*, vol II, (revised ed 1945) p109.

[2] Wife of Captain George Hodson of Waltair. Lieut. George Hodson m.13 Feb 1777, Madras, to Mary Rodgers. George Hodson died 21 Dec 1800 (JJ Cotton, *ibid*.)

[3] Wife of Charles Child, merchant of Calcutta, one of Mrs Fay's trustees in 1788. He was formerly a schoolmaster at Calcutta at the time of the Black Hole. He died aged 99 years, 10 months on 9 July 1817. Elizabeth Child died 31 July 1822, Calcutta, aged 63 (*Bengal Obituary*, p161).

[4] Sir Evan Cotton, *Calcutta, Old and New: A Historical & Descriptive Handbook to the City* (1907); Sir Evan Cotton, *East Indiamen: The East India Company's Maritime Service*, (1949) pp33-34.

[5] All quotes are from the 1986 edition, edited by EM Forster, 1925 with a new introduction by MM Kaye. A new edition, introduced by Simon Winchester was released Feb 2010.

[6] Sir William Foster CIE, 'More about Mrs. Fay', *Bengal Past and Present*, Jan-Mar 1927, vol.33, part 1, pp8-11.

[7] The other being her brother-in-law Thomas Wilkinson Preston.

a will and this was proved at the Prerogative Court of Canterbury two years after her death.[8]

One particular frustration was reference to some individuals by honorifics only, or just by initials, such as 'Mrs Irwin' and 'Mrs P_n'. A little delving proved the first to be Selina Irwin,[9] whose 34-year friendship 'constituted one of the sweetest enjoyments of my life' and whose letters were 'my chief solace and consolation in distress'. Selina was the daughter of Major William Brooke, and wife of James Irwin,[10] one of the directors of the HEIC (1795-98). The second was Selina's sister, Mrs Eugenia Plowden,[11] whom Mrs Fay visited at Newtown Cottage, Lymington, Hampshire in August 1795.

The book is in two parts; one comprising her initial expedition to India, the other a series of letters written in 1815 from Blackheath, Kent, recalling her life up to September 1797, when she arrived in New York, 'in the land of Columbia'. In 1817 her administrator advised that there was nothing further of interest to the public in the last part of her journal and because of the necessity of publication, *Original Letters* was duly printed, leaving a gap of 18 years unaccounted for. What a pity this was, because intriguing events punctuated this very period.

I was disappointed to learn that neither the 1817 or 1821 editions contained a list of subscribers,[12] even though the editor mentioned one in passing. Such a list would have been a treasure for research.

The recipient of the 1815 letters was one 'Mrs L.' who EM Forster thought may have been nothing more than a literary device used to portray what is essentially an autobiography. However, the following details lend themselves to the proposition that this was a real person.

Analysing the content it is obvious 'Mrs L.' had no experience of travel into the Atlantic and beyond, but she did have a firm knowledge of shipping and the maritime world. Probably she was long acquainted with Mrs Fay and family, and lived near Blackheath.

I suspect this person to be Mrs Elizabeth Margaret Ledger, wife of Henry Ledger.[13] She was about 10 years junior to Fay. Her marriage entry in the St Mary's Rotherhithe (Surrey) register, 1809, shows Eliza Fay as one of the witnesses, the other being a John Preston. Formerly she had been married to Robert Wilson, Master Mariner who had died c.1802.

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[8] Will of Eliza Fay, Widow of Blackheath, Kent, PCC, dated 13 Mar 1813; proved 12 Jun 1818 (PROB 11/1605).

[9] Eliza first met Mrs Irwin and her infant son, James, at St Helena, in November 1782, after the loss of Irwin's vessel the *Earl of Dartmouth*, near Car Nicobar Island.

[10] *Bengal Past and Present*, Jul-Dec 1909, Volume 4, p503; She married James Irwin 22 April 1777, Calcutta (IOR: N/1/2/142).

[11] Wife of Henry Chicheley Plowden. They were married 14 July 1781, Calcutta (IOR: N/1/2/221).

[12] Personal communication from Rare Books Reference Service, British Library.

[13] Henry Ledger was a member of the Worshipful Company of Stationers and manufacturer of buckram, or fabric stiffener. The products were used in forming book covers, hats, shoes, etc.

This marriage had taken place in 1786, also at Rotherhithe and the witnesses included Eliza Fay's sister and brother-in-law, Eleanor and Thomas Wilkinson Preston. Elizabeth Margaret Ledger's maiden name was Scarlett, her father being John Scarlett, a shipbreaker[14] and sailmaker who died in 1800. In turn, he had been a witness at Eliza Fay's marriage.

Marriage entries also survive for Eliza Fay and Mrs Preston. Their father is named as Edward Clement. He was a shipbuilder and prior I suspect he was a carpenter in the Navy. This coincides with Forster's idea that Eliza's father may have been a sailor on account of a comment about his striped trousers and her familiarity with the wind's eye.

Edward Clement held freehold rental properties at Rotherhithe[15] and leasehold property named Bovhill Farm in the Parish of Cheriton and Manor of Landimore in Glamorgan.[16] In her fourth letter, when Eliza had reached the Swiss Alps she expresses familiarity with the mountains of North Wales. It makes one wonder if the Clements had family connections in some part of Wales.

Her father's will, written in 1787, names 'Elizabeth Fay, now at Calcutta' with the largest part of the estate going to her sister, Eleanor Preston. Several times the Prestons came to Eliza's financial aid and it is to Mrs Preston, of Point Cottage, Blackheath Hill, in December 1822 that her estate was finally paid. This partially settled the outstanding debt owed from her EIC Bond to settle in Bengal in 1815.

Previously it had been implied that Eliza was newly married to Anthony Fay when she embarked on her first journey to India in April 1779 at the age of 23. In fact they were married at St Dunstan in the West, Fleet St, London, 6 February 1772, ten months before Anthony Fay's admission to Gray's Inn. At this time Eliza would have been approximately 16 years of age. Thus when they set off for India seven years had elapsed with no mention of any children. Eliza may have accepted they had a fertility problem and I would not be surprised if she surmised he was at fault. After all, judging by Eliza's writings he seems so much less a man than she! But in the letter of 28 August 1781, her feelings were 'harassed in various ways almost beyond endurance'. A 'natural child of my husband's, whose birth had caused me bitter affliction' had been born by this time.[17]

Eliza's infertility was no longer in doubt. Her very next letter reflects on the nature of marriage in England and India and is a most concentrated manifesto of her opinions and feelings.

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[14] Ship dismantler

[15] Edward Clement, Freeholder of St Mary, Rotherhithe, is listed in *Copy of the poll for Knights of the Shire for the County of Surrey, taken at Guildford in the said County on Wednesday and Thursday the 27th and 28th Days of September 1780*, p70.

[16] Will of Edward Clement, Shipwright, of Rotherhithe, Surrey, PCC, dated 10 March 1787; proved 17 May 1794 (PROB 11/1245).

[17] John Anthony Fay, son of Anthony Fay and Amelia, baptised 25 July 1784 aged 3yrs (IOR: N/1/3/59); died 9 September 1786, Bengal coast, en route to England for education (Fay, p239).

A formal deed of separation was agreed to by Anthony Fay in August 1781. How much did these outcomes influence her future direction? I think they were pivotal. Ultimately, she could start taking more risks in her dealings with males, whether business, or otherwise. And a desire for what she couldn't have – children – became the heart of a considerable business plan which took her through the most settled eight years of her career.

From hereon she applies no inhibitions commenting on attractive, young men. What does one make of her observations about 23 year old Captain Gibbon Pittman, 'one of the most elegant young men I ever saw'? 'He obligingly drove me in his Curricle round Waltair and shewed me Sardinia Bay, *and several other spots remarkable for their beauty*' (emphasis mine). All this after she had breakfasted with him that morning. Or earlier, when she brings the highly competent 19 year old Benjamin Lacey 'into my family'. By this stage she was a husbandless 35 year old woman.

Already her reputation had been coloured by a scandal that was not going to be forgotten by depositing her servant woman, Kitty Johnson, on the island of St Helena in November 1782. Intimate relations with a ship's doctor[18] were obviously not calculated to meet anything more than an immediate need. Her irritation steams off the page when one reads about proceedings taken against her during the St Helena stopover en route to Europe in 1794.

Her critic, Reverend (later Archdeacon) WK Firminger, does not reflect on these happenings at all and perhaps it did not enter his sainted mind to do so. Instead he focuses on the literary aspects. He generously suggests that she was guilty of arranging her words 'in such an order that she is bound to get into trouble with her relative pronouns'. But if we substitute 'relative pronouns' for 'men', we might have something even nearer the mark!

Fay's *Letters* and Forster's notes give details leading up to her departure from Calcutta, 9 April 1782; her return on 2 December 1784,[19] the tragic death of her friend Mrs Lacey (née Hicks) and the child John Fay; and her millinery business, for which advertisements populate the *Calcutta Gazette* up to 1794. There is also her financial embarrassment of 1788, when she was only allowed to continue trade by the help of Calcutta trustees, Messrs. Fairlie, Colvin, Child & Moscrop.

In May 1793 she put up for lottery her house worth 15,000 rupees and after several postponements this was drawn on 16 July 1793, the prize going to Dr James Lynd, with a

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[18] EM Forster names the ship-surgeon as Patrick Ivory, on the *Valentine*. Compare with *India Gazette, or, Calcutta Public Advertiser*, vol.2, issue 78, 11 May 1782: 'MILITARY DEPARTMENT. Majors James Salt and James Lewis, are permitted to resign the Hon. Company's service, and proceed to Europe on the *Valentine*. Mess. John Shaw and Patrick Ivory, are appointed assistant surgeons.'

[19] *The Calcutta Gazette; or Oriental Advertiser*, Thurs, 2 Dec 1784

second prize going to Dr Laird.[20] The house was possibly the old Post Office on Post Office Street from which she was known to have traded up to November 1790.

On 10 March 1794, at her premises, Hastings Street, she held a public auction[21] of stock and effects and fifteen days later embarked for Europe aboard an American ship. She landed at Cowes, Isle of Wight, 4 September 1794. At this point it is clear there was an unfolding trading plan between Eliza Fay and the youthful brothers, Captains Jacob and Richard Crowninshield,[22] to ship cargo between Bengal and the growing eastern ports of America. This met with disaster when her newly bought and fitted vessel caught fire and was scuttled. Eliza had no alternative but to return to Calcutta a third time 'affording the only chance of attaining independence, and ultimately securing a home in my native country'. She arrived 24 February 1796, remaining in co-operation with the Crowninshields and Benjamin Lacey. Unfortunately she struck America at a time of economic difficulty and with Philadelphia and New York in the grip of yellow fever. In addition French prize-taking had become a real threat to shipping.

Next one finds Eliza back in London facing more financial problems. In 1798 the *London Gazette*[23] shows the Lacey brothers, John[24] and Benjamin, under bankruptcy proceedings. Then on 6 May 1800 'Mrs Elizabeth Fay, of Fenchurch-street, London, Widow', together with Benjamin Lacey, 'Merchants, Dealers, Chapmen and Copartners' had a Commission of Bankruptcy awarded against them. Further entries occur and one shows her trying to recover some of her household goods as well as the lease on her house at Fenchurch-street. It was only in October 1812 that the action seems to have been finally settled with the payment of a further dividend.[25]

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[20] *The Asiatic Mirror and Commercial Advertiser*, 17 Jul 1793, issue 284: 'Mrs Fay's Lottery took place yesterday before Messrs. Fairlie, Hyde, Bazett and Tyler. Number 208, drawn the prize of the House, valued at 15,000 rupees is the property of Dr James Lynd; and the number drawn the 2d prize, we understand to be the property of Dr Laird.'

[21] *Calcutta Gazette*, 6 Mar 1794 .

[22] Belonging to the firm of George Crowninshield and Sons, of Salem, Massachusetts. On 25 Oct 1795, Jacob Crowninshield sailed from Calcutta with an elephant destined for America. See CG Goodwin, 'The First Living Elephant in America', *Journal of Mammalogy*, Vol.6, No.4 (Nov 1925), pp256-263.

[23] *London Gazette*: 9 June 1798, p516; 22 Nov 1806, p1527.

[24] John Lacey had been a shopkeeper in Calcutta, but by May 1792 he was in London, proposing subscriptions to a series of volumes of a 'New Shakespeare', in conjunction with Mr Woodmason of Leadenhall Street. His brother, 'Benjamen Lacy' acted as one of his agents in Calcutta (*Bombay Courier*, 19 Jan 1793). *Lowndes' London Directory* for 1796, p95, names him as: 'Lacey, John & Co, East India Merchant, City Chambers, 121 Bishopsgate'. John Lacey died in 1800. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Volume 71, Part 2, p859; Deaths: 1800, 'Dec 24. At Madras, on his passage to Bengal, Mr John Lacy, a passenger in the Bellona East Indiaman.' His brief will names his 'beloved wife Mary Somers Lacey, now of London.' (IOR: Madras Wills, 1801)

[25] *London Gazette*: 5 Aug 1800, p911; 30 Dec 1800, pp15-16, 18; 7 Feb 1801, p171; 1 Jan 1803, p30; 27 Oct 1812, p2178.

'Mrs E. Fay, (London)' is listed as one of 214 subscribers to a ladies' society in New York, which raised funds for widows with small children. The organisation was proposed in November 1797, the annual subscription being three dollars. Gentlemen were not allowed as members although they were welcome as donors. One of its reports stated, 'Widow is a word of sorrow, in the best of circumstances: but a widow left poor, destitute, friendless, surrounded with a number of small Children shivering with cold, pale with want, looking in her face with eyes pleading for bread which she has not to give, nor any probable prospect of procuring – her situation is neither to be described or conceived.'[26] One can imagine the particular sympathies evoked in Eliza Fay by such plights.

In mid-August 1804 she departed once again for Calcutta, aboard the *Mangles*, arriving 24 January 1805. Later that year, in the *Calcutta Gazette* (14 Aug 1805), she announced a proposal to open a school at Blackheath for young ladies and gentlemen at 60 guineas per annum, with children aged over ten years attracting a higher fee. She offered instruction in English, French, Italian, Music, Dancing, Writing and Needlework. It was noted that parents could rely on Mrs Fay's sister in London if anything untoward was to happen to her.[27] On 23 December 1805, with 14 child passengers, she sailed aboard the *Devonshire*. After making their arrival at Madras on 15 January,[28] they travelled in convoy with several other ships, under naval escort (due to French hostilities) and arrived at the Thames mid-July 1806. [29]

Soon after, she took over occupation of Ashburnham House, Blackheath, Surrey, where the school became established. This residence had been advertised in June 1806 as 'A Most Desirable LEASEHOLD VILLA, recently improved, in elegant stile [sic]…with suitable offices, enchantingly situated on the Brow of Blackheath, near that part called the Grove, and commanding a fine view of broken woody scenery, and the shipping on the Thames…'[30] The rate books for Greenwich indicate Mrs Fay held the building from 1806 to 1814.[31]

By 1808 she may have felt a little more wealthy because she appears as a subscriber to a book of poetry entitled *Blackheath: A Poem in five Cantos*, by Thomas Noble, published that June.

Advertisements for Mrs Fay's school are found in the *Calcutta Gazette*, 28 April 1808 and the *Prince of Wales Island Gazette*, 9 December 1809, by which time the fee was 40 guineas per annum.[32]

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[26] 'Constitution of the Ladies Society, established in New-York for the relief of poor widows with small children', published November 1800, p16 and pp28-29

[27] 'More about Mrs. Fay', *Bengal Past and Present*, Jan-Mar 1927, vol.33, pp9-10

[28] 'Madras Gazette', 18 Jan 1806, *Bombay Courier*, vol.15, 1806, issue 698

[29] *The Morning Chronicle* (London), Saturday, July 19, 1806

[30] *The Morning Chronicle* (London), Saturday, June 21, 1806

[31] 'More about Mrs. Fay', *Bengal Past and Present*, Jan-Mar 1927, vol.33, p11

[32] Geoff Wade, 'New Ways of Knowing: The Prince of Wales Island Gazette—Penang's First Newspaper' (University of Hong Kong: www.penangstory.net.my/docs/Abs-GeoffWade.doc)

She signed her will 30 March 1813, while in partnership with Marian Cousins, 'carrying out the business of a Ladies' Boarding School'. However, only 16 months later, in the *London Gazette*, they announced the partnership had been mutually dissolved on 22 July 1814.[33] The school continued to be run by various people for many years after. Meanwhile Mary Ann Cousins [sic] set up another school nearby, at Buffar House, Maize Hill, from the 1820s to 1838. By the time Sir William Foster was writing about Eliza Fay in 1927, Ashburnham House had been long demolished.

At the end of 1814 Eliza obtained a £200 bond with the East India Company to travel to Bengal (as a passenger). She eventually left in the spring of 1815 aboard the *Sir Stephen Lushington*.

Eliza Fay died 9 September 1816 and her funeral was held at St John's, Calcutta next day. The exact site of her burial is unknown.

Eliza Fay's portrait

EM Forster noted that AW Devis, the young artist who portrayed Mrs Fay, was a draughtsman aboard the EIC vessel, the *Antelope* when it was wrecked on the Pelew Islands (Palau) in 1783.

What Forster did not add was that this ship was captained by Henry Wilson, who brought Prince Lee Boo to England the following year.[34] Tragically Lee Boo died of smallpox less than six months later. Wilson was of Paradise Row, Rotherhithe and it was in the grounds of St Mary's, Rotherhithe that his charge was buried. One wonders if Captain Robert Wilson, the first husband of Mrs Ledger, is somehow connected to Captain Henry Wilson. At the very least, one would expect the story to have been well known to Ledger and Eliza Fay and they may have read Wilson's *An Account of the Pelew Islands*.

