

# **The Journal of the FAMILIES IN BRITISH INDIA SOCIETY**

**Number 30**

**Autumn 2013**

Raising the Hanoverian Regiments: their passage to India.....	3
<i>Hilary Sheridan</i> .....	
Owen Berkeley-Hill and Psychiatry in India.....	8
<i>Mike Young</i> .....	
Dr Christopher Francis Henry Quick, IMD.....	21
<i>Allan Stanistreet</i> .....	
The Indian Forest Services in the India Office Records: .....	23
<i>Ian Baxter</i> .....	
A Postscript to the wounding of Campbell Clark .....	32
<i>Charles Gordon-Clark</i> .....	
Calvert Smith, the baby from the Parsonage .....	33
<i>Diana Bousfield-Wells</i> .....	
Correspondence: records of the Dutch cemeteries in Java.....	43
Reviews .....	43

## **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.

Material should be sent via email to [fibis-editor@fibis.org](mailto:fibis-editor@fibis.org) or to 80 Brighton Road, Watford, Herts, WD24 5HW

© Families in British India Society and the individual authors, 2013

*Contributors should be aware that as a rule their articles will in due course be posted on the FIBIS website.*

*Where personal opinions are expressed, the opinion reflects that of the author and not those of the Trustees of FIBIS or of the organisation.*

## **Editorial**

The cornerstone of our Society is our hard-working band of volunteers: adding to our database, wiki and Journal and assisting others face-to-face at fairs and meetings or at a distance, by conducting research for members. Of course, I am particularly grateful to those who contribute to our Journal, sharing their stories and knowledge with other researchers. Compiling a family history often causes a researcher to become a bit of an expert in an unexpected or obscure episode of history. Such was the case with Hilary Sheridan's search for the origins of her ancestor Frederick Brookman. Her resulting research into the Hanoverian Regiments, which consisted of German men recruited to the British Army and sent out to India in the 1780s, appears from p3. Alongside her detailed study, Hilary has very kindly provided some accompanying transcriptions, which are now on the FIBIS database.

Our twice-yearly meetings are another avenue via which researchers share their expertise. Members attending our Summer open meeting in May were treated, as always, to two fascinating and contrasting lectures. One of these is published in full here (p8) and represents part of the study Mike Young is making into mental health provision in British India. It details the work of Owen Berkeley-Hill, a lively and at times controversial pioneer in the field of psychiatry.

This scientific pioneering spirit can be spotted again in our article on forestry (p23), in the form of Dietrich Brandis, William Schlich and Berthold Ribbentrop, the early overseers of British Indian forestry. Some hundred years after the soldiers from Hanover, these scientists are another example of the often overlooked German contribution to life in India. We are pleased that the British Library has allowed us to share this work on forestry by former India Office Records curator Ian Baxter, as it is a highly detailed research guide for anyone with ancestors who worked in the Forest Service.

Sarah Bilton

### **Passing of Joan Butler, wife of Lawrie Butler**

We were deeply shocked and saddened to learn from Lawrie Butler of the passing of his wife Joan on the 21 July. After being admitted to the John Radcliffe Hospital, Oxford for a heart operation, Joan ceased to respond to treatment.

I am sure that members would like to join us in sending our sincere condolences to Lawrie, together with our prayers that he is granted the fortitude to overcome her loss at this time. Although Lawrie is no longer on our Board of Trustees, he provides a particularly valuable service in proof-reading our publications and has been a familiar face on the door at our Lecture meetings. He will sorely miss Joan and the support that she has provided over many years.

Peter Bailey, Chairman

## Raising the Hanoverian Regiments: their passage to India

Hilary Sheridan

The earliest of my ancestors to arrive in India was a private with the 14<sup>th</sup> Hanoverian Regiment. His name was Frederick Brookman. From the Madras muster rolls, the casualty list and his burial record it is evident that he was born between 1754 and 1766 in Germany, possibly Hanover. Whilst attempting to elicit more information on this ancestor, I discovered the following about the Hanoverians in India.<sup>1</sup>

The invasion of the Carnatic by Hyder Ali (ruler of the Kingdom of Mysore), in mid 1780,<sup>2</sup> left the East India Company (EIC) short of men in India to protect their interests. As insufficient British troops could be raised at home, (c1000 were available),<sup>3</sup> it was suggested that troops be raised in the name of King George III as Elector of Hanover. This was not the first time that Hanoverians and Swiss men had been drafted into India by the British. Two companies of Swiss soldiers had been sent to India in 1751-1752, but they were apt to desert to the French once in India.<sup>4</sup> In fact, a general letter of 1761 candidly notes how pleased the EIC were that no more Swiss were in their employment 'as the officers have been the occasion of much trouble at home and abroad, by their constant craving, and unreasonable expectations and demands'.<sup>5</sup> Even after this, at least one unsuccessful request was made for further German troops.<sup>6</sup> However, due to the crisis in the Carnatic in 1781, permission to raise more men was granted. The request was made on 4 April 1781 and granted on 24 May.<sup>7</sup>

Initially troops were to come from Hanover and Switzerland.<sup>8</sup> The 2000 troops, (two battalions of ten companies, each with 100 men) from Germany were raised by Colonel HA de Scheiter.<sup>9</sup> The Swiss troops were to be raised by Colonel James Francis Erskine but, ultimately, were never sent.<sup>10</sup> However, more British troops were sent out than originally expected.<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Note that a 1789 muster list of the 14th and 15th Hanoverians, with 1540 names, is on the FIBIS database at Military records>Muster lists>Hanoverian regiments 1789.

<sup>2</sup> India Office Records H/244 'Raising of Swiss and Hanoverian troops', p1, 84, 195, 204; Wikipedia (Hyder Ali); Lewin B. Bowring, *Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan* (1899)

<sup>3</sup> IOR H/244 p200

<sup>4</sup> IOR H/244 p105, 133

<sup>5</sup> IOR H/244 p137

<sup>6</sup> IOR H/102 East Indies Series 10, pp539-40: 'Monsieur Behr to Col. Stewart 9th Oct. 1770, The King forbids recruiting for the Company's service in Hanover'.

<sup>7</sup> IOR H/244 p200, 266, 489

<sup>8</sup> IOR L/PS/1/5, Minutes of the Secret Committee, 22 May 1780-23 Feb 1782, p146-147

<sup>9</sup> IOR H/244 pp233-5, 373-4, p189, 254; H/155 East Indies Series 63, 'Correspondence, Agreements, &c., relative to the enlistment of Hanoverians by the Company 1781' p101

<sup>10</sup> IOR H/244 p3; B/102 Court Minutes 5 Oct 1785-12 Apr 1786, p462

<sup>11</sup> IOR L/PS/1/5, p94

After negotiations between the EIC and the government<sup>12</sup> Articles of Agreement were drawn up and signed 6 Sept 1781.<sup>13</sup> These articles engaged the soldiers for seven years from their date of arrival in India. They were to be put on an equal footing to His Majesty's troops in India with regard to pay, rank and duty - and in all other respects.<sup>14</sup> The agreement drawn up for mustering the Swiss troops shows that the men were between 16 and 36 years old, were able bodied, strong, free from disease or infirmity, (this was most likely checked by a surgeon), and were at least 5'4" tall.<sup>15</sup> They were Protestant, trained to arms for at least a year - with a certificate of proof - and were not a deserter or soldier in the pay of any other army.<sup>16</sup> Their uniform consisted of white breeches and a waistcoat and was to be renewed every year, with a different uniform to be worn on board ship.<sup>17</sup>

The raising of these troops was not entirely easy as the Dutch were also actively recruiting from the same area and the French were close by in Alsace.<sup>18</sup> However, the 1st battalion of men was quickly enlisted and Captain Thomas Pechell<sup>19</sup> of the Wiltshire Regiment was sent to Germany to inspect and report on the men. He found the officers and non-commissioned officers to be good but his comments about the privates seemed more measured.<sup>20</sup>

The place of muster was Hamelin,<sup>21</sup> some 30 miles south west of Hanover, where they were inspected. From here the troops were marched to Stade, the port of embarkation.<sup>22</sup> Recruitment for the 2nd battalion was slower, such that the levy money had to be increased.<sup>23</sup> It was hoped that both battalions would be ready to sail together for England on 15 October 1781<sup>24</sup> and then on to India, but this did not happen. Most of the 1<sup>st</sup> battalion were brought to England by Royal Navy transport ships arriving at Gravesend<sup>25</sup> and from

---

<sup>12</sup> IOR H/244 pp267, 358, 365; H/155 p98. Brigadier General John Caillaud was acting on behalf of the EIC and Electoral Adjutant-General Lieutenant General William von Freytag and Electoral Minister Baron Jean Frederik Charles de Alvensleben were acting on behalf of His Majesty, King George III.

<sup>13</sup> IOR H/244 pp369-405 (prelim. articles), 493; E/4/870 [Correspondence with India] pp55-76. The Articles have been transcribed and are on the Fibiwiki at 'Hanoverian Regiments – Articles'.

<sup>14</sup> IOR H/155 p100; E/4/870 pp55-76

<sup>15</sup> IOR H/244 pp11, 250, 332-3

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. pp9-11, 201, 215, 334

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. pp244, 257-259; H/155, pp109, 117-119

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. pp239-240

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. pp298, 303, 309, 347-348, 492

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. p422

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. pp247, 420

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. pp419, p454-5

<sup>23</sup> Ibid. pp423, 511

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. p516

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. p419. The transport ships were ready to sail on 24 Sept 1781 to collect the men from Stade, Germany (H/244 p520) and some of their names are recorded, *Grand Duchess*, *Polly*, *Kingston* and *Benjamin & Anne* (H/244 pp406-407).

there they were to sail to Portsmouth. By 11 January 1782 some were already on their way to Portsmouth but 22 men had died *en route* from Germany and 179 were sick.<sup>26</sup> By the time they arrived at Portsmouth in February 1782, more men had died, mostly of putrid fever.<sup>27</sup> In addition to the sickness whilst on the way to England, some 40 recruits were left in Germany due to ill health<sup>28</sup> - and they were eventually picked up sometime later. At Portsmouth the commanding officer of the 101<sup>st</sup> Regiment on the *Warren Hastings* forbade the Hanoverians to come on board in an attempt to prevent the spread of disease.<sup>29</sup> Requests were made by the EIC to the government for the men to go to the Navy hospital in Portsmouth, (Haslar Hospital), which was eventually granted.<sup>30</sup>

After their recovery, most of the 15<sup>th</sup> Hanoverian Regiment of Foot sailed to Madras arriving in September/October 1782<sup>31</sup> (1<sup>st</sup> fleet). The remainder arrived along with the 16<sup>th</sup> Regiment in April 1783 (2<sup>nd</sup> fleet).<sup>32</sup> There are ten ships recorded as sailing with the second fleet.<sup>33</sup> The *Francis*, did not carry any Hanoverians<sup>34</sup> but did carry members of HM 73<sup>rd</sup> Regiment, the *General Coote* lists the Hanoverians on board<sup>35</sup> and the *Fairford* went to Bombay, so its soldiers were transferred to the other ships close to the end of the voyage.

The voyage to Madras was via Brazil and was also fraught with illness, with men sent ashore to hospital on arrival.<sup>36</sup> Most were suffering from putrid fever and scurvy. Records

---

<sup>26</sup> IOR H/157 East Indies Series 65, pp85, 265-266, 'Correspondence with Lord Hillsborough 11 Jan to 28 Feb relative to admission of Company's recruits and Hanoverians into Haslar or other Hospitals at Portsmouth.'

<sup>27</sup> Ibid pp289, 293, 'Question of allowing Hanoverians from ship infected with Putrid Fever on ships carrying English troops'. Putrid fever, more properly called epidemic typhus, was a lice-borne disease that ran rampant in war and famine conditions and also commonly occurred in camp, jail, hospital and on ships.

<sup>28</sup> IOR L/PS/1/9, p3, Minutes of the Secret Committee, 11 Apr 1782-9 Apr 1806; H/163 East Indies Series 71 p367 'Proceedings of Committee of Correspondence and Shipping 13 Nov 1782, Recruitment of Hanoverians.'; B/98 p748, Court Minutes, 10 Apr 1782-9 Apr 178.

<sup>29</sup> IOR H/157 East Indies Series 65, pp273, 277 'Question of allowing Hanoverians from ship infected with Putrid Fever on ships carrying English troops'.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid. pp85, 265-266, 269; E/4/70, pp76-77 (letter 40), pp118-120 (letter 59)

<sup>31</sup> IOR H/389, Military Papers, 'Papers relative to the two Hanoverian Regiments' pp330-331; E/4/870 p115; B/97, Court Minutes 11 Apr 1781-10 Apr 1782, pp579-580 - Possible ships *Royal Bishop* (no mention Hanoverians in log), *Nottingham*, *Ann & Amelia* and *Brilliant*, H/84, p798

<sup>32</sup> IOR H/389, pp330-331

<sup>33</sup> IOR B/97, pp605-606. The ships given are: *Winterton*, *General Coote*, *Europa*, *Rodney*, *Francis*, *General Goddard*, *Montagu*, *Busbridge*, *Duke of Athol* and *Fairford*.

<sup>34</sup> IOR L/MAR/B/443A *Francis*: Journal, 2 Mar 1782-6 Sep 1784

<sup>35</sup> IOR L/MAR/B/441A *General Coote*: Journal, 14 Feb 1782-5 Sep 1784. This list has been transcribed for the FIBIS database. See Maritime>Embarkation records>Hanoverian Regiments.

<sup>36</sup> IOR H/174 East Indies Series 82, p79-80, 'T. Bruce to Townshend 14 Dec. 1782, Arrival of the fleet with the Hanoverians at the Bay of All Saints'; L/MAR/B/451A, *Winterton*: Journal (28 Nov and 2 Dec 1782)

show a bill from a hospital in Rio de Janeiro requested payment for treatment from 3-28 May 1782 for 168 men of the 15<sup>th</sup> Regiment.<sup>37</sup> Likewise, men were sent ashore for treatment from the second fleet that arrived in Brazil in November 1782.<sup>38</sup> One of the ships in the first fleet, the *Brilliant*, was ship-wrecked on the island of Johanna (29 August 1782) with loss of life.<sup>39</sup> The second fleet arrived in Madras in April 1783 and one of their ships, the *Duke of Athol*, blew up in the harbour at Madras Roads, days after mooring, with great loss of life to those on board and some involved in the rescue.<sup>40</sup>

All the ship's logs tell of 'much sickness' on the voyage, with deaths from illness and drowning. On board the *Rodney*, the soldiers were given vinegar with lime juice to help prevent scurvy.<sup>41</sup>

During the voyage, divine service was performed in German as well as English and soldiers were employed picking oakum.<sup>42</sup> The log of the *Montagu* reports catching dolphins and sharks. One sailor was made to run the gauntlet as a punishment for theft and another, when drunk, was punished for beating the soldiers, whilst yet another received a dozen lashes for striking a soldier. In addition, one soldier's wife had a baby girl, Louise Montagu Kachen, on Sunday 19 January 1783 – baptised, by the Hanoverian chaplain, on board the *Montagu* on 4 March.<sup>43</sup>

In 1785 the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Regiments were renamed 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> regiments<sup>44</sup> and by August 1785 the ratio of officers to privates of the Hanoverian troops was considered excessive as the number of privates was decreasing daily.<sup>45</sup> On the 21 September 1785 the EIC requested more recruits to cover the remainder of the time the Hanoverians were to serve in India. This amounted to raising two companies of 100 men each in 1786 and again in 1787 (i.e., 400 men) to which His Majesty agreed.<sup>46</sup> On 3 January 1787 there were 500

---

<sup>37</sup> IOR H/182 East Indies Series 90, p301-305 'Col. C. L. Reinhold to Madras Council 6th Sept. 1783, Hospital charges for Hanoverians'.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. p297

<sup>39</sup> IOR H/85, Military papers, 'Claims of the Hanoverian Regiments (Col. Wangenheim) 1783-89', p69 (para 25), p81. Johanna is the island of Anjouan in the Comoros, off Mozambique.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid p69; H/182 p296

<sup>41</sup> IOR L/MAR/B/442C, *Rodney*: Journal (22nd Oct 1782)

<sup>42</sup> IOR L/MAR/B/451A, *Winterton*: Journal (27 Oct 1782), L/MAR/B/440A-B, *General Goddard*: Journal (17 Oct 1782)

<sup>43</sup> IOR L/MAR/B/552K *Montagu*: Journal

<sup>44</sup> Ernst von dem Knesebeck *Geschichte der churhannoverschen Truppen in Gibraltar: Minorca und Ostindien* (1845), p153 (as translated on the Fibiwiki page Hanoverian Regiments) states that in 1785 the regiments were renumbered, the 15<sup>th</sup> becoming the 14<sup>th</sup> and the 16<sup>th</sup> becoming the 15<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> IOR H/84, Military Papers, 'Economies to be effected by enlisting Hanoverians 1785' p800

<sup>46</sup> IOR B/101, Court Minutes 13 Apr 1785-29 Sep 1785, p415; B/102, Court Minutes 5 Oct 1785-12 Apr 1786 p462; H/389, p27

men in the 14<sup>th</sup> Regiment and 513 men in the 15<sup>th</sup> Regiment, including staff officers under the command of a Colonel.<sup>47</sup>

By the 19 December 1786 the new recruits were at Gravesend and, in January 1787, two ships were recorded as sailing for Madras carrying Hanoverians - the *Lascelles* and the *Royal Admiral*.<sup>48</sup> The latter lists the Hanoverians on board.<sup>49</sup> It is noteworthy that by this time the voyage took about 4 months as against 7 months for the journey in 1782-3 and there is not much mention of sickness. The Hanoverians on the *Royal Admiral* mutinied before the ship left England and 100 were discharged but whether these are on the ship's list or not, is unclear.