Based on Devis's peregrinations it is unlikely that he first met Eliza Fay in Britain. Instead, Devis' interpretation was almost certainly made at a leisurely sitting some years after she had been in Grand Cairo, probably in Calcutta, where Devis had arrived in 1785. She is depicted wearing Egyptian dress, in a style which matches perfectly the description she provided in a letter to her sister. Sir William Foster commented that 'a favourite Calcutta amusement was the public fancy dress ball or masquerade' and proposes that the painting may have come about as the result of such an event.

A note on the Fays' captivity under Hyder Ali

Eliza Fay's twelfth letter addressed from Calicut, 12 Feb 1780, begins 'It was my determination never to write to you, during the state of dreadful Captivity in which we have long been held...' For fifteen weeks the Fays and several others had been imprisoned, but at the moment of her writing, their release was being negotiated by Mr Isaac, 'a fine venerable' elderly Jewish gentleman, domiciled in Cochin.

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[33] *London Gazette*: 30 Jul 1814, p1543

[34] EJ Beck, *Memorials to Serve for a History of the Parish of St. Mary, Rotherhithe*, (1907) p147

The group had arrived at Calicut, 5 November 1799, aboard the *Natalia*, a Danish vessel under a French captain (Chenu), and sought protection in the Danish Factory, since conflict between Hyder Ali and the English was brewing. Instead they were taken prisoners by Captain Ayres and sepoy troops, who were in the employ of Hyder's service and answerable to Hyder's brother-in-law, Sirdar Khan, Governor of Calicut. Ayres was formerly an English highwayman who had been sentenced to transportation, resulting in him enlisting for the East Indies.[35] The Governor ordered that they be held since there was suspicion they were acting for English interests. Hence one could consider them having been taken as political hostages.

On 18 February 1780 they were 'at last released from a situation of which it is impossible for you to appreciate the horrors', and made their way to Cochin in one of Isaac's vessels.[36]

Anthony Fay

Eliza Fay's husband, Anthony Fay was a barrister and had been admitted to Lincoln's Inn, 4 July 1778. In the same year he joined Clements Inn, his father-in-law Edward Clement acting as surety.

He planned to enter the Supreme Court at Fort William, Calcutta and Eliza Fay indicated hopefulness for his success. But later she wrote that she undertook the journey 'with a view to preserving my husband from destruction', whose quarrelsomeness, 'violence of temper', extravagance and 'dissipated habits' would never have seen him survive to reach Calcutta had he travelled alone.

He was of Irish birth, and Eliza wrote that he came from the same part of Ireland as Dr Rowland Jackson[37] presently of Calcutta, who knew 'many of his connections'. Anthony was the only son of Francis Fay, gentleman, of Rotherhithe, Surrey but I have not been able to trace any records about him.

Soon after his separation from Eliza he returned to England to prepare a petition to Parliament against Chief Justice of Bengal, Sir Elijah Impey. Anthony Fay's involvement in the petition is rather mysterious but the Impey Manuscripts do contain a letter by Impey dated 31 Aug 1781, referring to 'a very low man ... of the name of Fay', a barrister whom

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[35] Fay, *Letters*, p115

[36] *Ibid.,* pp151-2

[37] Burke's *Landed Gentry*, 1862, Pt.1, p774: Rowland Jackson, MD, came from Ballyboy, Tipperary. His son, Edward Rowland Jackson married Miss Phoebe Tuting, 28 Jan 1779, Calcutta. Eliza Fay wrote that she had attended the marriage of another Miss Tuting (Eliza), at Dr Jackson's house, 27 March 1782, which she refers to as 'the marriage of Captain P.M. and my young friend Miss T.' Compare this with *The India Gazette or Calcutta Public Advertiser*, Vol.2, No.71, 23 Mar 1782: 'Married. On Wednesday last, Capt. Peter Murray to Miss Tuting' There is also commentary on this in *Bengal Past & Present*, (1935), part 2, vol.49, p10. Captain Murray was Adjutant-General of the Company's troops and later Lieutenant Colonel. He died aboard the *Lord Nelson* in August 1803 during an engagement with a French privateer off the south coast of Ireland. See Sir Evan Cotton, *East Indiamen* etc. (1949) p165.

Colonel Henry Watson was sending to England with papers against him. Eliza Fay also mentions Anthony Fay preparing a number of papers on the matter, at the instigation of Col. Watson.[38]

The Impey case[39] (and separately that of the impeachment of Warren Hastings[40]) revolved around allegations of 'judicial murder' of the alleged forger, 70 year old Nundcomar (Nandakumar). A hasty trial and execution order, with little chance of appeal, saw to his death in 1775. Impey as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Bengal had passed judgment.

Much political intrigue led up to this point and for many years after. Nundcomar, a Brahman administrator had laid allegations of corruption against Hastings. These appear to have been grounded in prior jealousies between the two men.

Hastings' strong dislike of Nundcomar was only one factor however. Other jealousies within the Council of the East India Company created a scenario which any machiavellian would have been proud of. This included the names of Philip Francis (who later groomed Colonel Henry Watson's support and also fought a duel with Hastings), Col. George Monson and Lt.-General John Clavering. Impeachment against Hastings gained further impetus with vigorous political opponents such as Edmund Burke, Fox and Sheridan.

Some have implied that by forever silencing Nundcomar, Impey was carrying out a favour for Hastings. From this distance it is hard to know if collusion took place, although EM Forster points out that forgery was not an uncommon peccadillo in Bengal and the sentence extreme. Generally, benefit of the doubt has been given in favour of Impey for his judicial impartiality when examining the facts of Nundcomar's case.

Sir George Elliot, later Earl of Minto, brought Impey's impeachment to Parliament and this was heard by a select committee of the House of Commons in May 1788, which discarded the case. It was not until 1795 that Hastings was acquitted.

Beyond the early 1780s Anthony Fay disappears into the shadows of history, except for two law reports, in early 1794, in which his name (given as 'Alexander Fay' in one instance) is used in a legal case. He was alleged to have signed a client's plea at a public house, although he made no appearance at court. He had not maintained himself in legal practice and Lincoln's Inn had no further record of him beyond 1778. As a consequence the pleas could not be accepted in court and Fay's reputation (if he still existed at this time) was brought into question. He was certainly dead by 1800 when Eliza is named as a widow.

Literary Effort

When one compares *Original Letters From India* with *Overland Journey to India, Partly by a Route Never Gone Before by any European* (first published 1795) by the fictitious author 'Donald Campbell of Barbreck', it is easy to weigh the difference. Like Eliza Fay, Donald

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[38] See Terminal Note No.37, by Forster in *Original Letters From India*

[39] 'Impey, Sir Elijah (1732-1809)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*

[40] 'Hastings, Warren (1732-1818)' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*

Campbell is taken captive by Hyder Ali, but Fay's depth of observation, the uneven crests and troughs, the surprising windshifts and changing currents in her writings recount something truer to life than Campbell's inventor, Stephen Cullen Carpenter[41] could ever create. Eliza Fay adds an authentic sense of adventure and as an entrepreneur she has a natural eye for opportunity and detail. Donald Campbell appears avuncular and moralizing whereas Mrs Fay is hardly the equivalent. Above all she possesses the greatest quality she could trade on – a disarming honesty to the point of utter candour (well, most of the time anyway).

Her book is so much more of an event than Edward Ives' detailed account of *A Voyage from England to India, in the Year MDCCLIV*, published 1773, or Thomas Howel's matter-of-fact *A Journal of the Passage from India: by a route partly unfrequented, through Armenia and Natolia or Asia Minor*, 1789.

The original preface reflected on 'a considerable change' in public sentiment which allowed a female author to be 'no longer regarded as an object of derision', nor to be 'wounded by unkind reproof from the literary lords of creation'.

Mrs Isabella Kelly (later Hedgeland), née Fordyce (c.1767-1857), writer of gothic novels, is an interesting person to compare with Eliza Fay. Mrs Kelly had been abandoned by her Eurasian husband, Robert Hawke Kelly of Madras,[42] whom she had married in London in 1789. He seems to have been a wastrel, probably quite similar to Anthony Fay. Whereas one senses that Eliza enjoyed writing her letters, Mrs Kelly turned to the 'odious task of writing' in order to support her three children.[43] Mrs Kelly was moderately successful and had sympathetic subscribers and reviewers. Following a pattern similar to Eliza, in the first decade of the 1800s she opened a school at Chelsea.

It seems memory of Eliza Fay faded quickly after her death and certainly many key people in her life had died within a few years of her, including Anthony Fay (pre-1800), Edward Clement (1794), John Scarlett (1800), Thomas Wilkinson Preston (1811), Selina Irwin (1820), Eleanor Preston (1829) and Elizabeth Margaret Ledger (1829).

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[41] Stephen Cullen Carpenter died c.1831. Of Irish birth he was a soldier in the employ of the HEIC for 14 years. In England he wrote reports about the impeachment of Warren Hastings. By 1800 he had emigrated to America where he was a journalist and editor.

[42] Son of Colonel Robert Kelly of Madras, who was killed in a duel by Captain Urban Vigors at Arni, Karnataka, 26 September 1790 (*Madras Courier*, Tues 29 Sept 1790)

[43] Including (Sir) Fitzroy Kelly, who was to become Solicitor General, Attorney General, Chief Baron of the Exchequer and member of the Privy Council. In contrast the other son, William Martin Kelly (a.k.a. William Horace Keppell), became an actor of dubious note. Her daughter, Amelrosa, married Rev. George Crookshank, native of Dublin.

Thus in 1832 it is not surprising that Mrs Barbara Hofland, author of *The Captives in India* could cannibalise *Original Letters* and make the following announcement, judged to raise little reaction:[44]

> The friends and relations of the late Mrs. Fay, will perceive that I have interwoven her first overland journey to India in my story; an account of which has been published in Calcutta, but has never, I believe, reached England.

From a critical point of view, in favour of Eliza Fay, Hofland's work is a lightweight interloper which adds no depth.[45]

In summary, Eliza Fay stands as a unique character in Indo-British history. She retains her mystique even though more details about her identity and social world have appeared. Most of all she gives the sense that we have encountered a rather modern woman. Do read her *Letters*.

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[44] At this time Eliza Fay's nearest living relatives were niece Mrs Eleanor Thomas, who married in 1820 Rev. John Thomas, MA, of Trinity College, Cambridge (*Jackson's Oxford Journal*, 18 Nov 1820). He was made Rector of Great Burstead, Essex in 1822. The Thomas's only surviving daughter, Frances Elizabeth, married Rev John Dryden Hodgson in 1853 (*The Annual Register*, 1852, p.240). Some of these relationships are confirmed by the Will of Mrs Eleanor Preston, Widow of Great Burstead, PCC, PROB11/1829, proved 4 Mar 1834.

[45] For a counter comment see:'Critical Notes. The Captives in India. By Mrs Hofland', *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register*, vol.15, Sept-Dec 1834, p75.

The Marriages of Margaret McCombe: A combined London - Sydney investigation

By Lawrie Butler

This is an investigation started before 2007 into complicated British and HEIC Army marriages. It also cautions against accepting relationships given from others in good faith but later found to be in error. Further it is a reminder to those members who assume that the FIBIS online database shows all information but probably shows no more than 10%. More importantly this article is a tribute to the liaison that often occurs between FIBIS in London and FIBIS in Sydney.

It will be remembered that in early 2008, it was agreed that Australian members' queries coming to the FIBIS research team in London should be referred back to the team in Sydney. In this particular case, the query like so many was a prolonged one and had actually started in earnest in October 2007 after short queries before, so for convenience it was pursued throughout from the London end until in May 2009 it was realised that Sydney held the key to its resolution in the shape of Sylvia Murphy and her knowledge of Australian websites.

The query came from a longstanding Australian member, Rick Pringle [No. PRI-1157] to whom I am indebted for the opportunity to write this article.

In an email in October 2007, Rick referred to the sudden death of a Robert J Hard, Barrack Master with the 3rd European Regiment at Ahmednagar, Bombay. His burial on 3 Dec 1867[1] left Rick wondering what might have happened to the wife, Rick's 2x great grandmother. He had not been able to find on the FIBIS database a second marriage in India for the wife, Margaret Eliza Hard. He could not find her or her son in the English censuses so thought she might have stayed on in India with a pension.

I pointed out to Rick that for anyone losing a husband in India, the first priority was to find a new means of support. Frequently this was provided via a new husband from the same regiment or station. Unfortunately, the ecclesiastical indexes are compiled via the husbands' alphabetical order of names and it is a tedious procedure to locate the marriage. But if one can 'guess' the year of marriage, it is possible to interrogate the indexes alphabetically, looking at all the wives' names in, say, all the 'A' husband marriages in the guessed year of marriage, carrying on to the 'Z' husbands. In this instance, searching could begin in the year Margaret Eliza Hard was widowed and it was fortunate that she was found to have married a John Henry Ashworth, an acting Sergeant in the Barracks Department at Ahmednagar on 12 Aug 1868.[2] As expected, Margaret Eliza had married someone from the same Barracks Department at Ahmednagar as her first husband.[3]

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[1] IOR: N/3/41/298 (burial)

[2] IOR: N/3/42/180 (marriage)

[3] Now on the FIBIS database as Sylvia Murphy has transcribed the Bombay marriage index.

At this stage Rick revealed the details of Robert James Hard's marriage to Margaret Maccombe (as it was spelt) on 6 Oct 1859 at Mhow[4] and went on to say that Margaret was born/baptised 17 Feb 1839 in Ireland, the daughter of John McCombe and Ann. Rick said this information had been received from an Irish source. John McCombe was a soldier who had signed up with HM 8th Regiment of Foot in County Down, Ireland on 27 Feb 1826, aged 18. The Irish source also noted that he was found medically unfit in 1848 and discharged on 15 Aug 1849. Unfortunately I could not find this John McCombe in the WO97 discharges[5] on The National Archives (TNA) website[6] but in due course I did locate a John McCombe and Elizabeth in Bombay records.

The IGI[7] shows a marriage of a John Macome and Elizabeth Glendinnen in Paisley in 1832. The couple plus child Anne went to Bombay in 1840 and in due course had a further four children; Elizabeth, Margaret Eliza (whose baptism has not been found), William and Amelia Harrison. On the death of J Macome/McCombe in 1854,[8] Sgt John Kidd who had arrived in Bombay in 1848[9] married the widow Elizabeth and the record describes her as the daughter of Charles Glendinning.[10] Both John McCombe and John Kidd finished their service in the 3rd Bombay European Regiment.

Margaret Eliza Pearse, nee McCombe, in Perth, circa 1910 with two grandchildren, Thomas William (b.1903) and Arthur Davidson (b.1905) sons of Thomas Frederick Ashworth.

Next, Rick requested the service record of Robert James Hard, his 2x great grandfather. We knew that he was serving in the Bombay area so it was reasonable to assume he would be in the Alphabetical List of European Soldiers in the Bombay

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[4] IOR: N/1/96/278 (marriage)

[5] TNA: WO 97: Royal Hospital Chelsea: Soldiers Service Documents. Papers dating between 1760 and 1854 are catalogued with the soldier's name.

[6] http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/

[7] http://www.familysearch.org/ hosting the digitised International Genealogical Index (IGI)

[8] IOR: L/MIL/12/112 (Alphabetical Index)

[9] IOR: L/MIL/12/111 (Alphabetical Index)

[10] IOR: N/11/1/282 (marriage)

Presidency.[11] His details are shown as: Arrived 1853; Private 3rd Eur Regt., No 479. He was born in Chichester, Sussex and as a servant was attested in London 31 Oct 1853 for a contract term of 10 years. He arrived via the *Marion* in 1854. As a Corporal, he was wounded and twice mentioned in despatches for his conduct in the Jhansi area. He was above average and was taken onto the 'Unattached List' at Poona, 1 Jan 1863 as a Sergeant in the Quartermaster General's office.[12] Eventually, he was appointed a Sub-Conductor in the Barrack Section and when post-Mutiny the HEIC forces were rearranged, he found himself in HM 109th Regiment.[13]

Rick replied saying he had obtained a will for a John Henry Ashworth (d.1895) who was supposed to have married his Margaret Hard (McCombe) but it showed a Charlotte for a wife. So he felt he was back at square one. I looked for a marriage and a JH Ashworth had indeed married a Charlotte Bailey, a widow,[14] but if he was Rick's relative, he should have been 57 years old. From the death records of 1895,[15] I found this JH Ashworth (d.1895) was a 39 year old merchant and therefore not the one for us.

It was time to sort out any children from the Hard and Ashworth marriages. Rick had checked the Mormon IGI website and as I have previously found, this can be an invaluable tool particularly when seeking baptisms and marriages in the second half of the 19th century and likewise Rick had struck gold. The IGI site showed births for a George Hard in Poona (5 Oct 1862) and an Arthur James Hard in Ahmednagar (27 Sep 1866). George later died in Poona from teething troubles at an age of 2 years.[16] Further checks on the IGI showed a Robert William Hard (Rick's great grandfather) born in Ahmednagar on 21 Jul 1860. Rick had previously found his marriage on 9 Nov 1882 in Melbourne, Australia. The IGI showed his death on 12 May 1905 in Western Australia.

As for the Ashworth children, Henry George was born on 19 May 1869 in Ahmednagar. There is an odd entry on the Mormon site of a Thomas Frederick, born 13 Sep 1863 (Maharashtra, Bombay) son of Harry George Ashworth and Margaret Elizabeth McCombe, but a Bombay entry in the IOR Ecclesiastical Returns shows a birth of the same child on 13 Sep 1871, more in keeping with the true father's name and the marriage dates.[17] The odd entry may have arisen from a user submitted record or may have been a careless entry.

So now we knew the children of RJ Hard and JH Ashworth. But what had happened to John Henry Ashworth? We knew from his marriage that JH Ashworth was a Barracks Sergeant. He is not shown in the Bombay Alphabetical List as coming out as a soldier to Bombay within the period 1851-57. His rank suggests an attachment from the Unattached

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[11] IOR: L/MIL/12/113 (Alphabetical Index)
[12] IOR: L/MIL/12/217 (UAL)
[13] IOR: L/MIL/12/225 (UAL)
[14] IOR: N/1/216/286 (JH Ashworth, Merchant, marriage)
[15] IOR: N/1/241/209 (JH Ashworth, Merchant, death)
[16] IOR: N/3/38/400 (death)
[17] IOR: N/3/45/360 (birth)

List (UAL) and in the Bombay musters for 31 Dec 1868 to 1 Jan 1869 he appears in the UAL as being Unattached from the 3rd Hussars of the British Army. He continues in the UAL up until 1 Jan 1872 but does not appear in the UAL on 1 Jan 1873. The posting to the UAL is an elite one and usually is marked by a promotion but one can always be transferred back to the home regiment. In the event of any misdemeanour, one is remanded to the old regiment and reverts to the previous rank.

At The National Archives, I looked at the musters of the 3rd Hussars of 1872-73.[18] The regiment was at Ahmednagar from 1 July to 30 Sep 1872, but our JH Ashworth was not on the Sergeants List. I was not surprised when I found he had been demoted on his return to his regiment and at the end of the Privates Listing 'A', Ashworth John H appears with a note reading 'Taken on strength from 22 June 1872 via G.O.C. 440 of 1872' but with no regimental number. He had also been given 2d Good Conduct Pay (GCP). He was at Mhow from 31 Mar 1873 to 30 Jun 1873 when he appears as 'No 1230 Pte Ashworth JH, 2GCP'. He continues at Mhow but after 23 days of August 1873, it is noted 'To Australia, 3GCP.' At the end of each muster, the reductions and additions in strength of the regiment are noted and in the reduction column, there is an entry 'Private Ashworth 23 August 1873 to Australia.' Had he bought himself out? Those familiar with the issue of GCPs will know that on promotion say to Sergeant, a soldier will lose his GCPs. In 1869 he is shown as being from the 3rd Hussars. It seems only right that on demotion, these GCPs should be reinstated. But why was he demoted? Bombay General Orders by Commander In Chief, No 440[19] reads: 'Sgt JH Ashworth (3rd Hussars) Unattached List employed in Barrack Dept., having been reduced to the ranks by sentence of Court Martial is remanded to his Regiment'. The details of his Court Martial can be seen at the TNA:[20]

> Court Martial details received 26 Jun 1872
> Rank - Barrack Sgt; Name – J H Ashworth; Regt (UAL Bombay) Barrack Dept
> C.M. held in Bombay on 30 Jan 1872; charge –Drunk, disobeying command
> Sentence: ordered to the Ranks. Remitted [i.e. sent back to 3rd Hussars]

In the musters of the 3rd Hussars in 1866 there is only one Pte John Ashworth (Regt No. 2245) who appears to have been a persistent offender, spending time in military prisons. As he deserted on 14 Aug 1868 whilst still in England, it must be concluded that he did not arrive in Bombay with the 3rd Hussars on the 19 Dec 1868 but arrived otherwise by the 31 Dec 1868, as shown by the Bombay UAL.

In the 'Casualties' (change of location) of the Bombay UAL[21] 1 Jul - 30 Sep 1872, Ashworth JH Sgt., Barrack Dept., is shown 'remanded 6 Jul 1872 Aden 3rd Hussars'. He apparently did not stay there long, if at all, since we know from the above he was at Mhow on 1 Mar 1873 and on his way to Australia 23 Aug 1873.

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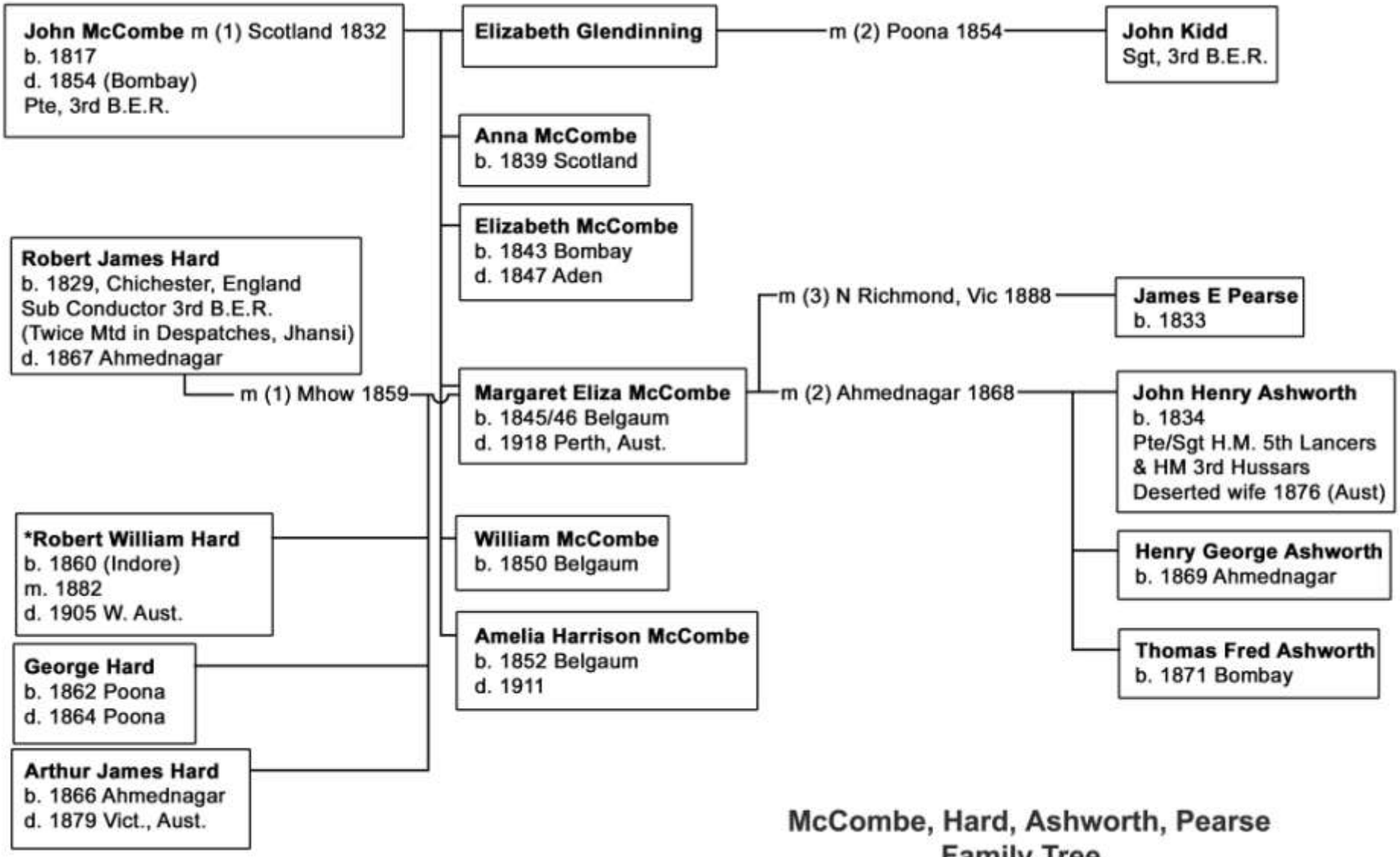
[18] TNA: WO 12/616 (1872-73 Musters)
[19] IOR: L/MIL/17/4/479 (GOs 1872)
[20] TNA: WO 86/21, p87
[21] IOR: L/MIL/12/230 (Bombay UAL Aden)



McCombe, Hard, Ashworth, Pearse Family Tree

* *Rick Pringle is g.grandson of Robert W Hard*

There is only one J Ashworth (No. 2245) in the 3rd Hussars from 1865 - 68. In the returns of those who have deserted, he is shown as born in Rochdale, enlisted on 23 Oct 1858 but deserted 14 Aug 1868, leaving the Army in credit by £1 12s 4d.[22] In the Bombay UAL musters of 1869, JH Ashworth is shown as being seconded from the 3rd Hussars; later he is remanded to the 3rd Hussars as a Private and after some delay given the number 1230.[23] One could only conclude that J Ashworth/2245 and JH Ashworth/1230 must be one and the same. But Ashworth's movements seemed curious and I still had a niggling doubt so over the recent Christmas period gave further thought to what this conclusion indicated. Why should a deserter, even if returned to the army and posted to India, turn up in Bombay and be 'rewarded' with a transfer to the Unattached List?

When JH Ashworth was remanded from the UAL back to his regiment the 3rd Hussars, this was reported in the General Orders of the Commander-in-Chief (above). Little happened in the Indian Armies without recourse to General Orders so I now wondered if the initial transfer of JH Ashworth may also have been the subject of a General Order. Back I went to the GOs of 1868:

> In anticipation of sanction by His Excellency the C-in-C in India, Private John Henry Ashworth, 5th Lancers, employed in the Barrack Dept is transferred to the Unattached List and promoted to Sergeant by order of the Provincial C-in-C.[24]

and later, also in 1868:

> With reference to GO No 922 [above] Barrack Sergt John Henry Ashworth is transferred from the 5th Lancers to the 3rd Hussars.[25]

This was indeed a surprise. Rick's Ashworth had only transferred from the 5th Lancers to the 3rd Hussars in 1868, shortly after his posting to the UAL. J Ashworth No 2245, the deserter, was another man altogether and we could now forget the Pte J Ashworth of the 3rd Hussars (No 2245) (except as a salutary lesson not to assume anything in genealogy) and accept Pte JH Ashworth of the 5th Lancers (later transferred to the 3rd Hussars) as the JHA who was remanded from the Bombay UAL to the 3rd Hussars (No 1230) and thence on to Australia; a far more believable state of affairs. Nevertheless, it still appears strange that he was given a third GCP in the same month he departed for Australia.

So, what happened to the family? Rick suggested that since Margaret's son Robert W Hard was married in Melbourne in 1882, it might be that the whole family went to Melbourne and asked was that where he should be looking for Arrivals? Having no experience of Australian shipping lists, I suggested that Rick should contact Sylvia Murphy, our very active liaison officer for Australasia. With details from Rick, Sylvia swung into action, more or less overnight and emailed her findings to both Rick and myself:

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[22] TNA: WO 12/612
[23] TNA: WO 12/617
[24] IOR: L/MIL/17/4/475, G.O No. 922 of 17 Oct 1868
[25] *Ibid*., G.O No. 1182 of 22 Dec 1868

Firstly, I refer you to the website of the Public Record Office of Victoria.[26] Access PROVguide 50 by clicking on 'Find people migrating to and from Victoria' under the heading 'How do I?''

By searching the 'Unassisted Inward Passenger Lists' you should find a family group 'Ashworth' arriving in Victoria from a 'foreign' port (i.e. not Britain and not New Zealand) on the *China* in September 1873. There are no first names or even initials but you will note the group includes adults: Mrs, Private, and Son; also 2 children and one infant. Even though your Robert William was surnamed Hard, I expect that he is the 'adult' son, with the others possibly being children of the 2nd marriage. However, other combinations are possible, depending on which children accompanied Margaret and John Ashworth to Australia.

Now, I don't know what happened to John Henry Ashworth, but he either died, disappeared or was divorced prior to 1888 because in that year I found the following marriage indexed: Ashworth, Margaret Eliza, born India, to Pearse, James Edward (Ref: 1888/6788)

So in one deft stroke, Sylvia had produced Mrs Margaret Eliza Ashworth, Private John Henry Ashworth, Mr Robert William Hard, Arthur James Hard (seven years old), Henry George Ashworth (four years), Thomas Frederick Ashworth (two years). This covered all known children in that generation. Sylvia also went on to point out that Interstate Passenger Lists showed two family groups of Hard members travelling to Western Australia in August and September of 1895 giving Rick further food for thought. Since Margaret's death certificate records that she spent 22 years in Victoria, it is likely that the 'Hard' family included Margaret. A later snippet via Sylvia and Mary Anne Gourley (of Victoria) as reported in the Melbourne *Argus* on 25 Feb 1879, records the death of Arthur Ashworth (previously Hard) in an industrial accident and the inquest verdict as 'accidental death'.[27]

Regarding Margaret's third marriage to JE Pearse in 1888, Rick has pointed out that Pearse recorded his father as George Pearse, Surgeon and his mother as Charlotte Pearse. These details are confirmed by reference to the English 1841 and 1851 Censuses. Both also show details of James Edward Pearse, eight and eighteen years respectively.

Thanks to Sylvia's information, Rick (from Western Australia) went on to locate Margaret Eliza Pearse's death in 1918, as he said 'right under his nose' in Perth (at a cemetery 12 miles away from his own home). But more importantly, her burial papers indicate that Margaret was born in 1845/46 in Belgaum, Bombay, the same place as her brother William was born in 1850 and sister Amelia in 1852 - and not in Ireland as Rick had previously believed. No trace has so far been found of the fate of Margaret's second husband, John Henry Ashworth except that the Pearse marriage certificate shows that JHA deserted his family in 1876 and it is presumed he died somewhere in Australia. Further, no details of the death of Margaret's third husband (James E Pearse) have been seen, except that he is assumed to have died by 1907 since Margaret is shown to have been on her own by that year.[28] Margaret Eliza appears to have been a remarkable survivor of three marriages and at least 5 children, living to a grand old age of at least 73 years.

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[26] http://www.prov.vic.gov.au/

[27] *The Argus*, 25 Feb 1879, a daily newspaper published in Melbourne from 1846-1957.

[28] W. Australia Electoral Rolls 1906-07

Letters from the Mill - the Calcutta Jute Industry

By Carol Turnham

For many years Dundee was the world's largest manufacturing centre of jute (hessian) imported from India. When manufacture expanded around Calcutta, many of those in the Scottish industry found their skill and expertise gained them employment in the new mills that sprung up along the Hooghly river.

Carol Turnham (née Paterson) lived in India between the ages of 6 and 14, returning to the UK in 1962. Hailing from the east coast of Scotland, her family worked in the jute industry and had connections with India from the 1920s. It wasn't until Carol re-found some of her father's papers that she discovered how widespread those family connections were. With mysteries still to solve, Carol details her investigation so far.

Some months ago I came across a few old letters that I had forgotten I had, so I sat and read through them. They were from my grandfather, David Paterson (born 1890) to my father, David WH Paterson (born 1915), the first in 1935, sent to Dad just before he left home in Dundee and sailed to join his father at Gondalpara Mill, Chandernagore, in India. Other letters were from late 1941 while Dad was training with the Sappers and Miners at Belgaum, with the Royal Engineers six months later, and then whilst he was in Burma. There are also letters from my grandmother to my grandfather, and to her son, my Dad, all dating between 1935 and 1943. I knew that my grandfather had died in India, but I now see that, sadly, I have the two last letters that he must have written to Dad, the oldest of his four children, forwarded somehow (although Dad was, I believe, in Burma at the time), explaining what was going on, and why he was in the hospital in Calcutta. I had no idea where Grandfather was buried, and on a trip to the British Library, found that he had died on 15 September 1943 and that he is buried at Tollygunge Cemetery.[1] The entry wrongly says he was 43 in 1943, when he was in fact 53 in 1943, but there was a war on at the time, imminent arrival of the Japanese into India, and no doubt the chap who wrote it wrongly was a trifle stressed.

My father's mother, known as 'Nana' to her grandchildren, was Elizabeth Moonie Whitton, born 9 February 1892.[2] Her nickname to her own generation was 'Daisy'. She worked in the jute industry in Lochee, Dundee, it being the main occupation there in those days. Nana married my grandfather David Paterson on 11 December 1914 at St Luke's Manse, Lochee. He was an electrical engineer and Corporal in the City of Dundee Royal Engineers. She was a yarn winder.

My grandfather had joined up at the very beginning of the War and was demobbed in 1919 when he would have had to find employment, as did thousands of other ex-soldiers. By then the jute industry was running very well on the extra female labour that had taken the place of those men gone to war. It was an industry which had always had many women in

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[1] IOR: N/1/620/244

[2] At 12 South Mid Street, Lochee, father a quarry worker, mother née Johnston, m 9.12.1881.

it. At this time my grandparents had two of their future total of four children to feed, so my grandfather headed for India, perhaps persuaded by his younger brother Robert, or his older brother Henry, whom I had discovered were also out there.

I have located the passenger details of an Anchor Line ship, the *Scindia*, that went out to India in February 1920, with a Mr D Paterson, age 29 and a Mr J Paterson, age 43 aboard.[3] This is the correct age for my grandfather, and it is when he first went out to India, but who is the Mr J? Perhaps it was J Paterson who had persuaded Grandfather to go to India. Unfortunately, unlike later ship records, there are no home addresses listed.

On the Hooghly: David Paterson (Grandfather) and his wife Elizabeth 'Daisy' Paterson (Nana) [seated right] in the 1920s.