On the 19 September 1787 it was requested that more Hanoverians (c200) be brought to England from Bremesleke - presumably to go to India.<sup>50</sup>

On the 26 March 1790 the court of the EIC resolved to recall the Hanoverians from India and by 17 June 1791 they were expected to arrive in England.<sup>51</sup> There are records naming some of the ships from India as well as the transport ships to carry them to Hanover.<sup>52</sup> Again, treatment of the sick is mentioned on the voyage home from India<sup>53</sup> and there are lists of men admitted to pension when home in Germany.<sup>54</sup>

On the 23 April 1790, 170 non-commissioned officers and privates of the 14<sup>th</sup> Hanoverian regiment enlisted with the Company army for three years and were delivered to the Adjutant General.<sup>55</sup>

So what of my ancestor? As the exact date of his birth is unknown and, as yet, he has not been found on a ship's list or embarkation list, I do not know exactly when he went to Madras, India. But I can conclude some general information about him from the records concerning the Hanoverians in India. When in Madras he served alongside the British troops and elected not to return to Hanover at the end of his contract, but joined the EIC Madras army - possibly on 23 April 1790. He did progress to hospital serjeant, ending up with the Carnatic European Veterans Battalion in Masulipatam - but that is another story.

---

<sup>47</sup> IOR H/389, Military Papers, 'Papers relative to the two Hanoverian Regiments' pp332, 339

<sup>48</sup> IOR B/104, Court Minutes 1 Oct 1786-11 Apr 1787, pp795, 884

<sup>49</sup> IOR L/MAR/B/338D *Royal Admiral*: Journal. The names have been added to the FIBIS database and can be found at Maritime>Embarkation records>Hanoverian Regiments.

<sup>50</sup> IOR B/105, Court Minutes 11 Apr 1787-1 Nov 1787, p504

<sup>51</sup> IOR B/110, Court Minutes 16 Sep 1789-14 Apr 1790, p1331; B/113, Court Minutes 13 Apr 1791-12 Oct 1791, pp163, 165

<sup>52</sup> Ibid. p284, 325; B/114, Court Minutes, 19 Oct 1791-11 Apr 1792, pp682, 657, 706

<sup>53</sup> Ibid. p682; B/113, p284; B/118, Court Minutes, 30 Oct 1793-9 Apr 1794, p783

<sup>54</sup> IOR B/114, pp566-567, 657; B/116, Court Minutes, 10 Oct 1792-10 Apr 1793, pp664-6; D/167 folio40 (1809) 'List of invalid soldiers of the 14th and 15th Hanoverian Regiments entitled to receive a pension from the Company for the half year 25 Dec 1807-24 Jun 1808, dated, 12 Jan 1808'. This document is in German, however the short list of names has been transcribed for the FIBIS database. See Military records>Pensions and Funds>Hanoverian Regiment pensions.

<sup>55</sup> IOR E/4/879, [Correspondence with India] p255

## Owen Berkeley-Hill and Psychiatry in India

Mike Young

The following talk was delivered to the FIBIS open meeting on 25 May 2013.

‘For Allah created the English mad – the maddest of all mankind’

Rudyard Kipling (1865 – 1936)

From *Kitchener’s School* (1898)<sup>1</sup>

This saying came from a song by a Muslim teacher in Bengal who failed to understand why the English should wage war with a Muslim enemy, defeat them after bloody battles and then collect money to build them a religious college where they might be taught to defeat the English themselves. As a song it may not have won the ‘Indovision Song Contest’ but it serves to introduce how some Indians might observe the strange behaviour of their colonial masters. It predates Noel Coward’s *Mad Dogs and Englishmen* by a generation.

For most of my life I have lived in West Yorkshire in areas with a large South Asian population. Before retirement I was a social worker and then a manager in Social Services Mental Health departments and many of the people with whom I worked were from India or Pakistan. I went to Pakistan in 1984 to visit the area from where many Bradford residents originated. More recently I have visited Gujarat State in India three times, to develop contacts between mental health services there and in West Yorkshire. I am currently doing a PhD at the University of Huddersfield and I am researching the mental health of the British in India. I am going to India again in November and December of this year.

I am going to talk today about one particular psychiatrist, Lt-Col Owen Berkeley-Hill (Indian Medical Service), but before doing so I want to give some background on the history of psychiatric hospitals in India.

### Brief history of Lunatic Asylums in India

In India the creation of mental health hospitals, or lunatic asylums, has been described as an ‘entirely British conception.’<sup>2</sup> The first asylum in India was established in 1745 in Bombay, followed by Calcutta in 1784 and Madras in 1794. They were set up by the East India Company for its own employees and their families and they included some Indian employees of the company. The growth of lunatic asylums was facilitated by the enactment of the Indian Lunatic Asylum Act, 1858. The Act set up guidelines for the establishment of asylums as well as the procedures for the admission of lunatics. Thus by 1900 there were 26 asylums under the jurisdiction of the Government of India, 16 of which had been built in

---

<sup>1</sup> Rudyard Kipling, *The Definitive Edition of Rudyard Kipling’s Verse*, (Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1960), p202.

<sup>2</sup> SD Sharma, ‘Mental Health: The pre-Independence Scenario,’ in SP Agarwal (ed.) *Mental Health: An Indian Perspective, 1946 – 2003*, (Elsevier, New Delhi, 2004), pp25 – 29.



the 1860s and 1870s as a consequence of the new Act.<sup>3</sup> Another Indian Lunacy Act was passed in 1912 and it remained the primary legislation until 1987.

Asylums were run by the Indian Medical Service, a branch of the army. Asylum doctors were military ones with little special training in psychosocial medicine. Their experience and medical priority were normally concerned with the treatment of the ubiquitous and often fatal diseases such as malaria, diarrhoea, dysentery and cholera<sup>4</sup> which had a major impact on soldiers and their efficiency.

Racial segregation of the mentally ill in asylums in India was present from their creation in the eighteenth century. It was part of a deliberate policy to preserve British prestige and from 1821 the Calcutta Asylum was solely for Europeans and higher class Eurasians though, exceptionally, members of Indian royalty might be admitted. The asylums in Madras and Bombay had separate units for Europeans and Indians. Europeans were also segregated according to class and gender.

The East India Company sought to return their mentally ill officials, soldiers and their dependents to Britain and often to its own asylum, Pembroke House in Hackney. Ernst has described this policy of repatriation as

a particularly poignant reminder that the Company acted swiftly to make 'invisible' those who might otherwise have tarnished the image and self-perception of the British as a mentally and physically morally superior people.<sup>5</sup>

The policy continued after 1858 when India was ruled by the Crown. The requirement of retirement at 55 was also maintained, being another factor designed to prevent Indians seeing their rulers in physical or mental decline.

### **Owen Berkeley-Hill**

Owen AR Berkeley-Hill (1879 – 1944), Lieutenant-Colonel, Indian Medical Service, was the medical superintendent of the European Mental Hospital at Ranchi in northern India from 1919 to 1934. These notes will consider his professional career, personal views and importance in the development of psychiatry in India in the period between the two World Wars.

Berkeley-Hill was the son of a wealthy and famous English physician. Educated at Rugby and Oxford he later studied medicine at universities in Gottingen, Germany and Nancy, France before taking his medical degree at Oxford.

In his autobiography, he described how, in response to his mother's criticism of his idleness in not advancing his career, he decided he would try for the Indian Medical Service (IMS).

---

<sup>3</sup> James Mills, 'The history of modern psychiatry in India, 1858 – 1947', *History of Psychiatry*, vol. Xii, 2001, pp431 – 458. See p434.

<sup>4</sup> Waltraud Ernst, 'Doctor-patient interaction in colonial India: a case of intellectual insanity', *History of Psychiatry*, vol. 1, (1990) p214.

<sup>5</sup> Ernst, *Mad Tales*, p126.

With typical mischievous humour he wrote 'Little did I then realise that I had committed the stupidest act of my life.'<sup>6</sup> He entered the IMS in 1907 and his first position was in a venereal disease hospital for British troops in Bangalore. In 1912 he became the medical superintendent at the Punjab Lunatic Asylum in Lahore. The following year he transferred to the Bombay Lunatic Asylum at Yeravda, near Poona.

He served in the First World War as a military doctor in East Africa, where his knowledge of German was useful in treating wounded German prisoners. He spent periods of recovery from illness in England, where he attended lectures in psychoanalysis, a newly emerging discipline that was to have a considerable influence on his treatment of patients in India.

Berkeley-Hill returned to India when the hostilities were over and in 1919 became the medical superintendent of the European Asylum, which had been opened the previous year, at Ranchi, a small town 275 miles north west of Calcutta in the then province of Bihar and Orissa.

### **The European Mental Hospital at Ranchi**

Towards the end of the nineteenth century it was recognised that the Calcutta Asylum was overcrowded, in poor physical condition and in need of replacement. The Indian Lunacy Act of 1912 facilitated the establishment of the European Lunatic Asylum at Ranchi in 1918 becoming the only mental hospital in India intended solely for the treatment of people of European or American origin. Asians and Africans were not eligible for admission. However, as Berkeley-Hill pointed out the term 'European' included those of mixed Anglo-Indian or Anglo-African parentage.<sup>7</sup> After 1911 the term 'Anglo-Indian' was officially defined as:-

a person whose father or any of whose other male progenitors in the male line is or was of European descent but who is domiciled within the territory of India and is or was born within such territory of parents habitually resident therein and not established there for temporary purposes only <sup>8</sup>

and it was this group, formerly known as 'Eurasian' that formed the majority of patients at Ranchi. This definition clearly specified who could be called Anglo-Indian and the term was later recognised in both *The Government of India Act* of 1935 and *The Constitution of India* in 1950. <sup>9</sup>

The Ranchi hospital was built on a pavilion system over 85 acres with five male and five female wards. Originally it had 92 male and 86 female patients. Admission was only for residents of the six provinces of northern India, i.e. Bengal, Punjab, Bihar and Orissa,

---

<sup>6</sup> Owen Berkeley-Hill, *All Too Human*, pp78-79.

<sup>7</sup> Owen Berkeley-Hill, 'The Ranchi European Mental Hospital', *Journal of Mental Science*, Vol. 70, no. 288, January 1924, p69.

<sup>8</sup> See Sheila Pais James, 'The Origins of the Anglo-Indians' in *International Journal of Anglo-Indian Studies*, vol. 10, no. 2, 2010 (<http://home.alphalink.com.au/~agilbert/covij18.html> Accessed 6/4/12)

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

United Provinces, Assam and Central Provinces. Its running was overseen by a Board of Trustees composed of representatives from each of those six provinces and of the central government of India. Its name was changed in 1922 to the European Mental Hospital. The hospital exists today and houses India's Central Institute of Psychiatry.<sup>10</sup>

### **Berkeley-Hill and his arrival at Ranchi**

On arrival at Ranchi, Berkeley-Hill was appalled at the physical conditions and lack of resources he found there. His first impressions filled him with disappointment:

It did not take me long to see that I had been asked to take charge, not of an asylum, but of a bear garden. My heart sank.<sup>11</sup>

Thus, for example, there were only twelve pairs of shoes for the 92 male patients.<sup>12</sup> Some patients were so bug-bitten that a doctor thought they were suffering from chicken pox.<sup>13</sup> However, Berkeley-Hill pointed out that considerable expense had been incurred in building a sixteen foot high wall around the site of the hospital,<sup>14</sup> which had been designed giving custody a priority over treatment.<sup>15</sup>

Berkeley-Hill was a man of strong views, with the energy and organisational skills to implement his plans for action. He visited the appropriate government officials in an attempt to obtain funding for the hospital. When this proved unsuccessful he used his contacts with the press and *The Statesman* of Calcutta, regarded as 'a liberal Anglo-Indian paper which was often critical of the government'<sup>16</sup> and wrote an article condemning the conditions in the hospital as 'worse than a kaffir's kraal.'<sup>17</sup> As he had intended, the publicity embarrassed and infuriated the government in Calcutta and he was ordered to apologise for his behaviour and this breach of military discipline or be sacked.<sup>18</sup> He chose the former and, despite the unpleasantness, the resources were provided. In his autobiography he lists the considerable improvements he was able to introduce in his time at Ranchi. These included increased nursing staff, electric lighting, the construction of two operating theatres, the replacement of buffaloes and carts by motor vehicles, a library, a gymnasium, a theatre and so on.<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> See <http://cipranchi.nic.in/History.html> Central Institute of Psychiatry, History of the Institute (accessed 28 Feb 2012)

<sup>11</sup> Berkeley-Hill, *All Too Human*, p245

<sup>12</sup> Berkeley-Hill, *All Too Human*, p246

<sup>13</sup> Berkeley-Hill, *All Too Human*, p247

<sup>14</sup> Berkeley-Hill, *All Too Human*, p244

<sup>15</sup> Berkeley-Hill, 'The Ranchi European Mental Hospital', p70

<sup>16</sup> Kaul. Chandrikar *Reporting the Raj: The British Press and India, c. 1880-1922*, (Manchester University Press, Manchester) p194.

<sup>17</sup> Berkeley-Hill, *All Too Human*, p249

<sup>18</sup> Berkeley-Hill, *All Too Human*, p247

<sup>19</sup> Berkeley-Hill, *All Too Human*, p250

## Treatment methods

In reviewing his first few years at Ranchi, Berkeley-Hill observed that the general health of his patients was very good, though malaria was a problem. Dysentery was very rare and diseases of the alimentary canal were absent.<sup>20</sup> He identified his patients as mainly of the lower middle class, 'such as employees of the railways or telegraph departments and mechanics.'<sup>21</sup>

On admission to Ranchi every patient was prescribed rest and was required to stay in bed for at least a week. However patients suffering from acute excitement and who would not stay in bed were treated by prolonged immersion in water at 'an agreeable temperature' in a specially designed bath. It was sometimes necessary to place a lid over the bath with an aperture for the patient's head to ensure the person stayed there. The patient was placed in the bath in his or her own room first thing in the morning and would stay there all day in the charge of two attendants. The attendants maintained the temperature. They were not allowed to speak to each other and could only speak to the patient when the latter first spoke to them. No noise was allowed in the vicinity of the bedroom.<sup>22</sup> Berkeley-Hill believed that hydrotherapy in a calm environment was a vital part of the treatment for agitated patients.