Nana seems to have gone out to India to join her husband in 1925, departing London on 23 December, accompanied by her brother in law Robert Paterson and his wife Margerie, (whose nickname was also Daisy) on the BISN Company's *Mashobra*. I have not yet found her return journey, nor discovered if she had been out on an earlier occasion. Had Grandfather come home on leave in the meantime? Perhaps they came home together on his first leave. I gather workers usually had to sign a contract for about five years, so maybe Nana was there in 1925 for Grandfather's last few months before home leave. They did, after all, have four young children[4] all left in Dundee with two separate members of the Paterson family (David's younger sisters) in two flats within the same tenement building. Nana did not go out to India again after 1935. If she had been back in the meantime, I am yet to discover. My grandfather's cine films show he was home on leave in 1941.

Concentrating on the letters for the first time, I discovered that my Dad first went out to India in 1935 at the age of only 20 to join his father there. I had known Dad was at Gondalpara, Chandernagore, French India, before the Second World War, and that he joined the Royal Engineers from there after the War had started, but I had no idea that he was not only joining his father, but also joining two Paterson uncles, Robert (Bert) and Henry (Uncle Harry), and would soon be joined by his younger brother (also called Bert). Grandfather and his two brothers were all well qualified mechanical and electrical engineers, and went out to India just as the boom times were beginning in the jute industry there. Next, I noted from my grandfather's letter of May 1943 that there were two more

[3] Passenger lists on findmypast.co.uk

[4] David (my father), Anne, Robert and May

Paterson's I did not know about, called Jack (presumably John) and Willie (obviously William), Jack having built Premchand Mill and Willie a resident somewhere in Tollygunge. I need to find out about Premchand Mill but I haven't had any luck there as yet.

The first two of Grandfather's letters are written to Dad describing what was going to be his first-ever voyage out to India - what to expect, 'must wear a topee from Port Said onwards' and wonderful advice about doses of medicine for 'keeping regular'. The first is dated 1 November 1935.

> I am writing you a few lines by Air Mail in the hope that it may catch your boat before leaving Tilbury. Usually this mail posted here on a Friday arrives in London on Friday, so it may just catch you, though I have nothing definite in the way of an address.
>
> So far I only have word that you'd passed the Doctor. I also had a copy of the Agreement papers[5] sent you and am now waiting on the official ones to sign. I may get definite news on Sat. first. Anyway you won't have a great deal of time to spare to get your Passport and other odds and ends, as well as possibly Vaccination. I take it you'd leave work last Sat and that would give you a fortnight before sailing.
>
> You'll find the trip out very interesting. I think you'll call at Gibraltar or Tangiers, and then Port Said (21st). You get ashore at these places and you're better to go with friends, and not on your own. After Port Said, the Canal is interesting – tying up and letting boats pass, it's a great experience. You'll pass El Canetarro on the East side where the Engineers put up a bridge during the War. Then you get the Bitter Lakes and the Suez, then the Red Sea – it must be pretty lively with the Abyssinian War on. Your next half will be Aden where you can see the Wells of Solomon – you are quite close to the War Zone there, too. After that, you have the longest spell to Colombo, which is a very nice place to go off at. The best hotel is the Galle Palace Hotel then you can take a trip up to Mount Lavinia. You get some nice stones in Colombo too, but you can easily be done. After Colombo, you have about three days to Madras with a lovely Aquarium on the sea front, then in another three to four days, Calcutta. You'll see all the Mills on the way up the Hooghly. You'll enjoy the trip all right, and Uncle Harry and Bert and myself will be meeting you at the jetties – very probably Thursday 12th December.

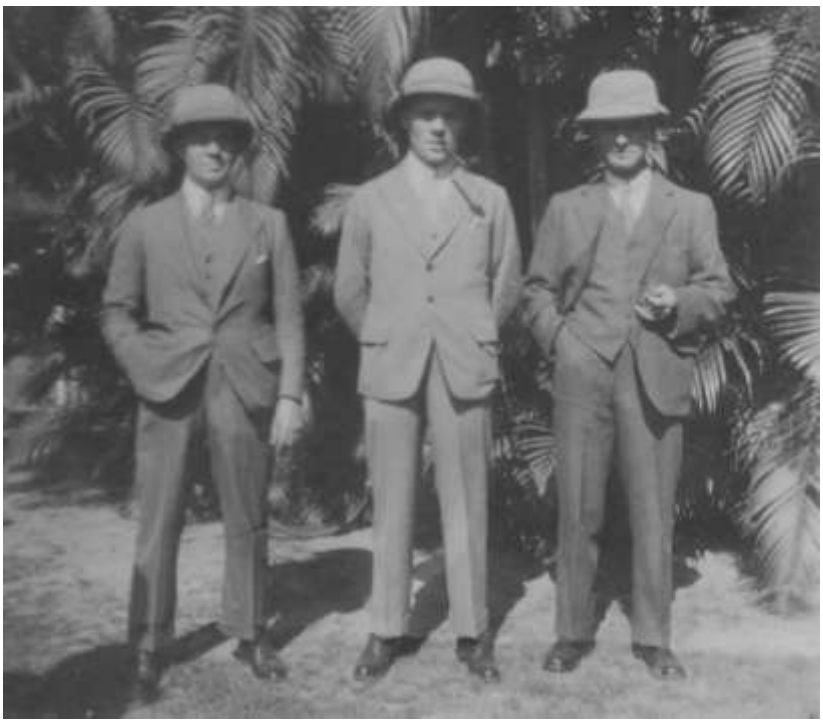
Golf: The Patersons relaxed at the weekend with sport.

[5] The 'Agreement' would have been a Contract of Employment for four or five years. As my Dad was under 21 years of age, presumably his father had to sign the Agreement papers on his behalf.

When you arrive I'll have some time to fit you out with a few pairs of white pants, and you can do any other shopping before we go up to the Mill. I don't suppose you'll do much on the Friday except sort up your Quarters, or perhaps have a walk round, then on Saturday I'll show you round inside the Mill – we work on repairs up till about 10.30; after that the weekend is our own for golf or snooker etc, or tennis. You'll find the chaps here all right, and I'll have things as comfortable as possible, though of course you'll have to learn to rough it a bit. By the way, you'll require a topee after Port Said – you can get a cheap one there in Simon Artez's. See and keep your bowels moving and don't hesitate to take a dose of medicine.

The second letter, dated 1 December 1935, describes the journey up the Hooghly to Calcutta, virtually mile-by-mile and mill-by-mill e.g.: 'Lothian has a squint chimney', 'Uncle Harry will wave a towel at you from the veranda, but still be at Calcutta before you to greet you when you arrive', and so on.

When you get to the mouth of the Ganges you may have to wait at the Point called the "James and Mary" till the tide is suitable for coming up the Hooghly. The river is not too deep, and it is necessary to come up on the high tide. The first place you pass on the right is Diamond Harbour, about 30 miles from Calcutta. You'll find then that the boat keeps to the deep channel all the way up, and that, of course, is always on the outside of the bend. When they cross the river diagonally, they are guided by two similar marks on opposite sides. About 8 to 10 miles up from Diamond Harbour, you'll pass the Birla Mills (quite close) where I came out to first, and you'll see my old Quarters first; then, at the far end, Jack's old house – you've seen heaps of snaps of that Mill. After Birla, you cut over to the other side and pass a cotton mill, then a group of jute Mills, Gagalbais, Ludlow (American), Premchand (Jack Paterson built it) and Lawrence. Then on the right, further on, you come to Andrew Yule Mills – Orient, Albion, Lothian (with a squint chimney) and Budge Budge. Uncle Harry is at Budge Budge now, re-laying out the Mill. You pass quite close to it, and Harry will be looking out for you, either on the jetty or at his house, which is in front of the far end of the Mill on the river bank, and you'll see the New Quarters building just before you come to it. I'll tell him to wave a towel, and you'll be able to make him out. After your boat passes, Harry has plenty of time to come up and meet you in Calcutta. After the Mill, you have the Oil Depots, and across from that is



The Three Brothers Paterson: David, Bert and Harry in India in the 1920s.

Port Glazier Mills. Then, on the right, there is Caledonian and Cheviot Mills (Andrew Yule). Harry was Manager at the latter. The next lot you'll pass is on the left – Delta, Belvedere and National (Andrew Yule). Harry was also Manager at Belvedere for a spell. Beyond this group on the left is the Botanical Gardens, and on the right, Union South, and further up, Clive, with the CESC Power Station just about the same place. I think you'll probably enter King George's Docks here and get off at the jetties, but you may come right up to Outram Ghat and, if so, you pass the Strand and the Port on your right, and Howrah, Fort William and Ganges Jute Mills on the left.

The Bridge is further on. Gondalpara is on the Howrah side but about 24 miles further up, and we'll go by car. Now, that's about as much as I can tell you of interest on the way up the river. We'll be meeting the boat and I hope I may have a letter from you next Sat. by ordinary Mail, and I'll answer it to Madras straight away if there's time to send it. You'll probably want white suits straight away, and I'll try and fix that up. I think you'll be all right otherwise, as I have bedding etc. I hope you've had a nice trip out and am just wearying on a letter now. See and watch the sun, and wear your topee always when exposed. Best and fondest love and all the best, Your loving Dad.

This first letter was written to arrive at Tilbury before Dad left the UK, and the second to be delivered to him at Colombo, en route to Calcutta. All the old letters make fascinating reading and every time I re-read them, I discover some other fact that I have missed before.

The two 'unknown' Patersons, Jack and Willie, were a mystery to me, and I set about trying to find their connection to my part of the family tree. I assumed the best way was to start my research into the Scottish records,[6] to work back from my grandfather, and somehow find Jack, Willie or their parents further back, and see if there was a connection with India there. My grandfather, father and their siblings were all born in Lochee, Dundee, and all had something to do with the jute industry there, hence their connection with Calcutta and West Bengal, India. But I found that my grandfather's parents and their siblings were born a little further north, still on the East Coast, in Montrose and Arbroath – not jute this time, but seamen and masters of ships and so on. Then I found one of their ancestors, a William Paterson, was a watchmaker and born at Laurencekirk, Kincardineshire, which is further north again, and he had married Euphemia Orkney. Had her family come from the island of Orkney some generations before that? More research for the future. The usual names for all the boys born to Patersons were John, William, Henry and Robert, and later on David also.

I spent quite some time feeling confused about one of the Williams I had come across. Born in 1860 he seemed to have William Paterson and Ann Smith as his parents, but also to have John Paterson and Mary Findlay as his parents. Eventually, after many hours checking the family details on census and BMD records, I discovered that there were two Williams, one born in January 1860 and the other born in November 1860, and that they were cousins.

[6] http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/

I hoped to find siblings of William born in Laurencekirk, and to see whether they had gone to India, but at the moment I have not found any who have; I think I may have found William's father, who is a Robert, (no mention of a mother's name), but that is as far as it goes at the moment. Perhaps a reader of this article will see something that triggers a memory or some information that I might find useful – I should be most grateful. Through the Tay Valley Family History Society[7] and through my own cousin, I have discovered more of Dad's cousins, all octogenarians who did not know of my existence, and have gleaned lots of information from them.

I discovered that Henry Paterson (Uncle Harry, brother of my grandfather), and his wife had three children in India. I had only known of two children, but they had a third child named William. Although with no proof as yet, I assume that he is the 'Willie' in the letters as he was born out in India, and I believe his father Henry was still there at the relevant time. I also found out, however, that I now have to search for an Alexander Hill as well, known as Alister, who was another full cousin out there at the time, also working in the jute industry.

According to Dad's cousins, Uncle Harry had designed and invented some jute mill machinery, possibly for spinning, which was put into some of the jute mills around Calcutta. He then returned to Scotland and ran or owned an engineering company in Monifieth and became quite well off. I have yet to research the where's and when's of this information.

The other pre-war Calcutta-based sibling of my grandfather, Robert (Bert) had been working since 1919 for the Calcutta Electric Supply Company as Sales Manager, (which must be why the CESC was particularly mentioned in the above letter), and he returned to Scotland in September 1939, owning the electrical business called R Kilpatrick & Co near the top of Reform Street in Dundee. Rather romantically, he proposed to his sweetheart back in Dundee by cable from India, as it was obvious he was not going to get back soon, and she travelled out to India to marry him in St Andrews Church, Bombay, on 21 December 1923. They had two children both born in India, Ian and Margaret. Ian grew up to be the well-loved opera singer and actor Ian Paterson, who died in 2008.[8]

My father, David WH Paterson, fought with the Royal Engineers in Burma, including in the push for Arakan. He had four medals from WWII including the Burma Star, and in the original box was another unexplained but very distinctive ribbon with no medal. I have been helped tremendously by people on the india-british-raj mailing list[9] regarding this ribbon, but we cannot explain why it was in Dad's possession. It belonged to the Durand Medal, but this was not given to officers, which my father was. A mystery for the moment.

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[7] Contactable via http://www.tayvalleyfhs.org.uk/ or Tay Valley Family History Society, 179 - 181 Princes Street, Dundee, DD4 6DQ, Scotland, UK, Tel/Fax: +44 (0)1382 461845

[8] Obituary: Gordon Irving, *The Herald*, 30 Jun 2008

[9] http://lists.rootsweb.ancestry.com/

At some time in 1944, Dad transferred to the India Office in London and was in charge of 'procurement and shipping of 3,500,000 tons of specialised engineer equipment per year to the Far East, with a seat on the priority allocating Committee of the War Cabinet'. Then he went on to 'negotiating transfer value of British Military Installations in India after India attained independence', and 're-settlement of Royal Engineer Officers previously attached to the Indian Army, as they returned to the UK on completion of their engagements'. It all sounds very interesting and important work – more research to do there. This is where he met my mother, they were married on the day the War ended in 1945, and the story continued in Blighty, until we all trooped out to India and the jute industry in 1953 and 1954, to continue the family tradition.

David Paterson and his son David WH Paterson (Carol's father) c.1935.

In association with the Dundee University Archive Department, with the Deputy Archivist Caroline Brown and her assistants, I have started a Paterson Archive[10] covering official paperwork, old photos and pre-war cine films transferred to dvd, Grandfather's letters, 'my' Patersons and their connections with the jute industries of Dundee and India/Calcutta. This Archive Department has the biggest collection for research into the jute industry in the UK and the connection between Dundee and Calcutta. A visit to the Verdant Works Museum not far from the University is also a must for anybody connected with or interested in the jute industry.[11] I am donating the original cine films to the British Film Institute in London.

So, as you can see, I have not completed my research about my grandparents' time in India, about 'Jack' and 'Willie' and their connection with India and the rest of my Patersons, and moreover I have acquired another Paterson descendant, Alister/Alexander Hill, to find out about. I suppose it all keeps me out of mischief.

Carol's recommended reading

- Eugenie Fraser, *A Home by the Hooghly - A Jute Wallah's Wife*, (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishers, 1989)
- Gordon T. Stewart, *Jute and Empire*, (Manchester Univ. Press, 1998)
- Mark Watson, *Jute Flax Mills in Dundee,* (Hutton Press Ltd. 1990)
- D R Wallace, *The Romance of Jute - A Short History of the Calcutta Jute Industry, 1855-1909*, (1909)

[10] University of Dundee Archive Collection: MS 276 - David Paterson Collection

[11] See http://www.rrsdiscovery.com/ for more details

‘Peculiar Circumstances’: Catholic Chaplains of the Victorian British Army in India

By Margaret Mulvihill

This article was previously published in the Electronic British Library Journal (www.bl.uk/eblj) and is reprinted here with permission. The eBLJ is dedicated to the study of the history of the BL and its collections.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century – the gung-ho heyday of the British Empire – one third of the regular British Army was routinely stationed on the Indian subcontinent. These 70,000-odd men included cooks, saddlers, blacksmiths, dairy managers, paymasters and engineers – as well as combatant soldiers – and almost a fifth of them were Catholic Irishmen.[1] Once aboard the troop-ships that sailed from Portsmouth, Liverpool and Queenstown (now Cobh), they were paid, fed, trained, entertained and equipped out of revenues raised in India by its British-run government (1858-1947). It was the job of the chaps at the military department of the India Office in London to make all the necessary arrangements, and to account for the cost of everything from boots to beer, and their labours are recorded in the vast India Office archives of the British Library.