It was important that patients had their own 'mess' and that men and women ate together at small tables, he said, as this improved table manners and deportment and prepared them for a return to ordinary living in their own homes. His regime was reminiscent of the 'moral therapy' devised at The Retreat in York by the Tukes in the early nineteenth century.<sup>23</sup> In promoting what is today referred to as *normalisation* he allowed as many patients as possible to be out of the hospital each day until 9pm. Each patient was asked to sign a paper promising to behave responsibly by not abusing this privilege and he commented that in three years only one patient 'on parole', as he termed it, escaped.<sup>24</sup>

He believed strongly in the health benefits of good nutrition and exercise and promoted indoor and outdoor games. One patient, a former soldier, was trained to lead others regularly in the hospital in 'Swedish drill,' a form of calisthenics.

Unlike Indian patients, those in the European Mental Hospital did not work but pursued leisure and sporting activities as part of their recovery. Berkeley-Hill was credited with the introduction of occupational therapy to India. He listed six grades of activities which he regarded as important to enable someone to learn or re-learn the skills needed to return to

---

<sup>20</sup> Berkeley-Hill, 'The Ranchi European Mental Hospital' p71

<sup>21</sup> Quoted in Christiane Hartnack, 'British Psychoanalysts in Colonial India', Mitchell G Ash and William R Woodward, (eds) *Psychology in Twentieth Century Thought and Society*, (Cambridge University Press, New York, 1987) p238.

<sup>22</sup> Berkeley-Hill, 'The Ranchi European Mental Hospital,' p71

<sup>23</sup> See Roy Porter *Flesh in the Age of Reason: The Modern Foundations of Body and Soul*, (Norton, New York, 2004), p319

<sup>24</sup> Berkeley-Hill, 'The Ranchi European Mental Hospital,' p71

live outside the hospital. He regretted that there were no social workers at Ranchi and that there were not the resources to check on patients once they had been discharged. All that the hospital authorities could do was to send a letter enquiring after their welfare to each person six months after they had left. Between November 1919 and November 1922 Berkeley-Hill noted that 78 patients had been discharged and of these one had died and only three had been readmitted. He wrote that 29 were now living with friends or relatives but were still unable to support themselves. Another fourteen were working in some unspecified career whilst 25 were pursuing their original vocation. Five people had been lost sight of.<sup>25</sup>

In 1928 he introduced for patients a version of the modern day care plan. It took the form of a Habit Formation Chart <sup>26</sup> having four columns. The 'bad habit', e.g. excessive salivating or masturbation, was specified in the first column. In the second was entered his prescription for actions to correct it. Column three recorded the observations of the behaviour being monitored over a week by the nursing and occupational therapy staff. The final column indicated Berkeley-Hill's disciplinary measures to correct the habit if his prescription had so far failed, e.g. barring a patient from dances or cinema shows.

Berkeley-Hill described himself as 'an exile in a far country'<sup>27</sup> and that his professional life had been 'lived in a tropical country among an alien people.'<sup>28</sup> However when he retired from Ranchi in 1934 he lived in a house he named *Hillstow*, after the home of maiden aunts in Oxford, only seven miles away from the hospital. With much pride he declared that

The miserable bear-garden I had taken charge of in October 1919 had become the finest mental hospital in Asia, and a great deal finer than many hospitals in Europe.<sup>29</sup>

### **His views on mental illness**

He devised a motto for Ranchi which was originally quoted by Hugo de Groot<sup>30</sup>: 'The care of the human mind is the noblest branch of medicine.'<sup>31</sup> Berkeley-Hill's writings indicate that he sought in his career to maintain this ideal even though his actions and behaviour were occasionally eccentric and some of them might today be described as racist.

Berkeley-Hill believed in the importance of developing organisations to promote psychiatry in India. In an essay in 1913 he wrote of the lack of attention given to his profession in the country:

---

<sup>25</sup> Berkeley-Hill, 'The Ranchi European Mental Hospital,' pp75-76

<sup>26</sup> Berkeley-Hill, *All Too Human*, p239

<sup>27</sup> Berkeley-Hill, 'The Ranchi European Mental Hospital,' p69

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Berkeley Hill, *All Too Human*, p363

<sup>30</sup> The Dutch jurist, philosopher and poet (1583-1645).

<sup>31</sup> Berkeley-Hill, *All Too Human*, p259

It may be said quite fairly that outside the walls of the Mental Hospitals, the field of psychiatry in India is a neglected waste.<sup>32</sup>

He was infuriated by the comments of some visitors to the hospital who would describe his patients as 'amusing' or 'dangerous'.<sup>33</sup> He recognised, with irritation, the generally negative views of the public concerning mental illness:

... so far as madness is concerned, it is doubtful whether, except among the better-informed or the more reflective, it is regarded as an illness at all in the sense commonly used. It is still looked upon by large sections of civilised people as an obscure visitation, often with implicit moral or social obloquy, to be ignored, laughed at, shunned or euphemised. Its manifestations are referred to an empirical standard of morality, qualified by social criteria.<sup>34</sup>

Sadly, his comments are still relevant today.

Another modern belief he held firmly was that the development of psychiatric care made much financial sense as to support it would prevent or limit future demands on resources.<sup>35</sup>

### **His views on doctors and nurses**

When Ranchi opened, Berkeley-Hill was supported by four medical officers, two of whom were assistant surgeons and two sub-assistant surgeons. Of these three were Indians and one an Anglo-Indian. There were twelve nursing staff, comprising seven male European attendants and five female European attendants including a matron. In addition there were 35 male attendants and 35 female attendants all of whom were Indian.

He defined his ideal mental nurse or doctor to be:

one who never distributes empty phrases of consolation, whether hypocritical or sincere; one who is never harsh or hurried or impatient; one who shows no sign of nervous dread; one who never permits himself or herself to make an angry gesture or to wear an absent-minded look or that bored expression which suggests: "I know all about it. I have heard that a hundred times before." No nurse or doctor in a mental hospital should ever wear a cunning or ironic smile which means "You're exaggerating my friend, it's not as bad as all that."<sup>36</sup>

Once again these views still apply today.

### **Berkeley-Hill and psychoanalysis**

Berkeley-Hill believed he was the first recognised psychoanalyst in India when he arrived there in 1907. He stated that there was only one other European in India who took

---

<sup>32</sup> Berkeley-Hill, 'A Plan for the inception of a mental hygiene movement in India', *Collected Papers*, (The Book Company, Calcutta, 1932) p157

<sup>33</sup> Berkeley-Hill, *All Too Human*, p253

<sup>34</sup> Berkeley-Hill, *All Too Human*, p253

<sup>35</sup> Berkeley-Hill, in 'A Plan for the inception of a mental hygiene movement in India' in *Collected Papers*, p161

<sup>36</sup> Berkeley-Hill, *All Too Human*, p260

psychoanalysis seriously: a Major CW Daly of the Indian Army's Supply and Transport Corps and who was not medically trained.<sup>37</sup>

In 1911 he became one of the first members of the American Psychoanalytical Association and in 1913 was a founder member of the British Psychoanalytical Association. He was also a founder member of the Indian Psychoanalytical Society and its president from 1927-38. He presented numerous papers to the Society one of which in 1925, on Hindu-Muslim tensions was attended by Gandhi perhaps indicating Berkeley-Hill's importance in this field.<sup>38</sup> His work was recognised in 1914 by Sigmund Freud in the latter's book *History of the Psychoanalytic Movement*.

He used his knowledge of psychoanalysis to interpret the behaviour of Hindus and Muslims in India and many of these writings are found in his *Collected Papers*.<sup>39</sup> Two particular essays serve to illustrate his views. *The Anal-Erotic Factor in the Religion, Philosophy and Character of Hindus*<sup>40</sup> and the *Study of the Life and Character of Mohammed*<sup>41</sup> were both written in 1919. They were banned by the Government in 1920s because it was feared they might inflame tensions at a time when the nationalist movement in India was in the ascendant.

### Doctor and patients

An early case study relates to his service at the Punjab Lunatic Asylum in Lahore in 1912/13. The hospital had only one European patient at the time. The man had seen his wife and her eldest son having sexual intercourse together and so he shot them both dead. He was tried for murder and given a life sentence at the penal colony on the Andaman Islands. When his mental health deteriorated he was transferred to Lahore. Berkeley-Hill played chess with him and allowed him to travel into Lahore to a restaurant 'to take tiffin.' When his behaviour became 'turbulent' he was no longer permitted to go there and was confined to the hospital grounds. The case study shows how Berkeley-Hill was prepared to spend leisure time with his patient and to trust him to spend time away from the hospital despite the serious offence he had committed. When the risk to others was becoming unacceptable he was able to take prompt action to reduce it.<sup>42</sup>

Another case study illustrates Berkeley-Hill's use of psychoanalysis and some of his underlying views. A 30 year old British soldier was admitted to Ranchi with the classic

---

<sup>37</sup> Berkeley-Hill, *All too Human*, p77

<sup>38</sup> See Amit Ranjan Basu, 'The Coming of Psychoanalysis in Colonial India: The Bengali Writings of Dr Girindrasekhar Bose,' in *Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Enreca Occasional Paper Series – Culture and the Disciplines: Papers from the Cultural Studies Workshops*, no. 5, 1999 p37.

<sup>39</sup> Berkeley-Hill, *Collected Papers*, (The Book Company, Calcutta, 1932)

<sup>40</sup> Berkeley-Hill, 'The Anal-Erotic Factor in the Religion, Philosophy and Character of the Hindus,' in *Collected Papers*, p75

<sup>41</sup> Berkeley-Hill, 'Study of the Life and Character of Mohammed,' in *Collected Papers*

<sup>42</sup> Berkeley-Hill, *All Too Human*, p138-39

symptoms of schizophrenia: hallucinations, hearing voices, weaving trivial matters into a complex scheme of persecution.<sup>43</sup> The patient was convinced that Indian pandits<sup>44</sup> might take his life as they were jealous of his knowledge of astrology acquired in both England and India. He also believed he was being watched by the police. After six months his hallucinations had almost disappeared and Berkeley-Hill, in recognition of his improved health, asked him to lead other patients in the 'Swedish drill' mentioned above. After eight months Berkeley-Hill began psychoanalysis with the patient and the latter referred to him as the 'spycologist' as the doctor delved into his past. The patient had gained some self-satisfaction from his knowledge of astrology and whilst in India he had consulted astrologers regularly. Berkeley-Hill was openly contemptuous of astrologers and observed how they had entrapped his patient:

In 1915 the patient seems to have got into touch with one of the numerous charlatans who profess to be psychologists, astrologers, and what not. This rogue wrote him a letter... It appears that this persevering spider had at last caught his fly.<sup>45</sup>

Berkeley-Hill viewed these psychoanalysis sessions as a battle between him as the father figure linked to authority, i.e. the army and the government, versus the Indian pandits and the astrologers. His patient was noted as trying to fight both sides at the same time and in moments of guilt feeling threatened by the pandits. The outcome of the case is not known.

As an instrument of the imperial state, the European Mental Hospital was regarded by some in authority as a potential target for nationalist opposition. During the First World War the British government had hinted at the possibility of 'Home Rule' for India having dominion status within the British Empire. However the subsequent mild reforms led to accusations of bad faith by the government and much disappointment amongst nationalists. The new laws came with the repressive Rowlatt Acts of 1918 which introduced detention without trial for Indians opposing British rule.<sup>46</sup> This led to increased political agitation against the British across India and aggressive reactions from the authorities, the most notorious being the Amritsar Massacre in 1919 when nearly 400 unarmed Indians were killed by British troops and 1,650 wounded.<sup>47</sup>

Part of the official response was to have a machine gun despatched to the European Mental Hospital in 1920 much to Berkeley-Hill's scepticism and irritation as he had no doubts about the safety of his staff or patients. He put in charge of the weapon, which incidentally had not been supplied with any ammunition, a young soldier who was a patient at the hospital and whom he regarded as a likeable and trustworthy person when in good

---

<sup>43</sup> This case study is quoted in Hartnack "British Psychoanalysts in Colonial India" p. 239-240.

<sup>44</sup> In Sanskrit pandits are 'learned men' and the term sometimes refers to Brahmin priests. *The Concise Hobson-Jobson: An Anglo-Indian Dictionary*, (Wordsworth, Ware, Hertfordshire, 2008, Facsimile of 1886 edition.)

<sup>45</sup> Quoted in Hartnack "British Psychoanalysts in Colonial India" p. 240.

<sup>46</sup> Maria Misra, *Vishnu's Crowded temple: India since the Great Rebellion*, (Allen Lane-Penguin, London, 2007), pp148-150.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid.



mental health. The latter whilst suffering a mental breakdown had shot dead a fellow soldier and consequently was admitted to Ranchi. The hospital was visited by a general who questioned Berkeley-Hill on why he had made a murderer and a patient responsible for such a dangerous weapon. His response was blunt: 'That man is a lunatic and a murderer. Could you suggest anyone more suitable to be in charge of a machine-gun?'<sup>48</sup> The general was infuriated by what he regarded as irresponsible behaviour and the gun was taken away the same day.

Berkeley-Hill had a mischievous sense of humour when being with some patients. He relates how he was laughing and riding a see-saw with an elderly patient. A new nursing attendant did not recognise Berkeley-Hill and politely returned both men to the ward much to the doctor's amusement.<sup>49</sup> On another occasion a male patient threatened to knife himself. Berkeley-Hill responded by saying that if he did this he should not make a mess on the floor unless he was prepared to clean up afterwards. Alternatively, he said, the man could go and drown in the nearby lake.<sup>50</sup> However he knew that those suffering from a deep depression were potential suicide risks and needed to be watched closely.<sup>51</sup>

Berkeley-Hill did not fear controversy, as his machinations against the establishment in successfully obtaining resources for Ranchi proved. He had little time for bureaucracy and military regulations as his encounter with the general over the machine gun shows. He expressed this succinctly, because in the Army, he wrote, 'the authoritative dull are in the majority,'<sup>52</sup> a statement made after retirement but one which may not have pleased those in power.

### **Berkeley-Hill and race and culture**

Berkeley-Hill married an Indian woman, Karimbil Kunhimanny, whom he described as of the Brahmin caste. There is nothing in his autobiography about their courtship or the reaction of families and friends to an interracial marriage, which was very rare and generally unacceptable in British Indian society of the time. He described her as a good cook and a good mother to their two sons but there was little about her other qualities. Indeed, one observer has said that he wrote more in his autobiography about his pre-marital affairs and his horse than his wife.<sup>53</sup>

He did, though, comment on one consequence of his marriage. One of his sons was refused entry to Rugby School on the grounds that he had an Indian mother and Berkeley-Hill deeply resented this rejection although once again he wrote little about it in his autobiography.<sup>54</sup> Towards the end of the book he condemned those who criticised

---

<sup>48</sup> Berkeley-Hill, *All Too Human*, pp. 260-263.

<sup>49</sup> Berkeley-Hill, *All Too Human*, p257

<sup>50</sup> Berkeley-Hill, *All Too Human*, p256

<sup>51</sup> Berkeley-Hill, *All Too Human*, p255

<sup>52</sup> Berkeley-Hill *All Too Human*, p80

<sup>53</sup> Quoted in Hartnack, 'British Psychoanalysts in Colonial India' p246

<sup>54</sup> Berkeley-Hill, *All Too Human*, p23

miscegenation (ie inter-racial marriage). The argument against it, he said is only 'one among many thrown up by groups in power, to justify themselves in their own eyes or in the eyes of others.'<sup>55</sup> He concedes that the French, Dutch and Italians are much less prejudiced than the British towards those he described as 'half castes.'<sup>56</sup> He reserved his strongest and most descriptive language for racial prejudice:

Intolerance belongs to the savage state and to slave-mentality. Intolerance is the product of barbarism, no matter whether religion, the State or the masses is invoked in its defence. Tolerance, on the other hand, is the expression of a real civilisation, and compromise is its method.<sup>57</sup>

His own intolerance of aspects of Indian culture is clearly illustrated in a story he tells in his autobiography. He objected to the regular noise of an Indian band from a village near the hospital. They often performed at religious festivals and weddings and festivities would sometimes last into the early hours. His protest took the form of hiding in trees with a long knife as they passed and disrupting proceedings by frightening the participants.

As soon as a party of drummers passed the point where I was concealed, I would leap out, and uttering blood-curdling yells, pursue them. The result was always the same. Believing themselves pursued by an evil spirit, the drummers would throw down their drums and run for dear life. As soon as they were out of sight, I fell upon the drums with my knife and cut out large pieces of the hide.<sup>58</sup>

It did not seem to occur to him that his actions could be construed as violent and uncivilised.

### **Berkeley-Hill the professional**

By nature of his position as head of the European Mental Hospital in India, Berkeley-Hill was an important figure in psychiatry in the sub-continent. One writer has observed that his views on psychiatry were 'avant garde' for the 1920s and 1930s.<sup>59</sup> He introduced many new measures to improve the lifestyle of his patients and his innovations echoed those of the enthusiastic nineteenth century pioneers in mental healthcare in Europe whom he much admired.

In 1922 he was asked by Emil Kraepelin to do research on the incidence of neuro-syphilis among Indians. Berkeley-Hill devised a questionnaire which he then circulated to British psychiatrists in India and in other colonies. Kraepelin was renowned throughout Europe for his *Textbook of Psychiatry*, which ran into nine editions, his classification of mental disorders and his work on *dementia praecox* the term for what later became known as

---

<sup>55</sup> Berkeley-Hill, *All Too Human*, p369

<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> Berkeley-Hill, *All Too Human*, p365

<sup>58</sup> Quoted in Hartnack, 'British Psychoanalysts in Colonial India' p.240

<sup>59</sup> Hartnack, 'British Psychoanalysts in Colonial India' p249

schizophrenia.<sup>60</sup> That both he and Freud, major international figures in psychosocial medicine, were in contact with Berkeley-Hill confirms that the latter was well known and important in mental health circles beyond India.

Further recognition of his importance came in 1929 when he was asked by the Government of India to be its official representative at the 7<sup>th</sup> International Psychological Congress at Yale in the USA. It enabled him to visit a number of psychiatric hospitals including Bloomingdale in New York State which had been founded in 1821. He compared it with Ranchi and concluded that his hospital was superior in many ways. In particular, he stressed that Ranchi was ahead of Bloomingdale as the former had done away with male nurses as there was no longer a need for them.

Berkeley-Hill's work received praise from Edward Mapother, the head of the Maudsley Hospital in London and the first professor of psychiatry at London University. The two had travelled together to America for the 1929 conference. Mapother visited psychiatric hospitals in India (including Ranchi) and Ceylon in 1937 and he was very critical of what he found. However, he admired the work of Berkeley-Hill, but recognised that he was not a diplomat in his dealings with those in power. Mapother subtly observed that

[Berkeley-Hill] is by far the ablest man that there has been in psychiatry [but] he is a bitter controversialist with a dangerous wit who scared so successfully his superiors that they retired him off as soon as possible.<sup>61</sup>

## Summary

Berkeley-Hill earned an international reputation for his work in India. He was proud of his achievements at the European Mental Hospital which he believed he had made into the finest mental hospital in Asia. However his lack of diplomacy and dislike of bureaucracy may have prevented even greater success. His writings were premised on the racial and cultural superiority of the West and this justified his belief in the right of the British to rule India. Like many British before him he grew to love India but unlike them he chose to marry an Indian wife and live out the rest of his days there. By establishing a centre of excellence at Ranchi he was to influence the development of psychiatry in India for a generation after his death. His introduction of psychoanalysis to India and other innovations such as the initiation of occupational therapy were pioneering. He was a key figure in professional psychiatry in India whilst remaining an eccentric and contradictory individual. No doubt he was a fascinating, contradictory and frustrating man, but I would liked to have met him.

Finally, whether the English in India were 'the maddest of all mankind' I may find out when I complete my doctoral thesis.

---

<sup>60</sup> Christopher Firth and Eve Johnstone, *Schizophrenia: A Very Short Introduction*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003), p27

<sup>61</sup> James H Mills and Sanjeev Jain, "A Disgrace to a Civilised Community': Colonial Psychiatry and the visit of Edward Mapother to South Asia, 1937-8." in Graham Mooney and Jonathan Reinartz (eds.), *Permeable Walls: Historical Perspectives on Hospital and Asylum Visiting*, (Rodopi, Amsterdam, 2009) p233

NOTE: If anyone would be willing to talk to me as part of my research, in confidence, about their family's experience of mental ill health and India I would be most pleased to hear from you. Similarly if there were any letters etc. which people might like to share with me, I would very much like to see them. I do appreciate the sensitive nature of such conversations or material and I promise to manage them in a sensitive and confidential manner.

## Bibliography

- Basu, Amit Ranjan 'The Coming of Psychoanalysis in Colonial India: The Bengali Writings of Dr. Girindrasekhar Bose' in *Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Enreca Occasional Paper Series – Culture and the Disciplines: Papers from the Cultural Studies Workshops*, no. 5, 1999.
- Berkeley-Hill, 'A Plan for the inception of a mental hygiene movement in India,' in *Collected Papers*, (The Book Company, Calcutta, 1932)
- Berkeley-Hill, O., *All Too Human: An Unconventional Autobiography*, (Peter Davies, London, 1939)
- Berkeley-Hill, O., *Collected Papers*, (The Book Company, Calcutta, India, 1933)
- Berkeley-Hill, 'The Ranchi European Mental Hospital', *Journal of Mental Science*, Vol. 70, no. 288, January 1924.
- Ernst, W., 'Out of Sight and Out of Mind: Insanity in early nineteenth century British India,' in Melling, Joseph and Forsythe, Bill *Insanity, Institutions and Society, 1800-1914: a history of madness in comparative perspective*, (Routledge, London, 1999)
- Firth, Christopher and Johnstone, Eve *Schizophrenia: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003
- Hartnack, Christiane 'British Psychoanalysts in Colonial India' in Ash, Mitchell G. and Woodward, William R. (eds) *Psychology in Twentieth Century Thought and Society*, (Cambridge University Press, New York, 1987).
- James, Sheila Pais, 'The Origins of the Anglo-Indians', *International Journal of Anglo-Indian Studies*, vol.10, no.2, 2010 <http://home.alphalink.com.au/~agilbert/covij18.html>
- Kaul, Chandrikar *Reporting the Raj: The British Press and India, c.1880-1922*, (Manchester University Press, Manchester)
- Mills, James H. And Jain, Sanjeev "'A Disgrace to a Civilised Community': Colonial Psychiatry and the visit of Edward Mapother to South Asia, 1937-8." in Mooney, Graham and Reinartz, Jonathan (eds.) *Permeable Walls: Historical Perspectives on Hospital and Asylum Visiting*, (p233, Rodopi, Amsterdam, 2009)
- Misra, Maria *Vishnu's Crowded temple: India since the Great Rebellion*, (Allen Lane-Penguin, London, 2007)
- Porter, Roy *Flesh in the Age of Reason: The Modern Foundations of Body and Soul*, (Norton, New York, 2004)
- Yule, Henry and Burnell, A.C. (editors), *The Concise Hobson-Jobson: An Anglo-Indian Dictionary*, Wordsworth, Ware, Hertfordshire, 2008 (Facsimile of 1886 edition.)

## Dr Christopher Francis Henry Quick, IMD

*Allan Stanistreet*

Late in 2008 I acquired for my collection a Long Service and Good Conduct Medal to Assistant Surgeon CFH Quick of the Indian Medical Department (IMD). It was duly tucked away with the rest of the collection as a nice specimen but of no particular interest. It came with a card outlining Mr Quick's career, during which he rose in rank from Warrant Officer to Major, not an uncommon career for those in the IMD.

The following year, there appeared a book entitled *A Tug on the Thread* by the well-known actress Diana Quick in which she went into considerable detail about her family's background in India, both before and after Independence. What really attracted my attention was mention of her great-uncle Frank, who had joined the IMD. It was just too much of a coincidence for the medal in my collection to have belonged to anyone else.

In her book, Diana pointed out that employment opportunities for Anglo-Indians were severely circumscribed by the rigid hierarchical structure of the Raj. While they formed the bulk of the IMD, they could never aspire to become members of the elite Indian Medical Service, which, although it did have some native born Indians, all had done their medical training in Britain, where the training was considered superior to that in India.

Frank Quick was unusual among his contemporaries in that he had trained in London and earned the qualifications of Licentiate of Medicine and Surgery of the Society of Apothecaries (LMSSA) and Member of the Royal College of Surgeons (MRCS). I wrote to the Society of Apothecaries, who were most helpful and sent back reams of information on Frank Quick. Later, I wrote to his niece and she also was extremely helpful in filling in some details of his family background.

Christopher Francis Henry Quick was born on 28 July 1887, the son of Christopher George Quick (formerly a Bombardier (Corporal) in the Royal Artillery) and his wife Margaret Johnstone Kerr. He was christened in Meean Meer, West Bengal on 2 August the same year. It is not known where he was educated but on 4 March 1908, having passed the necessary examinations, he was appointed an Assistant Surgeon 4<sup>th</sup> Class, ranking as a Warrant Officer Class One (Sub-Conductor) in the IMD. He is recorded as speaking basic Pushtu. In March 1910 he was employed in the Divisional Laboratory at Rawalpindi.

The IMD contained a large number of Assistant Surgeons (and later Senior Assistant Surgeons when they were finally granted commissions) and because there were more than the army would require at any one time, many of them were employed in civilian hospitals performing such duties as Supervisors of X-Ray Departments and Pharmacies. It was in the former capacity that Frank Quick seems to have spent much of his time.



*Myrtle Flynn Quick and  
C Francis Henry Quick*

In 1912, Frank was in the Walker Hospital at Simla and by 1914 he had moved to the X-Ray Department at the Ripon Hospital at Simla. Between 1915 and 1918, he was on duty during the Great War in Europe and in October 1918 he was attached to 16<sup>th</sup> Division at Dalhousie. July 1919 saw him in the X-Ray Institute at Dehra Dun. In the meantime, he had been advanced to Assistant Surgeon 3<sup>rd</sup> Class on 4 March 1915, still ranking as a Sub-Conductor. On 4 March 1920, he was promoted Assistant Surgeon 2<sup>nd</sup> Class (Conductor) and appointed Deputy Medical Superintendent in the X-Ray Department at Delhi. By January 1923 he was in the civil hospital at Amritsar and March 1925 found him in the X-Ray Department of the hospital in Lahore, having been promoted Assistant Surgeon 1<sup>st</sup> Class (Conductor) on 4<sup>th</sup> of that month.

He was probably awarded his Long Service and Good Conduct Medal for eighteen years 'undetected crime' some time in 1926. Nearly all the IMD Warrant Officers would have received this medal.

Between 1925 and 1930, he trained at St Mary's Hospital, Paddington, London to qualify him for his LMSSA and MRCS. It is thought that his Assistant Surgeon qualification exempted him from taking the Pre-Medical exams in Chemistry and Physics and also the Primary exams in *Materia Medica* and Pharmacy. He qualified as a Licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries on 18 July 1929 and returned to India in January 1931. In April 1933, he was Assistant to the Civil Surgeon in Mayo Hospital, Lahore.

Around 1910, it was decided to institute the appointment of 'Senior Assistant Surgeon' in order to grant commissions to suitable Warrant Officers, who perhaps had advanced up the ranks rapidly and faced the prospect of spending the rest of their working lives as mere subordinates. These commissions were similar to Viceroy's Commissions, in that those holding them were above warrant rank but below commissioned rank. However senior, they were all subordinate to the most junior British officer. Thus was the *status quo* preserved!

Frank Quick was commissioned as a Lieutenant (Senior Assistant Surgeon) on 10 November 1939, being promoted Captain on 8 April 1941 and Major on 8 December 1941. He retired on 28 July 1942, aged 55. From then on, he practiced at Naini Tal, starting a clinic for the local native population. He was generally considered to be a very decent and humane man.

Frank was married to Myrtle (née Flynn) and they had a daughter called Lorna, born in 1943. She married TM Whitmarsh-Knight and they had three children, a daughter and two sons, all of whom are resident in the United Kingdom.

Dr Quick must have had other medals for his long service in the Indian Army and I understand that they may still be with his family. It is something of a mystery as to how his Long Service and Good Conduct Medal came to be separated from them. However, it is always a privilege to be the temporary custodian of something which represents long and faithful service to one's country and the medal has an honoured place in my collection.

*Acknowledgements:* I am most grateful to Miss Diana Quick and Dee Cook of the Society of Apothecaries ([www.apothecaries.org](http://www.apothecaries.org)) for their kind assistance in compiling this article.

## **The Indian Forest Services in the India Office Records: Questions and answers for researchers**

*Ian Baxter*

*This article details sources at the British Library that are useful for researching men in the forestry services. It was first published as a leaflet - 'Questions & Answers: The Indian Forest Service' - by the India Office Records Library and is reproduced here by kind permission. © The British Library Board. All rights reserved.<sup>1</sup>*

### **History of the Indian Forestry Services**

#### **What provision existed for forest administration in India prior to the establishment of the Indian Forest Department in the 1860s?**

Before the 1860s, forest administration in India had been organised on a haphazard and 'ad hoc' basis directed principally towards the supply of timber for shipbuilding and the collection of revenue, rather than the long-term scientific utilisation and conservation of forests. In 1806, Captain Joseph Watson was appointed Conservator of Forests for Malabar and Canara, where he established a strong government monopoly. This post was however abolished in 1823 and for the next 20 years or so most of the Indian forests were left to private management (or mismanagement). A Conservatorship of Forests for Bombay was established in 1847, for Pegu in 1852 and for Madras in 1856, but the beginning of scientific forestry in India can be dated to the appointment of Dr Dietrich Brandis (1824-1907) as Superintendent of Forests for Pegu in 1856. A native of the Rhineland, Brandis had received a scientific training in forestry at German universities - at this time the scientific study of forestry was much further advanced in Germany and France than in England.

#### **When was the Indian Forest Department established?**

The formal date of the establishment of the IFS could be regarded as 1 April 1864, when Brandis was appointed the first Inspector General of Forests for India, but it took some time to build up the department from scratch. It was not really fully functioning until c1869/70. Local forest departments were established in the North West Provinces and Central Provinces in 1860, in Oudh in 1861, in the Punjab and Bengal in 1864 and in Assam in 1868. It should be noted that the writ of the Indian Forest Department ran only in the old Bengal Presidency - the Bombay and Madras Presidencies had their own autonomous forest administrations.