While such a significant proportion of the army rank and file were ‘forbidden to accept the ministrations of any Church but their own’,[2] the provision of Catholic chaplains was an unavoidable extra expense for the Victorian military authorities. The logistical calculations were simple enough. For every 300 Catholic soldiers, one priest would be provided with a free passage and ‘messing’ (meals on board ship), and while he was serving with the army in India he would receive a horse allowance and the salary of a junior commissioned officer. But the ‘peculiar circumstances’ pertaining to a Catholic priest’s employment made for somewhat exasperating blips in economy and efficiency. For example, on voyages to and from India – so as to facilitate the hearing of Confession and the giving of instruction – a priest might hope to be provided with an extra large, two-berth cabin. On packed government troop-ships, where the allocation of precious berths was a fraught and fiercely contested business, this was a serious concession. On the other hand, Catholic priests did not require passages for their wives and children, such concessions being ‘of their nature inappropriate to celibates’.[3]

There were other anomalies. Unlike Church of England army chaplains, whose pay was a civil charge, and whose conditions of service were comparable with those of other noncombatant commissioned officers, such as doctors, Catholic priests were not bound to obey military orders. Appointed and controlled by their spiritual supervisors, they were ‘liable to be removed or exchanged by their bishops without formal reference to Indian

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1 Keith Jeffery (ed.), *An Irish Empire?: Aspects of Ireland and the British Empire* (Manchester, 1996), pp102-3.
2 IOR: L/MIL/7/3123.
3 IOR: L/MIL/7/3090.

authorities'.[4] And whereas clergymen of other Christian denominations could, on occasion, share a church building and even cover for each other, without offending their flocks or compromising their faith, Catholic priests had no such options. No matter how many Catholic soldiers were suddenly and unavoidably detained at his station in India, a priest was in no position casually to double the number of Masses that he said on a Sunday. Besides the potential breach of canon law, the army authorities were reminded of the pre-Mass fasting requirement, which meant that a sequence of Masses would be too much for any 'ordinary constitution'.[5]

In steering a tactful course between army regulations and peculiar Catholic circumstances, the authorities risked the wrath of the Protestant Alliance, a sectarian pressure group that drew attention to any public display of devotion to Rome by uniformed soldiers of the Queen. In 1875 the Protestant Alliance complained about the participation of four uniformed Life Guards in a May procession outside a Catholic church in Ladbroke Grove in London. In response, War Office officials pointed out that, as the men had not ventured beyond the immediate precinct of their own church, they were not in breach of army regulations. Nearly twenty years later, in 1894, the Protestant Alliance complained again about the participation of Her Majesty's soldiers in a 'Romish' church service in Madras. This was a Mass to celebrate the golden jubilee of local Archbishop Colgan during which, at the elevation of the Host, uniformed soldiers had presented arms, and military bandsmen had played music. Although these men had acted with the permission of their commanding officers, the India Office agreed that the proceedings had been 'irregular' and that they should be strictly prohibited in future, but no further action was taken.[6]

A live-and-let-live policy was recommended to the Secretary of State for India by Father Joseph Redman of the Catholic cathedral in the major embarkation port of Portsmouth. In his considerable experience, the men in general, and Irish soldiers in particular, were 'more swayed by kindnesses of this sort than by other means', deriving 'great pleasure in taking part in the Solemn Ceremonies of the Church, and the Functions of the Greater Festivals; and that this has upon them an effect which deserves encouragement.'[7]

For the most part, the top brass were inclined to agree. At a time when the army could only compete, in terms of pay, with the meanest, least secure civilian employment, anything that boosted morale, and sustained recruitment levels, without significant extra costs was well worth the occasional embarrassment. When they were cornered – by representatives of other minority Christian denominations – they could always fall back on the statistics. In 1919, for example, the army could hardly be expected to employ a Welsh-speaking Calvinist Methodist minister when only forty-three soldiers of that persuasion were serving in India.[8] Even so, several Nonconformist clergymen did win concessions – free passages

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[4] IOR: L/MIL/7/3123.
[5] IOR: L/MIL/7/3099.
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] IOR: L/MIL/7/3117.

and so on – on the basis of their work as temperance and 'purity' campaigners. Catholic priests were also involved in the late Victorian drive against alcoholism, an especially pernicious curse of European soldiers under the Indian sun. But when push came to shove, as it did during the First World War, Catholic priests would not be pushed or shoved into quasi-military, extrapastoral roles.

By then, many of the Catholic priests on the army payroll in India were refugees from the church-state conflicts of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Belgium and France. Two Belgian priests – Fathers Ory and Floor – accompanied units of the Indian Labour Corps (previously known as coolies), who were sent to work as labourers, porters and dockers on the Western Front. Although Father Floor was not considered temperamentally suitable for supervisor's work, he was granted a temporary officer's commission because of his morale-boosting influence with the men. After the First World War, Lord Esher's Committee on the Army in India expressed concern about the large number of 'priests of other nationalities' on the government payroll on the grounds that they were not 'fully conversant with Indian conditions and aware of the special temptations to which a soldier in this country is exposed'.[9] But this concern was outweighed by the fact that the 'average emoluments of a Roman Catholic priest under the existing system are not more than a minimum wage' and that these 'foreigners' were 'content with a humbler standard of living'.[10] For this reason, when the largely Catholic Irish regiments of the British Army were disbanded in the 1920s, the authorities could afford to let things be, and there was no corresponding reduction in the number of Catholic army chaplains in India.

Transport News - 1889

Whilst transcribing domestic occurrences in the *Madras Mail*, a volunteer came across the following interesting snippets of news:

FIRE AT THE NAGPORE RAILWAY STATION

Nagpore, 18th April 1889

The goods shed of the Nagpore Railway Station has been burnt down. The loss is calculated at a lakh of rupees. The loss falls on the GIP and the Nagpore Railways. The fire was caused by the explosion of native fire-works while being unloaded.

THE 'LANSDOWNE BRIDGE' AT SUKKUR

Allahabad, 3rd April 1889

It is proposed to add some lateral bracing before the final opening of the Lansdowne Bridge at Sukkur for simultaneous rail and road traffic, on account of the oscillation experienced at the opening ceremony.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] IOR: Ms L/MIL/7/3123

Fanciful Memories? The Foothead Family in India

By Carol Gilbert

When I first started researching my family tree in the 1980s, I gathered as much information as I could from living relatives. My father was brought up by his maternal grandparents, Edward James (EJ) and Thirza Foothead in rural New Zealand, his parents having divorced and his mother busy running a shop in Wellington city. He gave me as much information as he could remember from his grandfather EJ's stories. I was told that EJ believed his own grandfather had come from a reasonably wealthy family, but drink and debauchery had cost them their fortune. EJ also believed his father to have been a Sergeant Major in the Army who saw service in India. During his time there he had married twice, both times to girls born in India, both wives dying in childbirth. After his return to England he met and married EJ's mother, Mary Anne Manning, and there were more children. EJ remembered swimming in Limehouse Cut with his siblings as a boy. The Cut ran at the back of their house and his parents ran the Seaman's Mission in Limehouse, East London.

We rather thought a lot of this was fanciful and the truth would never be known, but it was a starting point, and with a name as unusual as Foothead I was naïve enough to think it would be easy to gather what information there was. I had not imagined how often, and in how many different ways the name could be mis-recorded or transcribed. Here I must pause to acknowledge the invaluable assistance I received with my research from FIBIS. Without their help, in the person of Noel Gunther, it would have been impossible for me to dig all of the information out of the British Library archives, at least not without financing a prolonged stay in London.

The story starts in December 1799 when James Felix Foothead was born the son of a highly thought of schoolmaster, James Foothead, and his wife Sarah Elizabeth in St Giles, Bloomsbury, London, England. In 1813, Sarah Elizabeth died and James remarried. Jane Norris was a girl with whom he seems to have already been having a relationship as they had two children who were both baptized after their marriage, but born before.

A major turning point in family fortunes occurred in 1814. James's brother Charles sold the school where they both taught and there was a scandal surrounding their father JJ who was widely reported in various publications, including *The Gentleman's Magazine*, to have died age 75 just six days after marrying his former ward. Not long after this, James gave up teaching and became a tax collector, as is evidenced

Edward James (EJ) Foothead and his wife Thirza in New Zealand

by the baptismal records of his children. There were an increasing number of children and a steady move from the west to the east of London as family finances declined.

Against this background it is hardly surprising that James Felix left home as soon as he was old enough. He signed up for the East India Company Army the day after his 18th birthday in November 1817.[1] He was embarked on the *Marchioness of Ely* bound for the Madras Presidency in March 1818. The 1818 muster roll shows him as a Matross (meaning Junior Gunner) in the 1st Battalion Madras Artillery.[2] At this point he is recorded as being 5ft 6½ inches tall, having a long face with sallow complexion, blue eyes and dark brown hair. Interestingly, on his discharge in 1848, although the rest of the physical description remains the same, he had grown to 5ft 9 inches tall. This difference was probably not a recording error at either point, but an unusual, hereditary, family characteristic. My father, my son and I have all grown at least two inches after reaching the age of 21.

In 1827, James Felix's cousin Eliza Foothead sailed for India as a companion to a Mrs Moorat. She travelled extensively while there, returning to Europe with the Moorat family in 1836. I wonder how much time, if any, she spent with her cousin? She married in Europe shortly after her return and as Mrs Eliza Steinforth seems to have made several journeys between Boulogne and England and also Marseilles and India, the last I know about in 1858.

James Felix is shown in the Casualty List[3] as being transferred to the 1st Battalion on 1 September 1825 and is listed as a 'Road Sergeant, Effective Supernumeraries' in the 1829-33 muster rolls.[4] Effective Supernumeraries are peculiar to the Madras Presidency; in the Bengal and Bombay Armies they were recorded on the Town Major's List and after 1861 the Unattached List. According to the British Library's online India Office Dictionary and Glossary,[5] this was 'the name given to the select cadre of European non-commissioned officers who served extra-regimentally, mainly in the Ordnance, Commissariat and Public Works Departments.'

Until recently, I did not know what the role of a Road Sergeant would have been, but I found it repeated in several muster rolls and a Church Register. In the course of finishing this article, I posted the query on the FIBIS member's messageboard[6] and Beverly Hallam [the FIBIS Research Coordinator] found the following description:

> The construction and maintenance of roads and bridges in military cantonments is under the control of the Military Board, as already said; at division head quarters the work is usually performed by the Quartermaster general of the division staff, under the orders of the Board, and at other stations by the station Staff Officer…A small establishment, consisting of a Road

[1] IOR: L/MIL/11/101
[2] IOR: L/MIL/11/127
[3] IOR: L/MIL/11/132
[4] IOR: L/MIL/11/136 (1829 onwards)
[5] http://indiafamily.bl.uk/UI/Dictionary.aspx
[6] Members can access this re-launched feature from the Members' Area of the FIBIS website.

> Serjeant &c &c, is kept up for the work, and the Lascars and bullocks of the Commissariat Department, and in some cases civil convicts, are employed in the work.[7]

By January 1826, James Felix was in Nagpur and married to a local girl called Anne. I have yet to discover her maiden name. Although I have not found their marriage record, I do have the baptismal record for their son Thomas Henry who was baptised in December 1826.[8] The clergyman in Nagpur at that time, the Rev. Jeafferson was very careful to annotate his records to show Indian blood on all his baptismal entries and as Thomas is not described as British-Indian, unlike another child baptized the same day, I am reasonably certain Anne must have been of British/European origins.

Anne died in 1829, still aged only 19, and was buried on 29 September in Kamptee cemetery.[9] If what EJ was told is true and she died in childbirth, it must have been as a result of a second pregnancy. The burial record does not record a cause of death and again James is described as a Road Sergeant.

What happened to Thomas Henry remains a mystery. I have found no death record, which would have been at Nagpur as his father was still there when Anne died, but neither have I found any further reference to him. However the name was never re-used and James Felix was not original in naming his children, names being repeated on more than one occasion following the death of the original child.

After the death of Anne, James Felix speedily married again in May 1830, by which time he was 'Sergeant Quarter Master in the Gun Dept'.[10] His second wife was Margaret Simpson and the marriage entry records Margaret as being a spinster and 'a European lady'. It may be purely coincidence, but the page in the burial register that contains the entry for Anne Foothead also contains one for a Private James Simpson of the 2nd European Regiment. If this was Margaret's father, brother or sponsor, then she could have been in a very vulnerable position. Marriage to James Felix could have solved problems for both of them, which may explain why they married so remarkably soon after Anne's death. Perhaps there was a child or children in need of care and to protect the reputation of the young lady, they married.

The marriage entry is in a transcribed compilation from various Churches of the Diocese. The record illustrates that the Rev. Jeafferson probably had appalling writing; the transcription of his entry in the register has James Felix's name and status as Forthead Willows instead of Foothead Widower.

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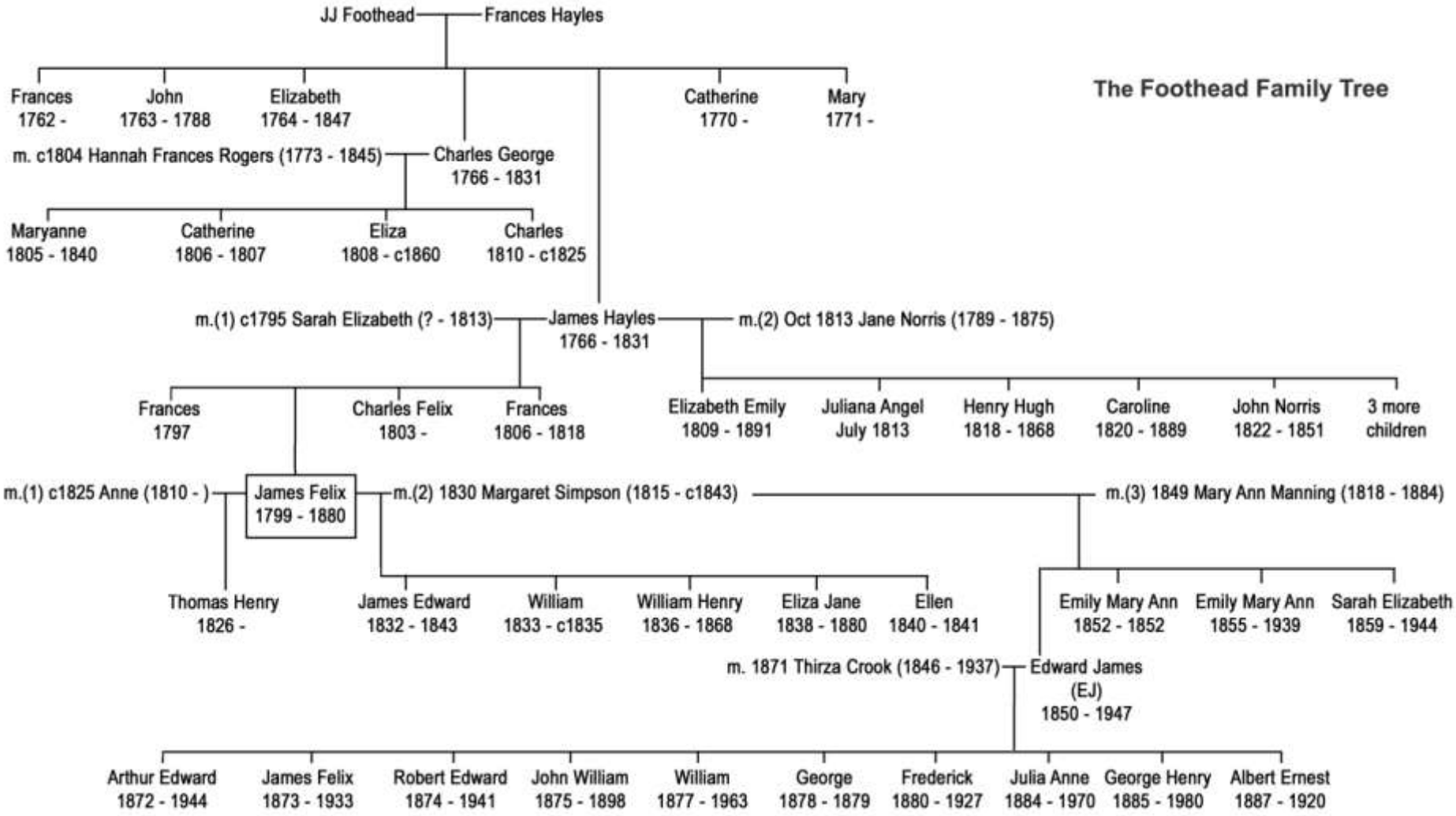
[7] *The Sessional Papers Printed By Order Of The House Of Lords Or Presented By Royal Command In The Session* Vol LXV Public Works (India) p72 1853

[8] IOR: N/2/10/108

[9] IOR: N/2/11/1061

[10] IOR: N/2/12/292


The Foothead Family Tree
JJ Foothead
Frances Hayles
Frances 1762 -
John 1763 - 1788
Elizabeth 1764 - 1847
Catherine 1770 -
Mary 1771 -
m. c1804 Hannah Frances Rogers (1773 - 1845)
Charles George 1766 - 1831
Maryanne 1805 - 1840
Catherine 1806 - 1807
Eliza 1808 - c1860
Charles 1810 - c1825
m.(1) c1795 Sarah Elizabeth (? - 1813)
James Hayles 1766 - 1831
m.(2) Oct 1813 Jane Norris (1789 - 1875)
Frances 1797
Charles Felix 1803 -
Frances 1806 - 1818
Elizabeth Emily 1809 - 1891
Juliana Angel July 1813
Henry Hugh 1818 - 1868
Caroline 1820 - 1889
John Norris 1822 - 1851
3 more children
m.(1) c1825 Anne (1810 -)
James Felix 1799 - 1880
m.(2) 1830 Margaret Simpson (1815 - c1843)
m.(3) 1849 Mary Ann Manning (1818 - 1884)
Thomas Henry 1826 -
James Edward 1832 - 1843
William 1833 - c1835
William Henry 1836 - 1868
Eliza Jane 1838 - 1880
Ellen 1840 - 1841
Emily Mary Ann 1852 - 1852
Emily Mary Ann 1855 - 1939
Sarah Elizabeth 1859 - 1944
m. 1871 Thirza Crook (1846 - 1937)
Edward James (EJ) 1850 - 1947
Arthur Edward 1872 - 1944
James Felix 1873 - 1933
Robert Edward 1874 - 1941
John William 1875 - 1898
William 1877 - 1963
George 1878 - 1879
Frederick 1880 - 1927
Julia Anne 1884 - 1970
George Henry 1885 - 1980
Albert Ernest 1887 - 1920

Margaret and James Felix's first child, James Edward was born in January 1832.[11] At this time they were still in Nagpur and the baptismal entry records James as being in the Quarter Master Generals Department. Another son, William, was born in Vepery in November 1833, and baptized the following January,[12] but he must have died at some point in the next 2 years (although I have not found a record) as William Henry was born in October 1836.[13] By this time they had moved again, to Cannanore and James Felix was noted as Garrison Sergeant Major on William Henry's baptismal record.