#### **What were the responsibilities of the Inspector General of Indian Forests?**

His actual executive authority was limited. He acted as professional adviser to the Government of India and local Governments of the Bengal Presidency and had direct

---

<sup>1</sup> This work is for private use only and may not be distributed to any other party. All unauthorised copying, hiring, lending, public performance and broadcasting is strictly prohibited.

control of the Forest School at Dehra Dun (from 1878), the Forest Surveys and Working Plans. He could correspond on certain matters directly with Conservators, but only in the area within the purview of the Government of India - not in Madras or Bombay, where his correspondence had to go to the relevant Head of Department. The first three Inspectors General, reflecting the superior continental expertise in forestry, were natives of Germany viz: Dietrich Brandis (1864-1881), William Schlich (1881-85) and Berthold Ribbentrop (1885-1900).

### **Staffing structure**

#### **How was the Indian Forest Department administered?**

The higher echelons of the Indian Forest Department and the Madras and Bombay Forest Departments consisted of an Upper Controlling Staff and Lower Controlling Staff. In the Upper Controlling Staff, in descending order of rank, were Conservators, Deputy Conservators and Assistant Conservators. The Lower Controlling Staff consisted of Sub-Assistant Conservators. Below the controlling staff came a Subordinate Staff of Rangers, Deputy Rangers, Foresters and Guards. Rangers are sometimes separately distinguished as the 'Executive' or 'Upper Subordinate Staff'.

#### **In the 25 years or so after 1865, what sort of persons belonged to the Upper Controlling Staff?**

The very top posts (with one or two notable exceptions) were held by persons with an amateur rather than a professional knowledge of forestry. One of the top foresters of this period described them as 'a medley of military officers skilled in *shikar* [hunting], medical officers skilled in botany, plus a sprinkling of tea and coffee planters and ex-officers of the Indian Navy'. Gradually these amateurs were replaced by the scientifically trained officers recruited in the UK who had joined as Assistant Conservators (see below).

#### **What sort of persons comprised the Lower Controlling Staff?**

The Sub-Assistant Conservators who comprised the Lower Controlling Staff in the years 1865-90 were mainly young men of European parentage recruited directly by nomination in India and eligible for eventual promotion to the Upper Controlling Staff. Generally speaking, however, their level of education, both technical and otherwise, was not high and often inferior to the native Rangers who were subordinate to them.

#### **What sort of persons comprised the Subordinate Staff?**

Mostly Asians with a sprinkling of Eurasians.

#### **What important changes took place in the Indian Forest Services as a result of the reorganisation of 1890/91?**

The grade of Sub-Assistant Conservator was abolished and replaced by that of Extra Assistant Conservator. Extra Assistant Conservators were not recruited directly but by



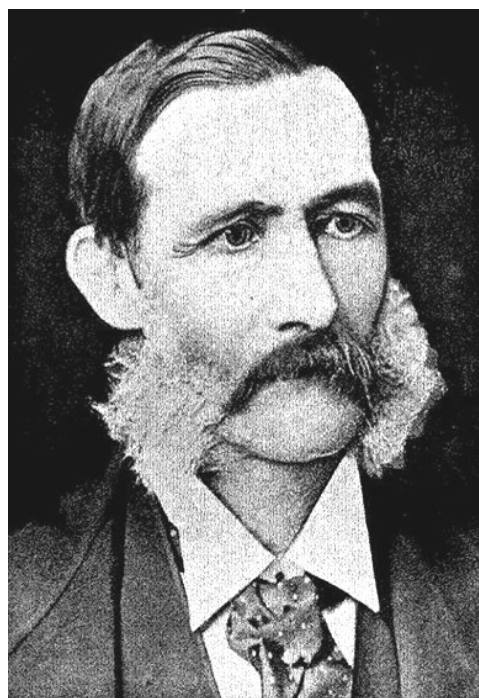
promotion from the Ranger class. Unlike Sub-Assistant Conservators, Extra Assistant Conservators were not eligible for promotion to Assistant Conservator but they could obtain eventual promotion to the new grade of Extra Deputy Conservator, which in terms of pay overlapped the lowest grades of Deputy Conservator. The reorganisation restricted the career opportunities of the domiciled Europeans who had hitherto held most of the Sub-Assistant Conservator posts. At the same time it improved somewhat the prospects of Indian Rangers and Deputy Rangers - they could now rise as far as Extra Deputy Conservator, if no further.

**When were the terms Imperial Forest Service and 'Provincial Forest Service' first used with respect to the IFS?**

From c1892 onwards the term Imperial Forest Service comes into use for the Superior Grades, i.e. Assistant Conservator up to Inspector General, and the term Provincial Service for the intermediate grades of Extra Assistant Conservator and Extra Deputy Conservator.

**When was the rank of Chief Conservator created?**

In 1905. At first it was limited to one or two appointments but was gradually extended to become the top rank in most provinces.



*Dr Dietrich Brandis*

**Recruitment and training**

**When was recruitment for the Superior Service by examination in the UK instituted? What sort of training did these entrants receive?**

The first examination was held in 1867 and thereafter an examination was held every year up to and including 1904, with the exception of 1868 and 1884. Between 1867 and 1876, the recruits received their training on the Continent, either in Germany or France, and from 1877 to 1886 in France only, at the Ecole Forestiere, Nancy. The course lasted two years eight months, after which the graduates were appointed as Assistant Deputy Conservators to one of the Indian provinces. In 1885 the academic part of the course was transferred to the Royal Indian Engineering College at Cooper's Hill in Surrey, but practical training was still given on the Continent.<sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> The course of academic training at Cooper's Hill was increased from two years to three years in 1890.

---

<sup>2</sup> The India Office record collection has extensive records for Cooper's Hill at IOR L/PWD/8. Correspondence forms a large part of the archive, with a number of items relating to the forestry school. L/PWD/8/11 relates to birth/baptismal certificates of candidates for the College.

<sup>3</sup> A 'Register of Students Admitted to The Royal Indian Engineering College Coopers Hill 1871-1906' by the Cooper's Hill Society, (transcription on the FIBIS database) contains biographical

### **Where can I find the examination papers and tables of marks for these UK appointees, 1867-1904?**

In the Annual Reports of the Civil Service Commissioners.<sup>4</sup> The IFS exam was assimilated into that for the Indian Police in 1893, successful candidates in the combined exam had a choice of either service.

### **When and why was the Imperial Forest School at Dehra Dun established?**

In 1878, for the training of Deputy Rangers and Rangers. Sub-Assistant Conservators were subsequently admitted to the courses. It eventually became the All-India training school for both the Provincial Forest Service and the Upper Subordinate Service. Trainees in the Bombay Presidency, however, attended the Poona College of Science.



*The Imperial Forest School, Dehra Dun*

### **What changes took place in 1905 with respect to the education of IFS appointees in England?**

The forestry course was transferred from Cooper's Hill to the University of Oxford. Henceforward, recruitment was mainly by selection rather than examination. Candidates had to obtain a qualification in forestry at a British university (a few years later forestry courses were introduced at the Universities of Cambridge and Edinburgh).

### **Where can I find the entry papers for UK appointees, 1869-1930?**

- 1869-79 - Home Correspondence files of the Economic Department: IOR L/E/2
- 1880-1901 - Economic Department papers: IOR L/E/6 and 7
- 1902-11 - Judicial and Public Department Papers: IOR L/PJ/6
- 1912-21 - Economic Department Papers: IOR L/E/7
- 1922-30 - Services and General Department Papers: IOR L/SG/6

See appendix 2 for a detailed list for 1902-1930.

---

details for some 3000 names, with many forestry students included. This resource can be found on the database under *Miscellaneous>The Royal Indian Engineering College Coopers Hill*.

<sup>4</sup> The Reports of HM's Civil Service Commissioners were previously at IOR V/7, but now should be ordered in the BL Social Science reading room as part of the official publications collection.

## **What important changes took place as a result of the reports of the Islington Commission (1921) and the Lee Commission (1924)?**

The Imperial Forest Service, which had hitherto been virtually closed to Asians, was now opened to them in increasing numbers. It was decided that in future 25% of Imperial posts should be reserved for Europeans, 50% for Asians appointed direct and 25% for promotees from the Provincial Service. A competitive examination in India (open to all races) for direct appointments to the Imperial Forest Service was introduced in 1927, though direct appointments of Indians by nomination (introduced in 1922) also continued.

## **Records of Service**

### **Turning from appointment papers to records of service, what are the main sources for the period 1860-1947?**

There are five main IOR sources of career information: L/F/10, V/13, V/12, L/SG/11 and L/SG/6.

Annual manuscript lists of establishments for each province:

- **Madras and Bombay Uncovenanted Servants 1871-1900: L/F/10/123-9, 144-8**  
Contains annual lists of forest officers by name, from Conservator down to Sub-Assistant Conservator (Extra Assistant Conservator). Rangers and Foresters are occasionally included. Gives name, nature of appointment, amount of salary and period of residence in India.
- **Madras and Bombay Civil Establishments 1870-1877: L/F/10/130-37, 149-60**  
Has a much wider personnel coverage than 'Uncovenanted Servants' above. Lists forest officers by name down to the grade of Forester or Guard. Gives date of appointment, nature of post, age and amount of pay. Forest Staff are to be found in the 'Imperial Service' volumes.
- **Lists of Indian Forest Department employees 1893-1900: L/F/10/221-228<sup>5</sup>**  
Returns are by divisions. Confined to the IFD only (i.e. excludes Madras and Bombay). Includes all grades from Conservators down to Extra Assistant Conservators. Gives name, whether European or East Indian, salary, number of years in India. Forest Rangers are occasionally included.

Civil Lists:

- **Indian Forest Department Civil Lists 1872-1945: V/13/278-279, 285-300**  
Annual, or twice yearly lists of Indian Forest Establishments. The series is mainly confined to gazetted officers which, as far as the Indian Forest Services are concerned, means Sub Assistant Conservators/Extra Assistant Conservators and upwards, although Forest Rangers are listed from 1877 to 1891. The Madras and

---

<sup>5</sup> More details on this source, including microfilm numbers, are on the Fibiwiki at 'Forest Department 1893-1900'.

Bombay establishments are included from 1891. Details normally given include age, date of joining service, date of present appointment and monthly salary.

#### Histories of Service:

- **Histories of Services, 1875-1955: V/12**

Annual or twice-yearly compilations of service, arranged by province or department. Most forest officers will be found in the provincial series under the appropriate province. The Inspector General and other central staff are recorded in the departmental series. You will normally find an officer's date of birth, details of postings and leave, and whether of Asiatic or non-Asiatic domicile. As with V/13, you will not normally find any officers below the rank of Extra Assistant Conservator.

#### Personnel files:

- **IFS Burma/Burma Forestry Service c1907-55: L/SG/11**

Compilations of service, including extracts from confidential files, for Imperial Service officers who served up to and during World War II. Confined to forest officers who serve in Burma. Most of these files are at present closed to the public but the British Library can supply career information upon request.

#### Re-employment papers:

- **Re-employment Files IFS and BFS Officers c.1947-58: L/SG/6**

Files of European officers of the Indian (Imperial) Forest Services who returned to the UK after Independence. Includes extracts from records of service. Most of these files are still closed to the public but, again, career information can be provided upon request.

#### **Where can I find records of leave pay for Forest Officers who took leave in the UK?**

In the Civil Leave Pay Books, 1860-1963, IOR L/AG/20/1/6-151.

#### **Pensions**

#### **What about the payment of service pensions to officers who settled in the UK?**

See the series 'Civil Pensions' 1860-1931 and 1940-68, IOR L/AG/21/9, and the UK Probate Registers, 1860-1972, IOR L/AG/33. Burma service pensions 1945-68 are in the series IOR L/AG/28.

#### **What about officers who retired to the Colonies/Dominions?**

See the series 'Colonial Pension Books' 1860-1970, IOR L/AG/21/44 and for Canada/USA 1952-69, see the series IOR L/AG/21/43.

#### **Is there anything on pensions paid in India or Burma?**

No payment books in the India Office Records. However, many European forest officers who died in India, whether on active service or as pensioners, appear in the series 'Deaths

in the Uncovenanted Service' 1870-1949, IOR L/AG/34/14A/1-17. This series, as well as giving date and place of death, usually also gives age, place of birth and names and addresses of surviving relatives.<sup>6</sup> An name index is available in the Asian and African Studies Reading Room.

### **There were various family pension funds for widows and children of ICS and Indian Army Officers. What fund records does the IOR hold for the Indian Forest Service?**

The IOR has records of two funds applicable to the Indian Forest Service:

#### **1. The Bengal and Madras Family Pension Fund**

Some forest officers contributed to this fund which was set up in 1904 – it was open to all Europeans in the service of the Imperial and Provincial Governments in India, except ICS, Army and Navy officers, non-transferable Bombay civil servants and subscribers to the Bengal or Bombay Uncovenanted Service Family Pension Funds. Pension payments made in the UK (1920-67) are found in IOR L/AG/21/9/151-57.

#### **2. The Supervisor Services (India) Family Pension Fund**

Established in 1928, it was optional for all those in the service of the Indian (Imperial) Forest Service before 1 Sep 1928 and compulsory for those who joined on or after that date. The IOR has a series of family registers at L/AG/23/14/6-8 (index at L/AG/23/14/9). For payments in the UK from 1928 to March 1955, see the series L/AG/21/33 and for April 1955 to March 1968, the series L/AG/21/34. For payments in the Colonies/Dominions, see the series L/AG/21/43 and 44.

### **Private papers in the British Library European Manuscripts collection**

#### **Are there any collections of private papers in the European Manuscripts relating to the Indian Forest Service?**

There are a number of collections bearing on the IFS. The following are the most noteworthy:

1. MSS Eur C 489: papers of Francis Calder Ford-Robertson, IFS United Provinces, 1924-47
2. MSS Eur D 1054: papers of Arthur John Wallace Milroy, IFS Assam (1908-36). Includes diaries, correspondence, reports, articles and photographs.
3. MSS Eur D 931: Personal letters, diaries and photographs of Clinton George Evelyn Dawkins IFS Burma 1908-36, and his wife Enid.
4. MSS Eur E 221: Papers of Sir Philip Joseph Hartog.
5. MSS Eur G 121: Memoir papers, photographs and notebooks of Archibald Hyndman Stein IFS Central Provinces, 1924-47.

---

<sup>6</sup> A partial transcription, listing only 364 names, is on the FIBIS database under *Civil Service Records>Uncovenanted Civil Servants - Deaths in Service* and this gives a good indication of the information available.

6. MSS Eur R 76 - 133: Oral Biography papers - tape recordings of interviews with persons who lived or worked in India c1900-47, recorded 1975-76, by Charles Allen under the auspices of the British in India Oral Archives Committee (including members of the IFS).

## **Appendix 1 - Summary List of IOR Sources**

### **Entry papers**

UK appointments 1869-1930: L/E/2 (1869-79), L/E/6 and 7 (1880-1901), L/PWD/8 (1885 - 1904), L/PJ/6 (1902-11), L/E/7 (1912-23), L/SG/6 (1924-30)

India appointments 1920-30: L/E/7(1920-23), L/SG/6 (1924-30)

### **Service Records**

L/F/10:

Madras Uncovenanted Servants 1871-1900: L/F/10/123-29;

Bombay Uncovenanted Servants 1871-1900: L/F/10/144-48;

Madras Civil Establishments, 1870-77: L/F/10/130-37;

Bombay Civil Establishments 1870 – 77: L/F/10/149-60

Indian Forest Department lists of Employees 1893-1900: L/F/10/221-28

V/13/278-79; 285-300 - Civil Lists Indian Forest Department 1872-1945 (inc Madras and Bombay Forest Depts from 1892)

V/12 - Histories of Service 1875-1955

L/SG/1 - Personnel Files (IFS Burma/Burma Forest Service) 1907-55

L/SG/6 - Re-employment Files IFS and BFS Officers c.1947-58

L/AG/20/1 - UK Leave Books 1860-1963

L/AG/34/14A - Deaths in the Uncovenanted Service in India 1870-1949

### **Service pensions**

UK 1860-1972: L/AG/21/9, L/AG/28, L/AG/33

Overseas 1860-1970, L/AG/21/43 and 44

### **Fund Pensions**

Bengal and Madras Family Pension Fund:

UK payments 1920-67, L/AG/2 1/9/151-57

Superior Services (India) Family Pension Fund

Family Registers: L/AG/23/14/6-9

UK Payments 1928-68: L/AG/21/33 and 34

Overseas Payments: L/AG/21/43 and 44

## Appendix 2 - UK appointments to India Forest Services application papers 1902-30

1902 - L/PJ/6/592 File 231	1916-1917 Recruitment suspended.
1903 - L/PJ/6/627 File 1487	1918 - L/E/7/892 File 334
1904 - L/PJ/6/669 File 431	1919 - L/E/7/979 File 9012
1905 - L/PJ/6/723 Files 1441-43	1920 - L/E/7/1027 File 6820
1906 - L/PJ/6/776 File 2951	1921 - L/E/7/1056 File 888
1907 - L/PJ/6/800 File 661	1922 - L/E/7/1131 File 3066
1908 - L/PJ/6/847 File 401	1923 - L/E/7/1144 File 62
1909 - L/PJ/6/914 File 101	1924 - L/SG/6/8 & 9 Files 490 to 505
1910 - L/PJ/6/1019 File 2501	1925 - L/SG/6/30 File 138
1911 - L/PJ/6/1102 File 2761	1926-27 No UK appointments
1912 - L/E/7/722 File 1336	1928 - L/SG/6/85 File 3265
1913 - L/E/7/750 File 1440	1929 - L/SG/6/101 File 1501
1914 - L/E/7/784 File 1619	1930 - L/SG/6/121 File 1501
1915 - L/E/7/829 File 3384	

Recruitment in UK after 1930 was undertaken by the HCI (High Commission for India)

## Appendix 3 – Direct Appointments in India to IFS 1921-30

1921 - L/E/7/1105 File 8243
1922 - L/E/7/1131 File 3045
1923-1925 No papers
1926 - L/SG/6/47 File 2108
1927 - L/SG/6/24 File 2206
1928 - L/SG/6/93 File 5268
1929 - L/SG/6/121 File 4058
1930 - L/SG/6/124 File 2573

### Other sources

The British Library's archive and manuscript catalogue (which includes the India Office records) can be searched online for forestry related papers at <http://searcharchives.bl.uk>

Berthold Ribbentrop, *Forestry in British India* (Calcutta, 1900)

Annual Reports of the Indian Forest Service

*Forest Bulletin* (later the *Indian Forest Bulletin*) 1905-55 IOR/V/25/560

Online at archive.org:

VS Rao, *100 years of Indian Forestry* (Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, 1961)

RS Troup *The work of the Forest Department in India* (Calcutta, 1917)

Various issues of *The Indian Forester*, the monthly forestry magazine founded in 1875 (see also <http://www.indianforester.co.in/>)

See the Fibiwiki page 'Forestry' for other online links.

## A Postscript to the wounding of Campbell Clark

*Charles Gordon-Clark*

In the last issue of the *FIBIS Journal* I told of the near fatal wounding of my grandfather's uncle, Lieutenant Campbell Clark, before Cawnpore in November 1857. I also mentioned, rather vaguely, that at some point he was ambushed and 'took a war trophy from a Sepoy'. I have since learnt that I had misunderstood the purport of a letter in the British Library about which I only knew the abstract.<sup>1</sup> A copy of the letter was preserved by one of my cousins, together with a remarkable object about which I knew nothing.

Campbell had a home posting from 1865-9, during which time he was promoted to major. He returned to India for the last time in 1871, and served there until 1873, when his regiment was posted to Aldershot. Soon after they arrived, the officers were invited to dinner by another regiment in the brigade, the 38<sup>th</sup> Foot, and because Campbell's commanding officer was laid up with gout, he found himself, as the senior major, sitting next to the 38<sup>th</sup>'s CO, Colonel Shurlock Henning.<sup>2</sup>

They pair got talking of India, and Henning realised that his guest was the young officer who had been his interpreter when he was with the 88<sup>th</sup> Foot in Cawnpore sixteen years before, and who Henning thought had died of his wounds. Henning showed Campbell a gold coin on his watch chain, and told him that it was a *mohur*<sup>3</sup> which had been round the neck of the sepoy who had wounded



*Campbell's jacket, with bullet-hole.*

Campbell and who had then been shot by Henning's drummer. The drummer had taken the 'trophy' and had insisted Henning have it. At the dinner that night, Henning decided that the coin, which he greatly valued, should now go to Campbell, who kept it till his death. After his death, Henning hoped it might come back to him, but Campbell's nephew Stanley Gordon Clark, to whom it passed, would only consider letting it go for Henning's lifetime, which Henning rejected, and so it stayed with Stanley and after his death with his nephew John Stanley Gordon Clark.

The *mohur* is still in the family and now with John's son Simon, who is considering depositing it in the National Army Museum, to rest alongside Campbell's jacket with the bullet hole.

---

<sup>1</sup> India Office Records, Mss Eur C803: Shurlock Henning papers, letter dated 4 Jun 1896.

<sup>2</sup> Later Lieutenant-General; b 1829 d 1898; C.B.

<sup>3</sup> Not the coin of the East India Company, usually equivalent to 15 silver rupees, struck in Madras and Calcutta with frozen date of 1841 until 1862, but a coin from one of the princely states or of the Mughal emperors.



## Calvert Smith, the baby from the Parsonage

Diana Bousfield-Wells

*In part one of this article, 'A Parsonage in Madras' in FIBIS Journal 29, we saw that less than a year after my great grandparents Thomas and Elizabeth Smith (nee Sharp) arrived in Madras, Elizabeth died in childbirth in December 1884, aged only 25. This left her newborn son Calvert in the arms of his father, a busy chaplain on the Madras Ecclesiastical Establishment. What became of Thomas and Calvert is largely described through family letters, preserved and handed down to the present generation.*

Thomas John Smith was born in Harborne, Birmingham on 22 June 1857. According to *Crockford's Clerical Directory*, Thomas trained at Queen's College, Birmingham, in 1879-1881, and among the Sharp papers there remains a handwritten memo by William H Poulton, Warden of Queen's, certifying his 'having passed with credit the Cambridge Preliminary Examination of Candidates for Holy Orders, October 1881'. He was ordained deacon in 1881 and priest in 1882 by the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, after which he worked as a curate in St Mark's Church, Easton (Bristol), where he met and married Elizabeth Sharp. When the couple travelled to Madras for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) at the end of 1883, they took up residence in St Paul's Parsonage, Vepery and Thomas became the Chaplain for the Madras Military Orphan Asylum nearby.

### The months after Elizabeth's death

The first letter the family hold from Thomas in this period was written two months after his wife's Elizabeth's (Lizzie) death. This and most of his 1885 letters are written on black-edged paper and envelopes. Sent to his sister Julia, Thomas refers to his baby Calvert and plans for his future care, and also makes mention of his own loss.<sup>1</sup>

My dear Julia,

I could not find time to write last mail day as I had not written earlier. Since writing before, I paid a little visit to the Adyar & I found it very pleasant.<sup>2</sup> I should have liked to stay there longer but as I had arranged to have the baby here I was obliged to return.

I have an East Indian nurse, not being able to get a European. She is a little dark & not half as good as an English woman. The baby was vaccinated a fortnight ago & the places will soon come off. He is very well & getting quite fat. I am arranging with Mrs Sharp to take him as it was Lizzie's wish. I am sure you & Mother will feel that this is the right & best thing to do. It has been such an awful blow to Mrs Sharp and the baby will in some measure reconcile her to the

---

<sup>1</sup> Letter 71, Thomas Smith, 11 Feb 1885, from Madras.

<sup>2</sup> The peaceful gardens of the Theosophical Society, founded in 1875, in the Adyar neighbourhood of Madras. Today it accommodates increased residential development and many new IT businesses. Clearly some confusion had arisen as in Letter 73, Thomas explained to his sister Julia that 'The Adyar is a place and not a person. I think I would have said in my letter that I was at the Adyar not with.'

great loss. Then if the boy grows up she will probably be able to advance his interests. Although I know how well you would take care of him, I think this is the right thing to do. I am trying to find someone to take him home but cannot at present. I shall have to pay the passage of someone to take him home – perhaps both ways. Mrs Sharp talks of going back to Stoke Bishop if I send him to her. It is certainly a splendid place for a baby.

Yesterday was the Founder's Day at the Asylum. I missed having Lizzie with me so much.

Your loving brother, Tom

So, it was Thomas's intention to send baby Calvert home to live with Elizabeth's family, the Sharps. The problem of who would take Calvert to England became a recurring theme in Thomas's letters of the next few months. The matter arose again in his next letter to Julia, as did the situation regarding Calvert's argumentative ayahs, and Thomas's strong views on their quality.<sup>3</sup>

Mr Foley came & took up his quarters with me on Sunday. I think we shall get on very well. He has three rooms en suite all to himself downstairs so that he cannot hear the baby if he cries. The nurse & the native wet nurse squabbled so much that I had to send her away yesterday & Mrs Black has taken the baby again for a day or two. I have engaged another nurse who has been serving her time at the Lying-in Hospital for the last 6 months. I hope she will be more satisfactory. East Indians are most troublesome people, being half-caste they ape Europeans, & therefore think that it is *infra dig.* to work.

I had a letter from Lizzie's sister in Australia<sup>4</sup> last week & it is very probable that she may come here on her way home. If she does, I expect she will take the baby home. If she doesn't, I must send him with a nurse. It seems very quiet here tonight without the baby in the house. He is very well but the nurse did not take proper care of him.

We have had the monthly Clerical Conference at the Bishop's today, & I have had another Secretaryship thrust upon me. It is an honorary appointment but very important as it is to the



*Thomas Smith with his son Calvert (faded), aged three months, and his two Ayahs, possibly including the woman who accompanied the baby by ship to Southampton.*

<sup>3</sup> Letter 72, Thomas Smith, 3 Mar 1885, from St Paul's Parsonage, Madras

<sup>4</sup> A tantalising reference as he does not name which of her several sisters it was! It may refer to Constance who appears to have been in Australia in 1882; Nellie is also possible as she later taught in Europe and South Africa.

Prayer Book Examination Committee & is in connection with the whole of the Presidency. I have got heaps to do, goodness knows.<sup>5</sup>

I get very nice letters from Mrs Sharp nearly every week. I am afraid that she is not so well as she might be. She is very anxious about the baby.

The shared care of the young boy became a matter for mutual discussion and the focus of many of the letters in the collection. Calvert was to live with his mother's family, not with the Smiths in Birmingham. From the distance of several thousand miles, Thomas's letters show him in the role of peace-maker, with his own feelings of guilt in the tragic situation: <sup>6</sup>

I am very sorry that you are disappointed in not having the baby, but you must remember that you cannot say that you have lost a sister in the way that Mrs Sharp has lost a daughter & that it is filling up a vacancy in the house which I have been the cause of making. Of course I know quite well how well he would be taken care of & loved by you & I can quite realise how much you would have liked it, but it is a pity that you should have built upon such an uncertainty. Mrs Sharp told me to tell you & Mother with her kind regards to see you whenever you like to go to see the baby when she has it.

But the method of sending home the small child was still causing difficulties for Thomas. However, there was a plan for Calvert to visit his paternal family and the letter shows Thomas was fond of his little boy and interested in the care of a baby.

From the difficulties I am experiencing to get the baby taken home, I am afraid he must stay here until next year. Noone cares about having a baby in their cabin. The only way I see of sending him at present would cost well nigh £80 & I do not feel justified in allowing it to cost so much. This evening I may know more about it, but my letter will have gone. If the baby goes home now, he will be taken to Brussels but you might I should think arrange either to go to London for a few days or have the nurse come to Birmingham for a day or two. I should like Mother to see her only grandson. He is a dear little fellow – as good as gold. He scarcely ever cries except when he wants feeding. He has slept in my room the last two nights to be under the punkah & wakes up regularly twice in the night to be fed & the last time very often late enough to stay up altogether.

How is Harry Tomes' baby fed?<sup>7</sup> If he is fed with a bottle it may be that he cries because he has stomachache through having pure milk. Milk for young babies should always have water in it as it acts as an aperient. There is something wrong if he cries all night. Lots of babies die through ignorance of mothers.

However, Thomas had no intention of bringing Calvert home himself, despite in being clear that Julia had asked if he would return.

I suppose very few people would prefer living in India to England but I do not intend to come home at present. You say isn't a little less money at home with some comfort & happiness

---

<sup>5</sup> The SPCK archives, held in the Cambridge University Library, list another of Thomas's positions: Secretary of the Diocesan Committee in Madras from 1883.

<sup>6</sup> Letter 73, Thomas Smith 8 April 1885

<sup>7</sup> Harry Tomes was a reverend and friend of Thomas who is mentioned several times in the letters. Thomas had been surprised to hear Harry was married and had a son.

better than life in India. First of all I call it the difference between a probable £150 a year & £500 a great deal & I assure you that the comforts excepting heat are more here than in England unless one had a larger income. I have not experienced my income yet because I have been furnishing but still it is a very comfortable one & one that men do not get in their own country until they (are) beyond enjoying it. Besides, I like my work & I think I am suited to it.

### Calvert travels to the Sharp family

Finally, Calvert was taken to Europe. The photograph known in the family as the 'baby in the basket' records the journey of Calvert, aged about five months, who was sent home by Thomas to be brought up by his English relatives, his grandmother Ann and aunt Eveline Sharp. Family tradition holds that the photograph was taken to send ahead to the family in England so that they would know what he looked like! Calvert was accompanied on the long voyage from India by an Indian ayah, who was so appalled by the cold weather as the ship neared England that she left the baby with a couple who had befriended them on the voyage and went straight back on the next ship to Madras. The couple had some difficulty in locating the Sharps as Ann and Eveline were living in Godesberg, a district of Bonn, Germany at the time, but Nellie Sharp was able to collect the baby and take him to join them there.



*'The baby in the basket'; Calvert Smith, aged about five months.*

Baby Calvert's arrival in England and immediate departure must have been a terrible anticlimax for the Smith relations in Birmingham, their hopes of seeing Thomas's six-month-old baby raised only to be disappointed so soon. Thomas wrote to Julia in July 1885 and detailed Calvert's arrival in the country:<sup>8</sup>

I had a letter from Mrs Sharp on the 16<sup>th</sup> saying that the baby is very well. They all vie with one another who shall pay him the most attention... I look forward to the time when I shall be able to come home & bring the baby on a visit to you. I feel very much relieved from anxiety now that he is well cared for. I am so sorry you & Mother did not see him. It appears that Calvert Sharp [Elizabeth's brother] was ill when the ship arrived. Mrs Sharp asked me to tell you this as she says [her son] was to telegraph you & she does not think that he did so. The fact is his business is a great anxiety to him & I daresay he forgot all about it. The ship arrived a day earlier than was expected & Constance Sharp had to go [to] the home of the person who took the child to fetch him. She fetched him & started for the Continent the same evening as she says her mother was very anxious to see him. It is very unfortunate that they are on the Continent but I expect they will return this year. Mrs S[harp] finds it very expensive keeping two houses.

<sup>8</sup> Letter 75, Thomas Smith, 19 July 1885 from St Paul's Parsonage, Vepery Madras.