After 20 years with the East India Company Army, James Felix retired from active service in 1839 and was pensioned. The fourth child born to him and Margaret, Eliza Jane, although born in December 1838 was not baptized until June 1839 at St Mary's Church, Madras, by which time James was shown as a 'Pensioned Sergeant'.[14] In October 1840, he was still in the Madras area when another daughter Ellen was born[15] and he was then a 'Pensioned Staff Sergeant', the subtle difference being due to the confirmation of his Sergeant Pension at the beginning of the year. Ellen died at only 8 months old, but must have been reasonably healthy at birth as she was born in October and not baptized until the following 26 May. She was probably baptized then because she was ill and not expected to live at that time; she was buried on 11 June.[16]

In May 1843 James Edward died at the age of 11 and was buried at Vizagapatam.[17] I do not know if the family had moved there, or if he was away at school at the time. In October of 1843, a Miss Foothead and Mr Foothead arrived in Madras from Vizagapatam on the *Sarah*, with an ayah but neither parent.[18] Does this entry refer to Eliza Jane and William Henry? And were they returning home or perhaps going to school?

I have found no further records for the family until James Felix returned to England, 'at his own request', in 1848 when his occupation is given as 'Apothecary'. His return may have been prompted by the award of an additional pension of 1 shilling a day, £18 5s per year, on top of his regular pension, as a time served Sergeant, for those resident in Great Britain. It may also have been that having survived for 30 years, and sensing the unrest brewing around him that developed not long after into the Mutiny, he felt it prudent to take his two surviving young children, William Henry and Eliza Jane, back to the relative safety of England. As Margaret did not return with him, I believe she must have died earlier, which is also what my great grandfather, EJ, had said, though I have no documentary evidence for this. I think that it is probable that her death was before the death of James Edward as she is not mentioned in his burial entry, whereas other mothers are. If she did die in childbirth, it

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[11] IOR: N/2/13/213
[12] IOR: N/2/15/156
[13] IOR: N/2/23/155
[14] IOR: N/2/19/199
[15] IOR: N/2/20/217
[16] IOR: N/2/20/307
[17] IOR: N/2/21/317 (no cause of death was given)
[18] *The Indian Mail*, Issue 1, 1843, p275

would have been with her 6th pregnancy and probably in late 1842/early 43. There is about a two year gap between each of her older children, so that would fit the pattern.

If he was living, Thomas Henry did not accompany his father either, but by this time, he would have been 22, working and quite possibly married. None of the adult Foothead children seem to have been close to their parents and all left home at around 18 (as is revealed by census, enlistment, embarkation and other records) so this is no surprise and not necessarily an indication that he had died. I have not yet found any other reference to him, but as it has taken me 30 years to find what I have, that is not conclusive either way.

Although James Felix had returned to England, this did not signal the end of his India connections. In 1849, in London, he married for a third time, his wife being local girl Mary Ann Manning. They had a draper's shop in Hill St, Richmond, according to the 1851 census, and William was at home with them as was the newborn Edward James (EJ) whilst Eliza was away at a school in Hatcham, near Greenwich. But James Felix was not cut out to be a draper and the enterprise did not last long.

EJ remembered his parents running a Seamans' Mission in London's East End, so I was delighted to find a reference to him in connection with The Strangers' Home for Asiatic and Lascar Seamen which was opened in Limehouse in 1857.[19] James Felix became its first Superintendent.[20] The home was built to accommodate and assist the large number of Lascars [Indian seamen] who found themselves stranded in London with little money, no language and no passage home. Much of the initial funding came from the East India Company and the Maharajah Duleep Singh.[21] James must have been an ideal candidate for the job. Newly returned and therefore still familiar with Indian customs and ways, used to commanding large groups of men, familiar with their languages and very aware how different the climate and life was in London. How long he held the post is unclear, as I have only found one relevant reference, the accounts for 1857; the early life of the Home is not well documented.

In 1861, James Felix, listed on the census as an EIC Pensioner, was living in Richmond Road, Dalston, Hackney, London with his wife, son EJ and two younger daughters Elizabeth[22] and Sarah. Although William Henry and Eliza Jane are both totally missing from the census, neither had died. In April 1857, Eliza Jane aged just 18 and on her own, set sail as an assisted emigrant for Sydney, Australia. Some years later, still in Australia, she married the widowed son of a soldier, who was Greenwich born, and whom she may have met while at school. She may even have followed him to Australia. Emigrating alone, to a totally new country, for a young, single female is not usual and she must have been very adventurous, had a very compelling reason or both.

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[19] An image of the Strangers' Home can be seen on the back cover of this Journal.

[20] *The Evangelical magazine and missionary chronicle*, Volume 36, June 1858

[21] The last Maharajah of the Punjab, Duleep Singh was exiled to Britain as a teenager and is considered the first Sikh to settle in the country.

[22] Emily Mary Ann Foothead (bapt. 1855) is incorrectly recorded as Elizabeth on the 1861 census.

James Felix's son William Henry Foothead enlisted himself in the EIC Army,[23] just like his father before him, aged 18 and as soon as he was old enough. The Enlistment Records show him as 5ft 6, with a fresh complexion, blue eyes and dark brown hair, very similar to the description of his father at that age, but of fairer complexion which suggests his mother Margaret was fairer skinned. He sailed on the *Albuera*, bound for Bombay on 23 Nov 1854, starting his career as a Private in the 2nd European Light Infantry. During his service the EIC was abolished and its European military servants were transferred to Her Majesty's Army, so William Henry ended his career as a Corporal in the 106th Regiment of Foot.

His service was not as long or as fortunate as his father's. He had reached the rank of Corporal by 1863, but was invalided back to England in July that year, still a single man and sailing on the *Morayshire* for London. He died in 1868 of tuberculosis, probably contracted during his army service and probably the reason he was sent home.

It seems that military service and India must run in the Foothead blood as James Felix's half brother, John Norris Foothead also enlisted.[24] He joined Her Majesty's 80th Regiment of Foot in 1839, lying about his age and claiming to be just 18 when he was actually only just 17. He saw service in Australia and then in India where he fought in the battles at Moodkee and Ferozeshah during the 1st Sikh War (1845-46). He was wounded during the latter and invalided back to England, where he was discharged in 1846. He died in 1852 of 'Pthisis of Long Standing'.[25]

It is sad that James Felix Foothead died of typhoid, in London in 1880, having avoided the disease for all those years in India. Of the ten live children born to him during his 80 years, only five (or just possibly six if Thomas Henry did live) reached adulthood and only one, EJ, had children of their own. EJ also had 'itchy feet' feeling there were 'no prospects' in England. He left the UK for pastures new, not India this time, but New Zealand, sailing on the *Euterpe* with his new wife Thirza in 1874. He founded a dynasty there, having nine sons and one daughter, most of whom survived to breed on. One of his great grandsons, Garry Foothead, even found his way back to India, where he died in Vepery in 2001.

Where I have been able to find supporting evidence, everything my great grandfather EJ mentioned has a pretty firm basis in fact, which adds credence to the bits as yet unverified. It is amazing just how true EJ's memories have turned out to be.

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[23] IOR: L/MIL/12/113 (also on the FIBIS database)

[24] TNA: WO 97/900/44 (Royal Hospital Chelsea: Soldiers Service Documents)

[25] The term seems to have been popular with the military surgeons of the first half of the 19th C. It applies to wasting diseases and particularly to Tuberculosis.

Life with Tea in India: the Diaries of Samuel Cleland Davidson

By Wendy Pratt and Peter Bleakley

Those attending the FIBIS Spring lecture meeting enjoyed an entertaining and informative talk on Samuel Cleland Davidson by Wendy and her nephew Peter. Using extracts from Davidson's diaries to illustrate his life in India, it marked the first lecture we have received on tea planting. Presented in an edited form here, members can also find a full length video and podcast of the lecture in the multimedia section of the FIBIS website.

My great grandfather Samuel was an amazing man who was fascinated by, and seemed to be able to do, everything he put his hand to. He was a great sportsman, a musician, inventor, map maker, a photographer and he was a tea planter. The Davidson family were businessmen, running a flour mill in Belfast and a flax mill in Drumaness. Samuel's mother's family were landowners in County Down. He had 4 older brothers[1] who would take over the flour mill, so being the youngest he was left to find his own fortune. Samuel's youngest daughter, Kathleen, was my grandmother.

Beginning in 1865, the family have some of the diaries Samuel kept during his time in India. They are delightful *Punch* diaries and with very small spaces for each day the information is mostly factual, but every so often a bit of personality can be detected.[2]

A young Samuel Cleland Davidson in India

Samuel Cleland Davidson was born on 18 November 1846, at Ballymachan Farm, Strandtown, Belfast. The family later lived at 'Turf Lodge', Sydenham next to where the offices of Samuel's business would be located. He was educated at the Belfast Royal Academical Institution, left school at fifteen and had two years of tutoring in organic chemistry and photography before starting work at the family flour mill and learning book keeping. Samuel liked to visit his cousins in Drumaness where his uncle John was interested in improving flax production at his mill and had probably the first mill in Ulster to be equipped with power machinery. Here Samuel may also

[1] One of the brothers died at 15 years old.

[2] A list of those mentioned in the diaries, with birth dates, plantations worked at etc., is available on the FIBIS database. Select 'Miscellaneous' and 'Tea Planters Cachar 1865-1875'.

have seen his uncle John's experiments to improve crop yield. He served his apprenticeship with a Town Surveyor, William Hastings. So, throughout his teenage years, Samuel experienced many of the skills that would be crucial to his work in India.

In March 1864 Samuel received an invitation from his cousin, James Davidson,[3] to join him as a tea planter in India. He was to go out with three other Ulstermen, Harry Hunter, Dick Doake and Dawson Baxter, to help run a group of estates in which the Davidson family had acquired an interest. He left for the long journey with his fare and 20 gold sovereigns, a revolver, rifle, camera and a fiddle. He was seventeen years old.

The four lads left Greenock in August 1864 on the *Kashmir*, a ship sailing under both sail and steam, and travelling via Cape Town, reached Calcutta in 66 days. During the voyage, while the other three gave up much of their time to the usual shipboard pleasures, Samuel Davidson's interest was centred on learning navigation, on how to plot the ship's course, and on keeping an accurate daily log of the wind and sea conditions and distance travelled. Some time was also spent each day in studying Hindustani.

After reaching Calcutta, the four youths proceeded up river on the 15 November to Cachar, a matter of some 600 miles, by means of a primitive boat sometimes being rowed and sometimes being towed from the bank. It was under these conditions that Samuel Davidson celebrated his 18th birthday on the 18 November 1864 - a year for every day of the month, as he noted in his diary.[4]

For a great part of the way they passed through flat and marshy, mosquito-ridden countryside,[5] and it was not long before they had their first experience of fever and dysentery. They finally reached the district of Cachar on 5 December 1864.

Life in Cachar

> Mode of life is the same over all the tea districts, and life in one bungalow is a fair sample of life in all…The ordinary routine of a day is, up at five, chota hazree (small breakfast) at five-thirty, work until eleven, when hazree is served, afterwards rest until two o'clock, followed by work until five-thirty or six, bath and dinner and a final adjournment to the verandah, where reading, smoking, a chat, if there is anyone to talk with, over the result of the day's work, until nine-thirty, bed time, brings the day to a close.[6]

Samuel went to the Sylhet district, north east of Dacca, to Puttareah, a garden owned by the Assam Company, who took over the growing of tea from the government. Tea growing had started as an experiment and having found it was possible, and that tea grew naturally in India, the government sold off their experimental gardens to make some money.

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[3] James was the son of Samuel's uncle John the flax mill owner.

[4] Edward Maguire, *The Sirocco Story: the birth and growth of an industry* (Belfast: Davidson & Co, 1969). Ted Maguire was Samuel's son in law.

[5] Samuel's diary containing these adventures has been lost, but George Barker's book *A Tea Planter's life in Assam* provides a description of the monotonous five day journey up the Brahmaputra.

[6] George Barker, *A Tea Planter's life in Assam* (Thacker, Spink & Co, 1884)

Samuel's father had interests in the Assam Company, who bought many of the government plantations.

> 23 May 1865 - It has been settled that Dawson is to go home at once and someone must go along with him as far as Calcutta. James has got the job and I am to go down to Puttana to take his place until he returns. So he and I rode out to Burkhola in order that I may send down some things to Puttana. On way back we had a splendid game of hockey on the Station ground.[7]

So at 18 years old with five months experience Samuel was in charge of the Puttana tea garden.

A polo match in 1913, taken by Kathleen Davidson (Samuel's daughter) on a visit to India.

Hockey was not really hockey as we know it, but polo. In 1857, Joseph Sherer, a subaltern in the Bengal Army, was posted to the Cachar district. In Silchar he saw Manipuri tribesmen playing polo and set about learning himself. Sherer formed the Silchar Polo Club in 1859, the first club of the modern game, with district Superintendent Captain Robert Stewart and seven tea planters. One of them was Samuel's cousin James Davidson.[8]

> 28 Oct 1865 - Played hockey with the Moonapoorees this evening to all the ponies.
>
> 29 October 1865 -. Bought a tat (pony) from the Moonapoorees this morning for 125 rupees. The other day Beela died so I hope the beast may turn out well.
>
> 17 Mar 1866 - St Patrick's Day. Went to hockey with shamrocks in our hats at least something like a shamrock and drowned it when we all assembled at Puttareah . Had a great hockey match. 5 Moonapoorees against 4 of us. We beat them 5 to 1.
>
> 24 Mar 1866 - Had hockey at our own ground beside the tank. Harry and I against James and Boothly. We won by 7 to 6. James' pony played much better than he has done yet.

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[7] All quotations are from Davidson's diaries unless otherwise noted.

[8] http://www.indiapolo.com/Polopedia/History/history.html Other founding members included James Abernethy, Arthur Brownlow, Ernst Echardt, Julius Sandeman. Joseph Sherer is dubbed the father of the modern game.

Alongside polo there was horse racing and other entertainment in Cachar came with the coolie celebrations such as the Hoolie Pooja and Dooga Pooja, birthdays and musical evenings.

> 15 Feb 1866 - This morning at Tara a lot of strolling players came and performed. The chap who did the tricks did some wonderful ones. There were little girls who, I think, have next to no bones in their bodies.
>
> 22 September 1866 - After the usual routine of gardening work we all started after breakfast along with Boothly for Harry's, as yesterday was his 22nd Birthday and he is giving us a big dinner tonight. On the way over Boothly Maurice and I got a most awful stinging with hornets.
>
> 2 Jan 1866 - Racing at seven am. Which continued until about eleven and was first rate. In evening had hockey. Was at Rockford for dinner…then went to Mrs Stewarts for the musical party. I played some solos and on the whole music was prime. Supper afterwards.

George Barker explained how the food was somewhat monotonous:

> One insurmountable difficulty is constantly present before the bungalow caterer which it is impossible to get over, namely, how to vary the diet. Day succeeds day, and the monotony of chicken meat remains unchanged: chicken in every form, chicken cutlets, steaks, minced, spatch cocked, rissoled, roasted, boiled, curried, in soup, on toast, fried, devilled, and many other ways. No man exists who has been in India and has not been compelled to sit down every day of his life to at least one meal in which chicken figured conspicuously in some form or another.[9]

Visiting to eat together was a way of solving the monotony. Another way of varying the diet was to go hunting.

> 13 April 1867 - Garden work all morning. Went out in evening and had some shooting on hatties in the jungle below Stuls garden. Got one pig.
>
> 4 May 1866 - Harry and McKelvey went over to Tara today and Harry has good snipe shooting there now. The Maistra came to me this morning to go to shoot a tiger above his house but when I went with my big rifle it turned out to be a "muldree paku" [sic].
>
> 14 May 1866 - Harry says he was out after a tiger the other day but wasn't in a position to shoot him although he saw him, but when he is going out again he is to send for me or James.

My great grandfather Samuel did kill a tiger as it was on the floor in our house for a very long time until my mother decided it was too moth-eaten and had to go.

Samuel's financial records show he bought lots of photography equipment. He was interested in photography very much, as his diaries indicate.

> 14 Feb 1866 - My Photographic tank arrived this morning from the station. I tried the dry plates but on account of the bad box they were in, light got on them, so nothing came of them. Got one good wet [picture] of Harry Gregg.
>
> 25 Feb 1866 - I did some photos of myself, the baboo[10] and a wee dwarf which turned out to be the best I have done yet.

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[9] Barker, op. cit.

[10] This possibly refers to the head servant.

2 May 1867 - Commenced a series of photos from Burkhola Bungalow. It is panoramic as each view joins to the other. The series will consist of views from all round the house.

The Burkhola Bungalow (detail), by SC Davidson

Making Tea

The young Samuel immediately started to learn the business of tea plantations and within six months it became evident what a versatile and inventive character he was. He soon modernised the plantation administration and estate maps but it was the process of fermenting and rolling the tea leaf which exercised his fertile mind.

Samuel started his work in India by mapping out the area for the first time, so his training with the surveyor in Belfast came in handy. However he soon became interested in the methods of cultivation and production of the tea plant and its crop, reflecting his early experiences in the flax industry. He quickly became an authority on the subject whose opinion was widely sought and he experimented with different techniques for fermenting, rolling and drying the leaf to produce a better tea.