As the Sharps updated Thomas on Calvert's development throughout 1885, he in turn kept his family abreast of the news, telling Julia on the 26 July that 'the last letter from Gotesberg says the baby is quite well & has got 3 teeth' and on the 22 September that 'Mrs Sharp is going to stay [in Godesberg] through the winter partly for the sake of the baby'. On 30 September he told Julia that 'The baby has been bad with teething. Eveline Sharp said that they had to nurse him for four nights.'<sup>9</sup> Despite the reassurances Thomas needed to give his own family, he seems confident in his decision to place the child with the Sharps, noting that 'The baby is very well. I expect he has grown tremendously since he left Madras by what they say. I think he is a great comfort to Mrs Sharp.'<sup>10</sup>

### Thomas's life in Madras

With his parental concerns now many thousands of miles away, Thomas's busy clerical life continued apace. His letters underline his hard work, even when on holiday in the hill stations, and he often referred enviously to colleagues taking long periods of leave, sometimes up to six months. Despite all his work, Thomas enjoyed some leisure activities: he asked for his cello to be sent out to India in a special travelling case, and he was obviously at home riding and taking long walks in the hills when on holiday. Throughout his letters there are many references to fellow clerics some of whom, often tantalisingly unnamed, are depicted in his photographs. His social life seems to have revolved around his work and his colleagues in the ministry in and around Madras. The letter of July 1885 continued with news of a pleasant evening dining with the Archdeacon, who he liked very much, and of an invitation up to the Shevaroy Hills. He noted that 'men in India usually take their recreation on their back with a cheroot' and he did likewise.

His letters tell of building work he has commissioned, presumably at the orphanage, costing some 14,000 Rs and he noted that 'the arrangements have caused so much work.' He



*Thomas (left) with the Revd Durham. This is almost certainly Robert Henry Durham, who was at Vizagapatam 1884-7 and was acting Chaplain of North Black Town, Madras in 1887 (perhaps, the date of this photo). In the following years, he held positions all over South India. (Crockfords Clerical Directory, 1898).*

<sup>9</sup> Calvert was ten months old at this time.

<sup>10</sup> Letter 78, 30 August 1885

furnished his family with regular practical snippets on his life in India, such as:

Butter is made in India but it is quite tasteless; Russian butter would be as good. I use now Normandy butter sent from France. Jams come from England & nearly all provisions except salt & pepper. They are very expensive – bacon costs at the rate of 3/- a lb. You ought to think yourself well off.

and:

I wish you could see the different kinds of carriages used in India. I had a new experience last week. On Thursday I was to dine with Mr Burnett & it was his birthday. As I wanted to go to a Tennis party first I hired a carriage, my horse being tired. I got all right to the Tennis party but the horse did not seem inclined to come away. I hadn't much time to spare to be in time for dinner, but the horse was knocked up or was determined not to go. The coachman whipped & led him but it was of no avail. At last seeing that I could never get to Mr Burnett's, I stopped a Mahomedan passing & got him to bring me a jutka.<sup>11</sup> This is a carriage to hold 4 people generally used by natives, but I was obliged to ride in this or walk & I preferred the former. This will give you an idea of its size in comparison with a man. How four fat people manage to get inside I can't understand. The jutka journey was nearly as bad as the horse & I was very late for dinner. Horses are such a bother in India, one has to use them so much.

Thomas did go to the Shevaroy Hills in September 1885. He wrote to Julia of his agreeable stay on 22 September:

I have been staying at the Footes until yesterday & am now at the Parsonage...Last Saturday Mr Foote & I & a Major Wace who is staying up here went a tremendous walk across the mountains. We had most lovely views. Of course we were out all day. Started at 7 in the morning. The servants carried plenty of grub & made our tea. Colonel Philips & I played a Tennis match against the best ladies in Yercaud this morning & beat them making them fearfully savage. This afternoon we are going to have tea on the Footes' lawn. It is Mr Foote's birthday. Tomorrow we are going to have tea at Arthur's Seat – a very pretty place on one of the hills.<sup>12</sup> There is always something going on. I wish I could stay here for a couple of months. I have business letters to write every day so that my time is well cut up. I should like you & Mother to see this place which I suppose is 3 or 4 times as high as Mt Snowdon.<sup>13</sup>

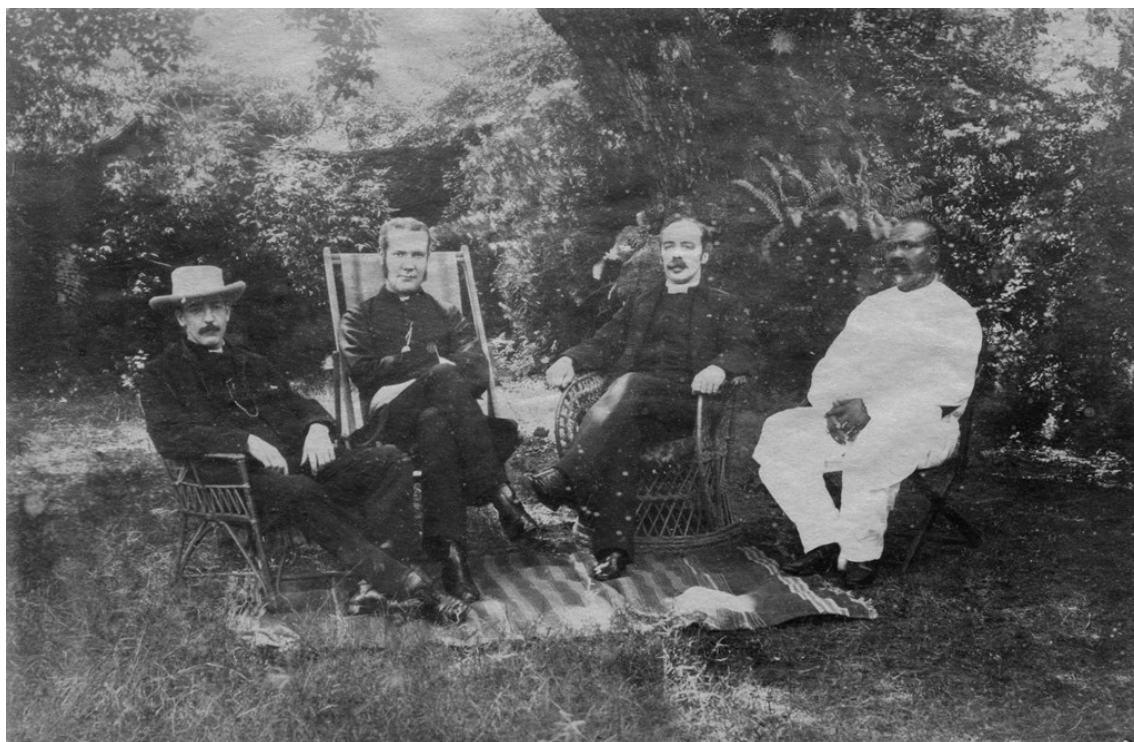
But Thomas's health was a trouble to him every so often. Upon his return from the hills Thomas wrote of a troubling ailment, informing Julia that he had 'been suffering from a slight attack of asthma. The hills have nearly taken it away & I feel altogether much better. I have got lots of work now until Christmas & then in the beginning of the new year I shall go to Secunderabad while it is cool.'

---

<sup>11</sup> According to *Hobson Jobson*, 'the native cab of Madras, consisting of a sort of box with Venetian windows, on two wheels, entered at the back and drawn by a miserable pony ; a conveyance only to be characterised by the epithet ramshackle.'

<sup>12</sup> A famous local vantage point a mile from the centre of Yercaud, presumably named by a Scottish resident after the prominent viewpoint in Edinburgh.

<sup>13</sup> About 3,500ft above sea level.



*Thomas with three clergy friends, annotated on reverse 'Rev Smith, Burnett, Foley, Paul'.<sup>14</sup>*

In Easter 1886 he wrote the first of two letters sent during six months leave in Australia on half pay, to recover his health in the cool winter. There is a family story that his friends in Madras contributed to sending him there to lift his spirits. There are several photographs of him on board ship and another photograph taken by a photographer in Sydney. He stayed in Balranald in New South Wales, due west of Sydney, the oldest settlement on the Lower Murrumbidgee River, established before 1850. It was a small but important ferry point for fatstock and further travel westwards.<sup>15</sup> Thomas lodged at the Royal Hotel and his prolonged stay was presumably caused by his recurrent lung illness.

In August he wrote to Julia from Australia again, his letter indicating that more than a year later that the family were still deeply upset about the arrangements for the baby.<sup>16</sup>

I am sorry you take to heart so much that you haven't the baby. I think it is no greater hardship for you than it is for me who cannot see him at all. You must reconcile yourself to his absence as I have to do. It is for his good that he should not be spoilt by visiting & I am satisfied. I sincerely hope that you did not blame Eveline for any selfishness. She is as far as I know unselfishness itself. She regards the child as a sacred charge of her sister's & you cannot be surprised that she is somewhat jealous of it. I have said too much perhaps but I do not want you to have a grievance with the Sharp family. If you do, it will be a constant source of anxiety to me.

---

<sup>14</sup> *Crockford's Clerical Directory* shows these men to almost certainly be Richard Parry Burnett, chaplain at North and then South Black Town from 1883-87, John Windham Foley, the Headmaster of Bishop Corrie Grammar School in Black Town from 1883 and Samuel Paul of the CMS, also at Black Town 1883-7.

<sup>15</sup> See historical information on its development on <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Balranald>

<sup>16</sup> Letter 86, Thomas Smith, 19 August 1866, Balranald N.S.W.



On his return to Madras his lung problems continued, and he told Julia in July 1887 that ‘...it is with a little difficulty that I write now as I have been unfortunate enough to have my lung bad again. I am not allowed to move about or to talk. However the doctor says it is very slight this time...& that I shall be well again in a week or so. I am afraid one of these days I shall have to go to Australia for good. If I keep fairly well until I come home, then I shall have to make up my mind then.’ But it was not a decision Thomas had to make as, like his young wife, he did not return from India.

### **The death of Reverend Smith**

It is one of the tragic aspects of the story that the young couple’s married life together was curtailed when both were young, newly-married and happy in their new life together. Not only was Elizabeth’s life ended so prematurely but Thomas, as well, survived her by only four years. His letters show clearly that he was sent out for a period of five years and was looking forward to seeing his mother and sister in 1889. His references to others returning to England for visits indicate that perhaps he could have been eligible for a recuperative trip if he had been less unselfish and concerned to carry out his duties as long as he was able. He had been allowed to spend about six months in Australia on half pay in 1886, so perhaps he felt he could not request further leave. The precise cause of his death is still not entirely clear. The last letter we have was written on 1 February 1888 giving no sign of undue illness, only a few weeks before his death. Family tradition suggests that he ‘died of a broken heart’, and indeed his letters show that he felt very deeply the loss of his wife, the parting from his son and feelings of guilt at having brought Elizabeth to the place of her early death. These sad events, combined with the strain of constant hard work and extreme heat for much of the year, combined to depress him and lower his resistance to tropical ailments. His letters clearly describe several years of illness due to his ‘lung complaint’ which sometimes necessitated a few weeks rest and several visits to the cooler climate of the hill resorts, but he did not appear to be suffering any more seriously in the last letters that we have.



*Thomas Smith in Sydney, presumably during his 1886 stay.*

Thomas was buried in the Borella Cemetery in Colombo, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), but it is not known why he was there rather than in Madras. One can only speculate that after writing the 1 February letter, he fell suddenly so gravely ill that he was put on board a ship to Ceylon, only 24 hours from Madras, perhaps en route to England. A letter written by a relative after Thomas’s death (March 1888) mentions that he ‘did have one friend with him’, presumably the Rev Edward Sell (see below). Other letters make it clear that the Archdeacon of Colombo was in charge of the burial and also arranged for photographs of the grave to be taken and sent back to his Smith and Sharp relations in England; multiple





*Thomas Smith's grave in Borella Cemetery, Colombo.*

copies of the professional, mounted photographs were kept amongst the papers of Ann and Eveline Sharp.

A friend visited Thomas's grave in January 2009 and has confirmed that it remains today exactly as shown, the area being less well tended than the main graveyard which is a Commonwealth cemetery. There was a delay in obtaining the effects of Thomas, sent home by ship with Rev. Edward Sell, but no doubt their recovery was successfully effected

as all the many photographs that the family have today must have been amongst his possessions in India.<sup>17</sup>

### Calvert's childhood in England



*The young Calvert Smith*

The death of his father Thomas, left little Calvert Smith an orphan. The collection of letters give a good idea of his upbringing in the Sharps' household in St Margaret's, Richmond upon Thames, and as he grew up it is clear that young Calvert frequently went to stay with his Smith grandmother and aunt in Birmingham. His Christmas thank you letters show him being showered with presents from both families. He was clearly very attached to the Smith relations and was an easy child to manage, enjoying all his toys and later his bicycle and other sports.

Calvert attended St Edmund's School, Canterbury, established in 1749 as the Clergy Orphan Society, on some kind of scholarship as the orphaned son of a clergyman. It is clear from the letters (October 1901) that the other costs of Calvert's education,

---

<sup>17</sup> The India Office Records do not include ecclesiastical records from Ceylon. Eileen Hewson of The Kabristan Archives and [www.genealogysrilanka.com](http://www.genealogysrilanka.com) advises that 'Anglican records prior to 1900 went missing some time ago' and that there is nothing in the Anglican Burial Register about Thomas. The Sri Lanka Registrar-General's Office gave the same response, so it seems unlikely we will find out why Thomas was in that area when he died. A brass plaque in his old Bristol parish notes that he 'died at sea near Colombo'. A search of Bristol newspapers has not produced an obituary.

such as uniform and travel expenses, as well as his upbringing and holidays, were shared between the Sharp and Smith families. There were worries about his slow progress at school and worries about his health, but Calvert took to heart the admonition by one of his teachers: 'it makes no difference to me how well you do at school; it is you who will suffer if you do not work hard', and indeed the letters in 1898 begin to describe an improvement in school reports. His health improved with holidays in the Swiss mountains and a flurry of letters from Torquay show the events leading up to a tonsillectomy in January 1900 in St John's Hospital, Twickenham.

The final stage of Calvert's childhood is described in the last letters of the main collection: the need to find him an entrée into the world of work, which was achieved by a complicated combined effort by all of his close relatives. As Calvert's aunt Eveline wrote: 'In the multitude of counsellors, there is much safety'. The guardianship of Rev Edward Gibson,<sup>18</sup> evidently a fellow cleric with Thomas in India, only becomes apparent at this critical juncture, in a letter of Sept/October 1901: he wished, despite the distance and the time taken by letters to and from India, to take a hand in choosing Calvert's future. Fortunately the difficulty of deciding when Calvert should leave St Edmunds was resolved - with the pressure of the headmaster asking for a quick decision - when the Smiths agreed to contribute to the cost of one more term, when 'his Uncle [Frank] engaged a Tutor to give him writing lessons' and 'his Uncle Colin has got him a place in Andersens & Andersens', a shipping company in London, for him to start work in April 1902. Calvert's childhood was over, although he continued to live with his grandmother and aunts and, working by day and studying law in the evening, began the next phase of his life.



*Calvert's aunt, Julia Smith*

Calvert Smith was married twice, with six children and 22 grandchildren and he lived on into his 80s, dying in Richmond in 1967. He set up a firm of solicitors on Richmond Green which is still there today and was a significant person in local affairs, as an independent councillor and as Mayor and he was made a Freeman of the Borough. In the 1920s, Calvert's Aunt Julia, who had been so disappointed not to have her baby nephew come back from India to live with her, moved in with him and his family.

---

<sup>18</sup> *Crockford's Clerical Directory* (1898) shows that Edward Gibson was a clergyman of the Madras Ecclesiastical establishment. Whilst Thomas Smith was in India, Gibson was chaplain of St George Cathedral, Madras (1882-3); Joint Chaplain at Vepery (1883-5); S Blacktown 1885; St Thomas Mount (1885-86); Vellore (1886-87 and 1889); Fort St George (1887-88); Poonamallee (1888-89); and Vellore (1891-94).