The actual process of producing tea for consumption was lengthy and far from simple, with a number of different stages. Before the processing could begin the tea was plucked and this consisted of taking the soft new leaves and bud (called the pekoe) from the tea plants. Leaf had to be plucked when ready or it went hard.

> 12 Mar 1866 - All the women but about 10 were taken to the Old Garden this morning to pluck leaf. This is their very first day at the work so of course I have an awful amount of bother showing them the way and keeping them in the gullies. There were also 36 Bengalies plucking. In all 68.
>
> 27 March 1867 - We are getting on well both in building and tea making. Getting in about 12 maunds of leaf a day.[11]
>
> 4 April 1867 - Got all the centre posts of No 3 tea house up this morning. Our pluck of leaf today was 12½ maunds. Yesterday was 22½ maunds green leaf. I think we will make about 90 maunds this month.
>
> 21 Mar 1868 - Leaf is coming in pretty regularly still at the rate of about 2½ maunds a day. The weather is very dry and hot. We haven't had rain for a long time and the ground is scorching.

The first production process was called withering and the leaf was spread on bamboo trays covered in fine mesh wire in a well ventilated house. Dissatisfied with the crude and slow methods of withering and drying the leaf over open charcoal fires, Samuel developed a cylindrical drying machine and in 1869 took out a patent for it – the first of many.

[11] Tea was measured in maunds (80lbs) and seers (2 lbs).

4 Jun 1868 - Withered the leaf this morning partly in the cylinder and it seems to do very well but the handle broke in the middle of the day so it is no use till mended again. Very hot day today, again. We have had so little rain yet that the rivers are cold weather height almost.

Tea house work all day experimenting on the withering of the leaf. I am beginning to see that unless I have it plucked and withered all in one day that it will be most difficult to manage.

17 March 1869 - I went in and met Dick in the retreat. No one else was there and we had a very long talk about tea making here and agreed on what the patent was to be got for if possible, which is first the process and second the machine. The process is 'The withering and preparation of green leaf previous to rolling and also the final drying of tea previous to packing by exposure to the heated atmosphere of artificially heated rooms'. When this patent is processed then I will patent the apparatus.

Samuel started his inventions with the process of rolling the leaf. His extensive notes and drawings led to the making of machinery for all the processes in tea making.

7 May 1867 - Was busy along with Harry in tea house getting the new system of rolling into working order. Viz. the leaf commences at one end of the table one man gives it 30 rolls, it is then sifted on a congou sieve which brings out the flowery pekoe, it then goes through 6 more men's hands and when the 6 men roll it a little it is finished.

As so many people were required for processing tea, making a machine was going to be useful. A quote in Samuel's 1869 diary described his plans for this:

A machine for rolling tea leaf. The machine consists of a pendulum attached to the bottom of which is a frame work the shape of an arc, and which oscillates over a parallel arc, with an arrangement for raising or depressing the pendulum through the distance of a few inches. To work the machine the leaf after being withered is put in bags, the bags put between the two arcs and the pendulum made to oscillate. As the leaf in the bags decreases in bulk as it becomes rolled, the pendulum is depressed so as to keep the pressure on the leaf still uniform - the advantages to be gained by the use of the machine are first a great saving of labour and expense in rolling the leaf when compared with doing so by hand labour. Second, from its construction it requires very little power to drive, and is not liable to get out of order easily.

Many histories of tea describe about how difficult it was to get a consistent product, particularly when you have to go through so many processes by hand. Samuel's inventions really did enable a consistent product to be produced in larger amounts. This secured the early, fragile tea industry into something that could become a major industry.

The tea accumulated after rolling was stood to ferment and Edward Money suggests that this process was complete when 'half the twisted leaves inside shall be rusty red, half of them green.'[12] Next, the tea was fired over charcoal. Working in the tea house was a very hot and unpleasant process. It is said the room where the firing took place was usually about 140 degrees.

7 August 1866 - By experiments last night I find that if the leaf is allowed to dry of its own accord after the roasting and not fired over the charcoal at once the leaf will redden. So to keep it damp I now cover it with blankets after the roasting. The great object in making tea that will

[12] Edward Money, *The Cultivation and Manufacture of Tea* (1878)

infuse quick is to bring out all the sap from the heart of the leaf or rather the veins and deposit it on the outside of the leaf.

Samuel was interested in making a tea dryer and invented several machines. The first dryers were updraft machines, but Samuel was always trying to improve the fans. His search for a good fan led in 1898 to yet another concept with a multi-bladed runner of unorthodox design. 'The drive was engaged, the fan sped up and the heavy wooden door at the far end was blown open through the full 90 degrees. What a wonderful moment that must have been. The fan was doing something no other fan had been able to do before, hold open the heavy wooden doors. The Sirocco Forward Bladed Centrifugal Fan had been born.'[13] With the new fan Samuel was able to make the Davidson's Patent Down-draft Sirocco Tea Drier.

It was during the course of all these experiments that the name Sirocco came to be adopted as a trademark due to a casual remark by a planter friend who visited the Works to see the test on one of the drying machines. Astonished at the volume of hot air it produced, he exclaimed, 'Why it's just like the Sirocco wind that blows off the desert.' Sirocco, as you probably know, is the Arabic word for the hot wind that blows across the North African desert. To Samuel the name was so apt that he immediately adopted it as a trademark for his driers and later for all products.[14] The next stage in tea manufacture was sifting. In the early days tea production was very labour intensive. Children worked alongside the women in various activities, for instance sifting, the hand picking out of the pekoe to make the best tea.

> 26 April 1867 - Was in the tea house all morning with Harry experimenting on the making of Golden pekoe, but was not very successful. We had boys picking out the pekoe from green leaf.
>
> 27 April 1867 - Harry left to go a tour round by Knugger, Mussimpore and McMeekins. After he left I hit on a good plan of separating the pekoe, after giving the leaf 40 rolls the pekoe buds break off. A sonfou sieve then takes it all out when it can be manufactured separately.
>
> 30 April 1867 - Raining very heavy in the morning cleared about 9 (o'clock) and we all went over the garden. Afterwards went to tea house and weighed 100 lbs sorted tea. It sorted into Pekoe 33% Souchong 38% Congou 20% BP 9%.

Separating the pekoe meant that tea could fetch much more money. Tea was graded according to quality; Flowering pekoe; Orange pekoe, Pekoe, Souchong, Congou, Bohea. Flowering Pekoe fetched the highest price. Finding an easy way of separating the tea would increase profits. Samuel put his mind to sorting tea and created Davidson's Patent Tea Sorter and Cutter, for reducing and classifying coarse tea.

While most planters were content to make tea according to generally accepted techniques, Samuel Davidson's diaries show he carried out unending experiments in fermenting and rolling leaf. Lack of initial success in these early experiments would have daunted most people but by perseverance and by developing the habit of assiduously noting down and

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[13] Maguire, op. cit.

[14] *Ibid*.

analysing results of each experiment, certain principles began to emerge and factors that had not been given a thought by anyone else up till then suddenly took on particular significance and were found to be essential if good teas were to be produced.

By the end of Samuel's second year at Burkhola, he had vastly increased the size and yield of his gardens and succeeded in developing a technique of production, particularly as regards fermentation and rolling, that had greatly improved the value of the manufactured leaf.[15]

Looking after a tea garden was about people as much as tea.

> 18 Feb 1866 - James arrived in the evening having come the whole way from Puttareah after taking delivery of 104 coolies at Phenstwog grange the day before.
>
> 27 Feb 1866 - This morning I was roused by Lall Roy about 5 o'clock as 13 Calcutta coolies had run away. I sent him off at once on the Phenchoopinge road to tell the villagers they might catch them and for each man get 5 rupees. One man was brought back in the morning. I, Harry Hunter and Lall Roy were out along the Phenchoopinge all night keeping the villagers alert.
>
> 28 Feb 1866 - We were unsuccessful in catching any out in the busties [villages] but whilst we were away two were caught near No 4 tellah. Two more were caught this forenoon and this evening 2 more came back of their own accord as they were starving in the jungle. Some still adrift we are pretty sure of catching 3 of them.

A coolie was basically an indentured servant and the extent to which tea planters sought out absconded coolies shows their value. It was expensive to recruit and transport them to the gardens and they were considered legally bound by contract. The maintenance of the tea garden was very labour intensive. Gardens were about 500 acres, some 1000, and the surrounding jungle was hard to keep down. In Cachar there were many small hillocks called tellahs (sometimes teelah, tillah) that the tea was grown on. Tea plants were also subject to disease.

> 24 Aug 1869 - Watered a number of blighted bushes round the roots with diluted sulphuric acid - 3ozs acid to a watering can full of water - one canfull [sic] to ten plants. It was the blighted bushes of the Sam tillah alone that were watered.
>
> 24 Jun 1867 - No plucking today as leaf is not ready. Most of the women went at weeding, but some were at transplanting and finished the filling of vacancies on the Simn [sic] tellah.
>
> 16 March 1867 - Heavy rain last night. Transplanting all day. Got out 4,500 plants. The greater part of the Ivom tellah is finished altogether. We have got out about 20,000 plants with this rain. More manufacturing going on at present.

The final stage in production was packing up the tea to be sold.By far the best tea boxes are the teak ones from Rangoon. The wood is impervious to insects of all kinds, even white ants. Of course in many districts these boxes are not procurable and local ones must be made.[16]

> 23 June 1866 - Nothing new just the usual work going on. Packing two to three boxes of tea every day. Harry came over in the evening and stayed all night.

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[15] *Ibid.*

[16] Money, op. cit.

22 August 1866 - Nothing much going on today only the same old jolly trot. Finished the packing to break no 3 of 53 chests and I think it is the best we have made yet.

It took days to pack the tea, so of course Samuel came up with a machine for packing.

16 May 1868 - Put out the pekoe in the sun today preparatory to packing. Packed the Souchong. It was only 7 chests. Harry was laid up a bit of fever today but was pretty near all right again in the evening.

19 May 1868 - Commenced packing the pekoe today. Harry and I rode over to Ballacherra to see Wilson in the evening. There has been 40 maunds made there.

21 May 1868 - Finished the packing of the pekoe yesterday. There were 17 chests making a total for this challau of 31/ shillings.

A tough life

Death was never far away, even for the young men who went out to India.

3 Mar 1869 - Harry was over for breakfast. Went out afterwards with him to discuss the best direction of his new road. Dreamt I was at home last night and that I saw Father and that he was better and able to come downstairs, but still there was some grief in the house and mother was crying. They all say Father is declining fast, but is not suffering so much as he was.

13 Mar 1869 - Heard this morning of my poor father's death from Jenny and John. He died on 2nd of Feb - just close on two months after Uncle John died. He suffered very much pain from a cancer on the liver and it was this I believe carried him off at the last. He has been ill so long and suffering so much that he must have been glad actually to get away, and it makes me resigned to his death knowing that his pain and troubles are now over and he is gone to where the weary are at rest. His life was an example to us all.

29 June 1869 - I went over to Ballacherra this morning and saw what was adoing. Tom came in from the Station again just as I was at breakfast, and reports Harry better. Heard from James and Jenny this evening, and that poor Harry Hunter is dead. I feel very sad about this for he was such a fine good hearted fellow and was so long my companion. I feel as if I had almost lost a brother. He is the second gone of us four who came out together, and only Doake and I are left, and strange to say we were the ones who remained in India.

On 18 May 1872 Samuel's beloved sister Annie died and he returned home in the winter of 1872. On 30 January 1873 he married Clara Mary Coleman of Belfast who accompanied him back to India. On the 7 November 1873 little Annie was born at Burkhola, but in July 1874 the ayah caught measles and so did Annie. In Silchar graveyard:

In memory of Annie daughter of Samuel Cleland Davidson and Clara Mary Davidson. Died Burkhola Tea Estate, Cachar on the 18th July 1874 aged 8 months.

Beside her grave the tragedies of friends and colleagues:

In memory of Maria Rose infant daughter of Richard Baxter [Samuel's cousin] and Etta Davidson who died at Labac on 23rd Feb 1879 aged 20 days; In dear and loving memory of Charlotte Villers-Ryan wife of J Villers Ryan who died 5th September 1874 and of their child that is here placed [friends]; In memory of Elsie Frances Stuart who died 24 Jun 1872 aged 16 months [friends].

After baby Annie died, Clara Mary returned to Ireland where she stayed from then on.

15 May 1875 - Got the joyful news by telegraph this morning of the birth of our little daughter on the 13th. The telegram was, "Daughter one o'clock afternoon, both splendid". This is grand news and I am so glad everything has gone so well. It was just 45 hours from the baby was born till I heard of it by telegram this morning.

It was a year before Samuel saw his daughter May. They had three further children, Jim, Dick and Kathleen, who was my grandmother. Samuel returned to Belfast in 1879 to start his own firm to construct dryers for the next season. Dick sadly died at home on 24 February 1897 at 19 years old of meningitis.

Jim was brought up to inherit the company. He started at the very lowest level and was given quite a practical education even though Samuel was now quite wealthy. He went through all the different roles within the foundry at the factory in Belfast.[17] In 1911 he toured the world, starting to make international business deals. Jim was a captain in the Ulster Volunteer Force and the men of the militia volunteered to fight when World War I began. Jim fought at Thiepval in the Somme and was killed 1 July 1916, the first day of the battle, with the 36th Ulster Regiment. In that moment Samuel's business empire, the sum of all his industry and invention, which he had set up his family to inherit, lost it's momentum. The business continued and eventually passed to May's husband, but the two geniuses behind the company were gone.

Jim with his father Samuel Cleland Davidson

In 1913 Samuel's daughter Kathleen visited India and the Cachar district. She wrote to her mother:

Saturday 29th March 1913 We got to Subong about 12 o'c. What a lovely spot it is, but it must have seemed like going to the end of the world when Father and you went there, after taking three weeks to come from Calcutta. Even now it seems to me terribly far away from civilisation! Driving up to the bungalow we passed an old man who told Alasdair he remembered Father very well and then the syce who was with us said he remembered him also.

The view out to the hills is glorious and looking over towards Burkhola is also lovely. It was rather hazy and we could only just see Nemobha. What a climb it must be to get up there. The Subong bungalow has been patched up and parts rebuilt since you were there. I was in a room to the left of the drawing room. I wonder was that your room. The big room in the centre is half drawing room and half billiard room and the dining room at the back looking out towards the

[17] The factory employed about 1000 people.

hills. Mr Duvar the engineer, took us over the factory and I feel I am one up on Father as I have seen his roller rolling tea, which he hasn't had a chance of seeing. I enclose two or three leaves which I picked up when the machine was emptied. Mr Farrell says they get a splendid roll and now that they use a fan the tea keeps quite cool, so they are very pleased with it. I also saw one of the old down drafts working.

As a businessman Samuel was highly successful. His centrifugal fan brought clean air to coal mines, draught fans to boilers and ventilation to remove dust and fumes, not to mention fresh air for dreadnoughts. In 1921, the man with 120 patents to his name was awarded a Knighthood of the Most Excellent Order of the British Empire (K.B.E.) but was not well enough to receive it from His Majesty King George V. The fantastic energy he had expended in his latter years took its toll and he died two months later on 18 August 1921, aged 75. In 1990, Northern Ireland's Northern Bank honoured Sir Samuel Cleland Davidson by placing him on their £50 bank note with his dryer. He was a major employer in Northern Ireland during his life and for many years after his death.

'A Breakfast Party at Ballacherra Tea Estate, Cachar, February 1868.' (L-R) ?, Hawes (Rampore), Barry (Burkhola), Ritherden (Kircoorie), Aitchison (Doloo), Robertson (Arcuttipore), Davidson (Burkhola), Oldfield (Kalline), Harvey, Harry Gregg (Ballacherra), Doake, (Doodputlee), Shaw (Messimpore), Jeust.

Using Social Networking for Family History Research

By Valmay Young

FIBIS Webmaster Valmay explains how two of the most popular social networking websites can provide new research leads and be a good way to keep up to date with family history developments. Readers may also be interested in the forthcoming FIBIS Factfile 'Getting the best out of the FIBIS website'.

Facebook

Facebook is a social networking website that allows users to keep a personal profile page, add people as 'friends' and message them. The site is a good way to connect with friends online, but it can also be a useful family history research tool. FIBIS has a page on Facebook where members and non-members can discuss family history and share photographs, tips, ask for advice, etc. FIBIS also posts news, events, links and information that it thinks might help others. The FIBIS Facebook page could help you with your research.

It is also possible to find distant relatives through the family you already know. I have found several new cousins through Facebook and hope the following instructions might help you find some of yours.

Step 1 - Create a Facebook account and find FIBIS

First you will need to create an account if you haven't already got one.

1. Go to www.facebook.com and create a new account. This is free to do.
2. Fill out only as much information as you are comfortable with and be sure to adjust your privacy settings.
3. Once your profile is complete, in the search box at the top of the page type 'Families In British India Society' to find us or go straight to www.facebook.com/fibis.org
4. Click the 'Like' button at the top of the page.

You can now post messages, links and photographs on the FIBIS page and any news or events that FIBIS post to the page will be posted on your Facebook newsfeed. Your newsfeed is the page you always arrive at when you log-in to Facebook. You can also visit it at any time by clicking on the Facebook logo in the top left corner of the page or clicking on Home in the top right.

Step 2 - Search for relatives that you know

The best way to connect with relatives is to find them by their email address (if you know these). Otherwise you might find it hard figuring out which 'John Smith' is the right one if he hasn't displayed a profile picture of himself.

When you are sure you have found the right relative, click on ‘Add as Friend’ and a friend request will be sent to that person who will then have to confirm that he knows you for you to become Facebook 'friends'.

Step 3 - Search for groups or pages

There are plenty of other groups or pages on Facebook that researchers of British India family history might find interesting or useful. A Facebook group can be based around shared interests, activities or anything you like. Anyone can start a group. Some groups are ‘closed’ which means that when you click on ‘Join’ the administrator of the group has to approve you first. A Facebook page is a public profile for a business or organisation, such as FIBIS, that enables you to share your business and products with Facebook users. To join a Facebook page you need to click the ‘Like’ button.

New groups and pages are appearing all the time, but here are a few that might interest British India family history or social history researchers:

- ‘The Honourable East India Company’, 1600-1873: History and Legacy - A closed group for discussion, debate and exchanging information on all aspects of the HEIC.
- India Britannica: 1612 - 1947 - A closed group for discussion, debate, and the exchange of information regarding Anglo-Indian history (as well as related fields, such as Colonial-era Literature and Aesthetics, Architecture, Economics etc.)
- Rare Book Society of India - Open to all collectors or lovers of rare and antique books about India.
- Early Photography in India - A group for those interested in the history of photography in India
- Photoraj - All about Raj photography

Hopefully, using Facebook might help you find some more relatives. If so, you might consider starting your own group to help discuss and share your information. I started my own family history group on Facebook called ‘Collett Family History - The British India Line’ which 23 family members have found and joined. I have kept it a closed group in order to ensure that anyone who requests to join is actually related to the family first.

If you do start your own family history group, be sure to invite all your relatives and post a link or message about it on the FIBIS Facebook page.

Twitter

Twitter is a free social networking and microblogging service where users send and read messages known as 'tweets'. A tweet is a text-based post of up to 140 characters displayed on the author’s profile page and delivered to the author’s followers.

You might wonder how 140 characters can help you with your family history research, but you will be amazed at how helpful it can be. FIBIS has a Twitter account and by following us on Twitter you will be kept up-to-date on British India family history matters.

First you will need to create an account if you haven't already got one.

1. Go to http://twitter.com and create a new account. You can now post tweets.
2. Find @fibiswebmaster at: http://twitter.com/fibiswebmaster
3. Click the 'Follow' button near the top of the page under the FIBIS logo.
4. Any news that FIBIS tweets will appear on your newsfeed. Your newsfeed is the page you always arrive at when you log-in to Twitter. You can also visit it quickly by clicking on the Twitter logo in the top left corner of the page or clicking on home in the top right.

More about Twitter and tweets

Less is more. Your tweets to your followers should be short but interesting enough to get them to investigate further. Tweets are instant and many followers follow and tweet using their mobile phone, so you can reach them no matter where they are, and you will find that this can be very useful in networking with other family historians.

Your followers will see all of the latest updates on what you are doing and vice versa. If you follow FIBIS, we will follow you if you message us to say who you are. There have been occasions when FIBIS followers have tweeted for advice and I have replied within minutes. I'm not online 24/7 though, so don't get too excited.

Even if you don't send tweets, by following other Twitter accounts, you can keep an eye on what is going on in the family history world and keep your finger on the pulse. If you are unsure who to follow just see who other people are following by clicking on the 'following' link on their profile page. Every Friday FIBIS recommends interesting accounts to follow, a Twitter tradition called 'Follow Friday'.

You'll find that using Twitter can help you feel a lot closer to your fellow family historians and the online family history community. Used wisely, Twitter can be a powerful family history research tool. Your tweets will even be archived by the US Library of Congress, so you will be doing your bit to help future family historians who might be researching you!

FIBIS Journal Archive

Past issues of the *Journal* are available on the FIBIS online database (www.fibis.org) for members to download at no cost. It is recommended that use is made of this excellent archive of research tips, family histories and British India background information. A contents list is available online. Paper copies can also be bought through the online shop.

FIBIS Online Book Library

The FIBIS Library provides links to hundreds of digitised historical books online, handpicked for their connection to India history topics. The books are divided into categories such as 'Madras Artillery', '2nd Afghan War', 'Missionaries' and 'Asiatic Journal' and the entire library is searchable. Access to the library is via the FIBIS website (www.fibis.org).

Building the Beas Bridge

By Hugh Wilding

FIBIS has acquired a set of photographs documenting the construction of a railway bridge over the Beas River. Hugh describes the process as depicted in just a handful of the images. Members will be able to view the complete set in the FIBIS Members' Area.

One of the 'five rivers' of the Punjab, the Beas rises in the foothills of the Himalayas and flows generally south-westwards to join the Sutlej river 'after a total course of 290 miles.'[1] In its lowest stretch, the Beas 'forms the boundary between Amritsar and the Kapurthala State'[2] and an obstacle that the Sind, Punjab & Delhi Railway (SP&DR) had to bridge in building its line from Amritsar to Jullundur. This first bridge was completed in 1869 but was badly damaged by floods in 1871 leading to a terrible accident when a passenger train fell into the swollen river through the break.[3]

Subsequently repaired, this early bridge can be seen in image BB_001 (and in the background of several others) and was built with 'deck truss' spans, most likely wrought iron. As with most railway construction of the 1860s, the turrets were almost certainly built with a functional purpose in mind. By the turn of the century consideration was given to doubling the line and plans for a new bridge were drawn up using far fewer 'through truss' spans.

BB_001 - the 1869 Beas River railway bridge.

Construction of the new Beas bridge during the building 'season' of 1908-1909 is the subject of the 63 photographs in the collection obtained by FIBIS in April from eBay. As with much bridge building in the Punjab, the initial work was in 'training' the river i.e. building levees, bunds and similar to divert and constrain the river waters within channels. BB_002 shows a timber causeway built to enable earth and aggregate to be moved for this purpose. This was performed by the steam locomotive in the picture, which would have belonged to the contractor.

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[1] *The Imperial Gazetteer of India* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908-1931)

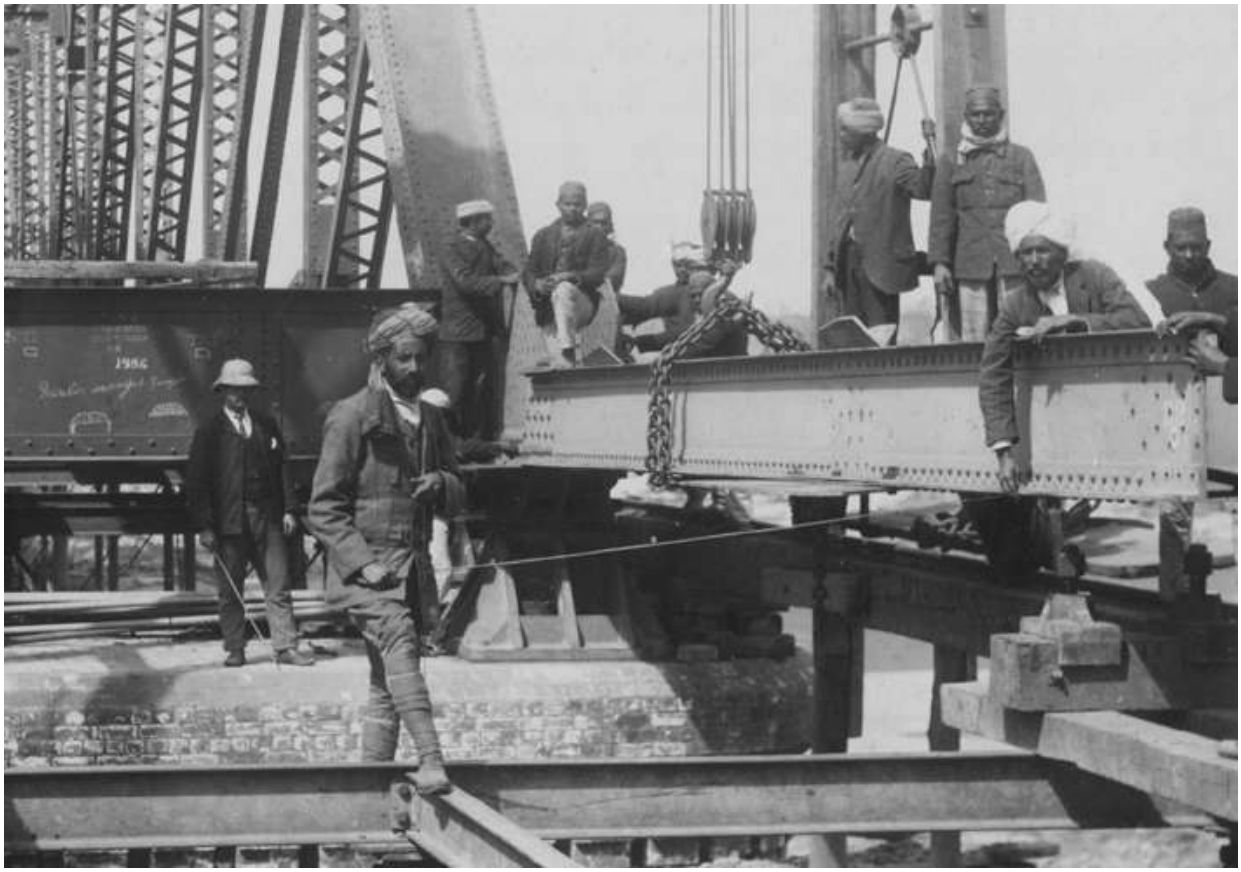
[2] ibid.

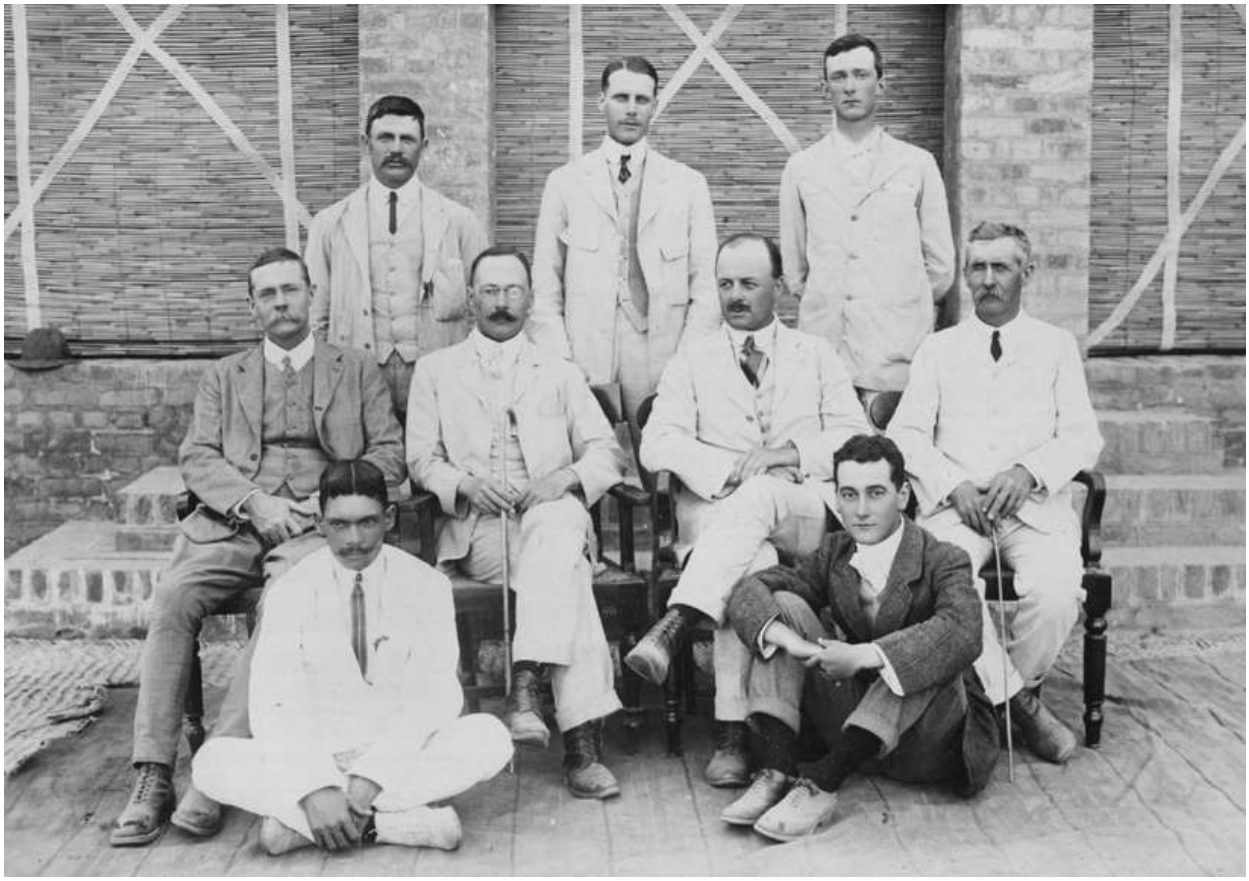
[3] Ian J Kerr, *Building the Railways of the Raj 1850-1900* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp134-143 describe the accident and building railway bridges in India.

As with the old bridge, the new one was laid on top of brick piers. To construct these, a cutting edge or kerb of timber or iron would be laid on the ground and then courses of brickwork built up to 15 or 20 feet high. If the structure did not begin to sink on its own, then the top course would be loaded with weight and the brickwork forced to sink into the ground. The earth within the pier was excavated to assist this process and when the top had almost sunk under the river bed, extra courses would be laid. This process was repeated until the pier (also described as a well at this stage) had reached the desired depth. As the pier sank below the water table, so the inside of the well would fill with water and it was often necessary to employ divers to finish the excavation (see BB_023). At this point, special cement (capable of setting under water) was used to plug the bottom of the well which would then be filled with spoil and topped off.

BB_002 - the locomotive and timber causeway

BB_023 - a diver and his breathing apparatus beside one of the weighted piers.





At this stage, scaffolding would be erected between a pair of piers and the erection of a span commenced. All the metalwork would have been pre-fabricated in Britain and shipped out to India, probably arriving in Karachi and being brought up on the railway (by 1908, the North Western Railway was the Government of India-owned successor to the SP&DR). Each piece was numbered and moved into place as the pace of construction required. In BB_050 such a number can be seen clearly behind the European overseer (with white topee) who is standing on a completed pier. BB_050 also illustrates that several different races and castes were involved in railway construction, as identifiable by their headgear.

BB_055 - the bridge consists of eight spans in a line, a gap with what appears to be overhead gantry and then another span.

The piers were built much wider than they needed to be - a second bridge of similar construction was subsequently erected. As for the European engineers involved, BB_062 is as good a group shot as one could wish. Although I don't know any names at present, this was a project for a state (i.e. Government of India owned) railway, so these are likely to have been Public Works Department men and should appear in Histories of Service etc. Do get in touch if you happen to recognise any of the men in the photographs.

BB_060 - the completed article with the old bridge to left.

Page 52 shows:
BB_050 (detail) - construction workers pause on the bridge for a photograph.
BB_062 - Group photograph of probable PWD employees. Identities to be researched.

Review

***Colonial Cousins: A Surprising History of Connections Between India and Australia* by Joyce Westrip and Peggy Holroyde, (Wakefield Press, 2010), 420 pages (pbk); illustrated. AU$39.95 (approx £24). Available from www.wakefieldpress.com.au**

The co-authors are both well travelled and previously published authors. This book brings together their interest in and love of both India, the place of Joyce's birth, and Australia, their adopted homeland. Many readers will recognise Joyce as a member of FIBIS and the author of *Moghul Cooking: India's Courtly Cuisine* and *Fire and Spice: Parsi Cooking*.

The authors' research for this book started over 20 years ago and has drawn from the British Library, Commonwealth Institute Library and The National Archives in London, the National Library in Kolkata, as well as Australian national and state libraries. They have not focused solely on the period since India received her independence in 1947 and the subsequent wave of Anglo-Indian migrants to Australia, neither have they started with the early years of British settlement in Australia, but have considered, albeit briefly, ancient geological links between Australia and the subcontinent.

Long before the days of the White Australia policy which commenced in 1901, Indians came to Australia as servants to their merchant masters, notably John Browne and Robert Campbell. Europeans who misbehaved in India were often transported to Australia, and we are told that 'Being drunk and abusive to his superior officer was a certain passport for a British soldier to Botany Bay for a period of 7 years.' This quote appears in the chapter on 'Triangular Journeying', which provides insight into the close links between Britain, India and Australia through those travelling the triangular route from the late 18th century. Many citizens prominent in the Australian colonies had relatives in India as well as in Britain. The authors cover the supply of livestock and plants from India requested by the likes of Governor Lachlan Macquarie and Charles Sturt, and introduce us to Harriott Baxland's memoir describing her time in Australia and Calcutta. A chapter is devoted to the trade in horses from Australia to India for use as remounts by the armies in that country.

The lives of Indian and Afghan hawkers in Outback Australia are known by few and are given equivalent treatment to the Australian settler descendants of Nabobs and Sahibs who ruled India. The authors have interviewed many and tell us the lucky country was chosen because 'life in England seemed restrictive, narrow, potentially less exciting and challenging – Australia was full of warmth and sun.'

There is a manageable list of endnotes, a comprehensive list of references and an excellent index, essential in a volume such as this. While *Colonial Cousins* is not a genealogical book, it is full of names, fascinating quotes drawn from earlier manuscripts and interviews, and general information presented in a very readable style. It is recommended reading and reference not only for the many Australians who have ancestors or relatives who spent time in India, but for those Britons whose ancestors went to India and failed to return to the mother country. I recommend *Colonial Cousins* to you.

Sylvia CM Murphy