## Correspondence: records of the Dutch cemeteries in Java

Readers with a connection to Java may find the following correspondence with the *FIBIS Journal* to be most useful.

Richard Morgan writes:

In the latest excellent *FIBIS Journal* (No 29 p18) there is mention of the survey of Dutch cemeteries in Java made by PC Bloys van Treslong Prins in the 1930s and the grave of Ellen Grant Day buried in Tanah Abang cemetery in Jakarta (formerly Batavia) in 1903. Most of us might have some difficulty laying our hands on a copy of Prins' book unless we are prepared to pay a lot of money, still less being able to read it in the original Dutch.

Mr Justin Corfield when editing the BACSA book on *Java: British & Empire Graves 1743-1975* (BACSA, Putney 1999 - copy on open shelves at the British Library's AAS Room) used Prins' book as the basis for his own. This was the more important as after several years of Japanese occupation during the Second World War, many British graves in Java (including that of my great great grandmother Maria Frederica Walshe recorded on p29) were destroyed.

However, the grave of Ellen Grant Day seems to have eluded Mr Corfield. He notes in his preface that Prins' 3 volumes published in 1934-8 are extremely scarce, and adds that a book catalogue of 1987 mentions a fourth volume which he (Mr Corfield) has never managed to find. A search on the web reveals that copies of Vols 1 -3 can be found at a cost of about £120, but I too cannot find any vol 4. Mr Corfield clearly thought the mention of a fourth volume was a mistake. But perhaps it isn't and Ellen Grant Day's MI was in this fourth volume.

Paul Boorgard replies:

There is in fact a volume 4 which was published in 1939 in Batavia - hence Prins did publish four separate volumes. In 2010 the *Indische Genealogische Vereniging* [essentially the Dutch Indian Genealogical Society] (<http://www.igv.nl>) published a disc containing all four Dutch-language volumes and it is available from their website.

Ellen Grant Day is indeed in this 4th volume.

## Reviews

***Raffles and the Golden Opportunity*, by Victoria Glendinning, (Profile Books, 2012) hardcover edition reviewed, paperback £9.99, pp384, ISBN 978-1846686047**

Any biography of Thomas Stamford Raffles (1781-1826) should make compelling reading and this book does not disappoint. Although the name of Raffles conjures up the founding of Singapore, this is only one aspect in the story of this intriguing character.

Raffles joined the East India Company (EIC) as a clerk at the age of fourteen and worked in London for ten years before an opportunity arose in 1805 to travel as Assistant Secretary to Penang – which the company wished to develop as it lay on the trade route to China. The Dutch had a large influence in this area but the main threat to Britain was from France.

During his postings in Penang and, afterwards, in Malacca, Raffles set about learning the local languages, making careful studies of flora and fauna and acquainting himself with

the history and Government of the individual States. He published various reports and earned the reputation of a scholar.

In 1811 he was appointed Lieutenant Governor of Java, following his successful routing of the French, but difficulties arose as administrative decisions needed to be made without the inevitable long delay for approval from his superiors in Calcutta – and, indeed, also from London where there was little interest in matters so distant. His independent actions in matters such as land reform and emancipation of slaves brought disfavour and in 1814 he was called upon to defend his judgements – his unhappiness at this time being further compounded by the death of his wife.

In 1815 Java was returned to the Dutch as a post Napoleonic War concession and following this, Raffles returned to England, having been away ten years. He took with him a large collection of manuscripts and specimens. Once in London he published the History of Java and was a popular figure – especially in Court Circles. He was elected a fellow of the Royal Society and was knighted as 'Sir Stamford Raffles'.

He returned to the East with his second wife in 1817 as Governor General of Bencoolen. He hoped this position would make him enough money to retire. During this time he would also continue his orientalist work. As Penang and Bencoolen now remained the only British Possessions in the area, it was felt imperative that a Southern point be established to secure British Trade in the Archipelago. This was to be Singapore where, following a treaty with local rulers in 1819, Britain gained an invaluable position. As Raffles was still based in Bencoolen instructions were given to William Farquhar to lay out the new city but Raffles returned two and a half years later to take over as Resident and put his final plans in place. During this interim period fate had dealt him cruel blows with the deaths of four of his five children. His own health too was now visibly beginning to suffer.

In 1823 Raffles left Singapore forever and in 1824 he returned to the UK. In 1825 he founded London Zoo. However, he was still at odds with the EIC who did not award him the expected pension but, in fact, delivered a large bill for overpaid salary and expenses. Moreover the merchant bank in Batavia had crashed and he had lost his savings.

Not long after receiving the news of his financial misfortune, Raffles died. He had a quiet funeral in Hendon and the whereabouts of his grave was largely unknown until discovered by chance in 1914. His widow settled part of the debt to the EIC. His only remaining daughter died at the age of nineteen leaving him with no direct descendants.

Glendinning's book has been thoroughly researched and the historical background is logically explained giving a good understanding of time and place – whether it be the description of the voyage out to India, a political situation or the geography of a particular region. Moreover, the reader gains a real insight into the difficulties of travelling, communication and the toll the climate took on health. There is an overwhelming sense of frustration that so much was achieved but not appreciated by the EIC who questioned Raffles' judgements and, ultimately, not only refused him a pension but handed him a bill.

Supporting characters are carefully introduced- particularly Raffles' two wives and the sisters who travelled to be with him – and descriptions of their relationships with him present a balanced view of Raffles as a man and not just a historic figure.

The author has chosen not to use footnotes but has included an impressive list of references consulted for each chapter and has invited individual enquiry via the book's website. At a little over 300 pages the inclusion of explanatory detail within the mainframe of the book has not made it unduly long. There is also a detailed bibliography and a good index and the book contains some interesting illustrations and sketch maps.

Unfortunately, a couple of errors have been left unedited. On page 16 the island of Penang is mentioned as south of Malacca and later Raffles is described as sailing 'up the coast' to Malacca from Penang. Also in the introduction the book's website is mentioned as being [tsraffles.co.uk](http://tsraffles.co.uk) whereas in the notes this is stated as [rafflesbook.co.uk](http://rafflesbook.co.uk). Overall, however, the book is recommended as being both highly interesting and well written.

Beverly Hallam

**Lucknow – Families of the Raj, by Malcolm Speirs (Amazon, 2013), paperback, 381pp illustrated. Available from [www.amazon.co.uk](http://www.amazon.co.uk)**

In 2008 Malcolm Speirs published *The Wasikadars of Awadh* (Rupa & Co). This told the strange story of how his family came to be in receipt of a hereditary government pension (*wasika*) from the Kings of Awadh or Oude. Awadh, whose capital was Lucknow, was annexed by the East India Company in 1856 and it is generally accepted that this high-handed action was a contributory factor to the 'Mutiny'.

The present book is a record of European and Anglo-Indian families settled in Lucknow from before 1856 to Independence in 1947. The structure of the book is curious, dictated more by the sources than the subject matter. We have a brief history of the city, two chapters on the establishment of the churches and schools in Lucknow, a chapter headed 'Lucknow in 1859 and 1867' taken from William Howard Russell's despatches to *The Times*. Russell, of course, used his 1859 material in a substantial book *My Diary in India 1858-9*, (2 vols, 1860), though I am not aware his single 1867 despatch has been republished before. We then have the best two chapters of the book (5 and 6) on the various compensation claims against the Government of India in respect of loss of salary or property by people caught up in the Mutiny. Each petitioner outlines the nature of the loss and the part they played in the events of 1857-8. Next are excerpts from letters of Audley Money-Kyrle, a British subaltern in Lucknow 1867-69, now in the Wiltshire & Swindon History Centre. The next chapter represents a trawl through *The Times* Online to record events in Lucknow. 'Odds and Ends' is the heading of Chapter 9 – other claims against the Government – followed by chapters on Entertainment and Reminiscences, the latter including more County Record Office material, from the 1903 round-the-world trip of Hilda Seeborn of Hitchin. Over 100 pages consist of two substantial Appendices: one is gleanings from *Thacker's Indian Directory* and similar, recording what Europeans were in Lucknow 1856-1942, arranged by section (Ecclesiastical, Administration through to

Railways); the other a summary of the compensation claims, both those in Chapters 5 and 6 and others. Finally there is a monster Index of over 4,500 names.

The piecemeal structure makes for a book of uneven quality. The compensation claims are the most interesting part and represent a lot of original research in the Uttar Pradesh State Archives and the National Archives of India. They contain excellent first-hand accounts – some harrowing (imminent expectation of being beheaded), others amusing or bizarre (loss of an elephant, an infestation of worms in the ears). Most contain genealogical information and often inventories of possessions lost. By contrast, too much of *The Times* material records Viceroys' visits which are somewhat dull and repetitive. One must also ask whether other papers perhaps less easily accessible than *The Times* would not have yielded better results. The Index lists names as they appear in the records with no attempt to marry up entries. For example 'Hayes, Capt.' on pp51-2 and 'Hayes, Capt. FFC' on p207 are one and the same – Sir James Outram's Military Secretary at the time of Annexation.

Despite these criticisms, the book is still a useful pointer to sources for family historians researching ancestors in Lucknow.

Richard Morgan

***Early Photographs of Ladakh*, edited with an introduction by Hugh Rayner, (Pagoda Tree Press, 2013, [www.pagodatreepress.com](http://www.pagodatreepress.com)) ISBN: 978-1904285-68-5, pp108, £14.00**

Contains: *From Simla through Ladac & Cashmere* by Captain Robert Melville Clarke and *Description of a Mystic Play, as Performed in Ladak, Zascar &c.* by Captain HH Godwin-Austin, with photographic illustrations by Captain Alexander Brodie Melville.

When I was asked to review this book, a collection of rare, early photographs of Ladakh in the Kashmir region, my first reaction was 'I can hardly ask the photographer to go back and take some different pictures!'

In this age, when photographs can be taken with mobile phones and reproduced in milliseconds, it is perhaps useful to reflect that was not always the case.

Photography had been invented in 1840 by Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre in France and Henry Fox Talbot in England. Daguerre produced a positive image on silvered copper whilst Fox Talbot produced a negative image on paper. The introduction of glass plates in the late 1850's meant they could be coated with a solution of collodion (guncotton in ether) containing silver salts. The disadvantage of this process was that the glass plate had to be coated with the solution, allowed to set, exposed in the camera while still wet, and finally developed, before the collodion set hard, which it would do in about five minutes. However, this new process was a great advance and was the method of choice from the late 1850's until the 1880's when gelatine was introduced.

Thus Captain Clarke, working in the far, mountainous north of India in 1861, had to have a supply of glass plates, collodion in ether (both unstable chemicals), solutions of silver salts, developing agents, a supply of water, a large camera, an equally large tripod and a darkened portable tent to enable him to work in the 'field'.



Neither lightweight, nor particularly portable.

Both the sensitivity of the medium and the quality of the lens used would produce sharp images but without much contrast (see picture, below). Indeed most of the photographs show very few shadows and therefore produce rather 'flat' photographs. Of course we are not seeing the original photograph, but scans of some, and in others scans of scans. Each method of reproduction will degrade the image, as of course will the passage of time.

Ladakh, even today is a remote part of the globe and to be able to see photographs taken 150 years ago is a real privilege.

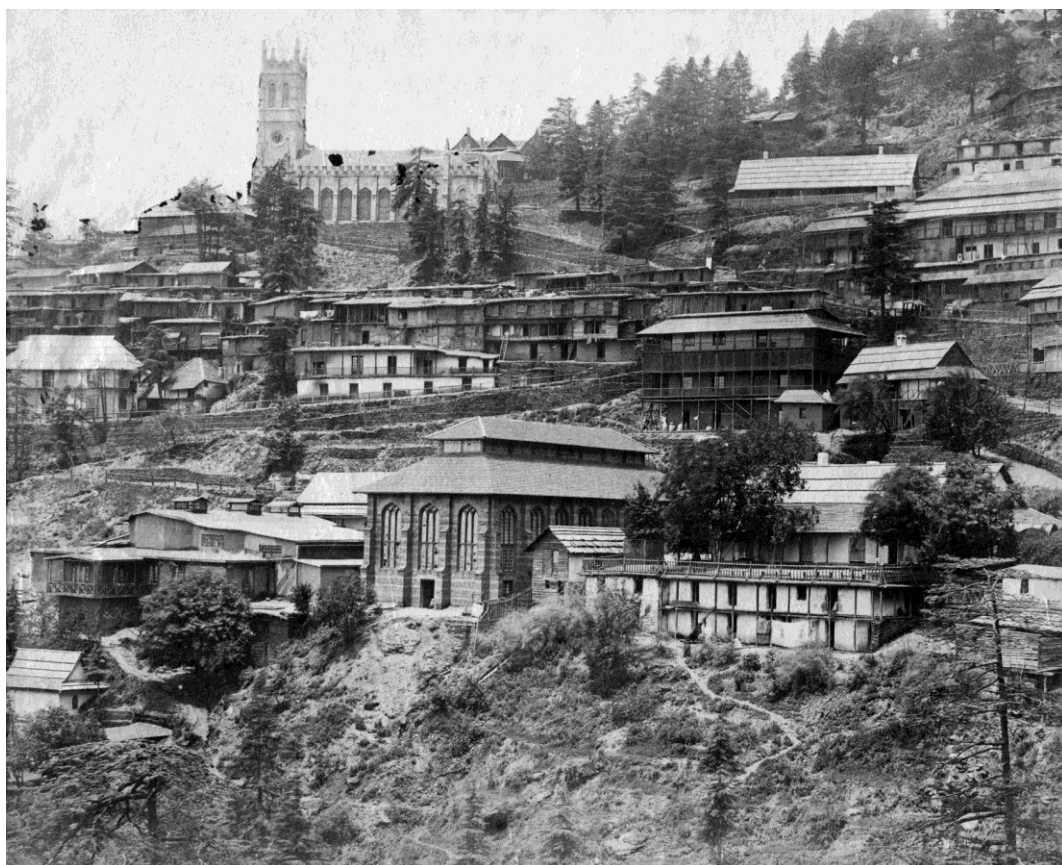
The second series of photographs taken a few years later by Captain Melville, are altogether different. Firstly they are people pictures, taken in a brightly lit courtyard, hence the deep shadows in the background, probably under the verandah. All would have required exposures of upwards of 30 seconds, which would account for the fuzziness of some of the figures. Also the lens quality may not have been particularly good for this type of relative close-up photography.

However, notwithstanding the rather degraded technical quality of the images, they are wonderful unique record of a ceremony which must have been an astonishing sight to Capt. Melville and his associates. Thanks to the skill and determination, not to say doggedness, of these early photographers, we can enjoy an extraordinary vision of a bygone age.

Thank you Mr Rayner, for republishing such a unique collection of photographs from these early days.

Robert Charnock

*Simla in 1861,  
by Captain  
Robert Melville  
Clarke, with  
the kind  
permission of  
Hugh Rayner.*



**Welsh Missionaries and British Imperialism: The empire of clouds in north-east India by Andrew May, (Manchester University Press, 2012), £70.00, pp336**

As any visitor who ventures there will confirm, any history of the Khasi Hills, often thought the wettest place on earth could hardly be called 'dry', and May has filled his narrative with an entire cabinet of grotesques from his 'hero' the Reverend Thomas Jones (1810-1849) through the arch Victorian nemesis of the story, Henry Inglis and onwards.

This is a most interesting and significant addition for the historian and genealogist interested in British Imperial India, and has relevance way beyond its title of 'Welsh missionaries'. For here in the Meghalaya hills north of Calcutta were not just Welsh missionaries, but Scots, Irish and English, whose society May dissects with forensic thoroughness. Early British India was far more socially fluid than its late Victorian or Edwardian successor, and Rev Jones marries into a family of quite shameless social climbers, so that this obscure Welsh missionary ends up mixing in the same families as William Makepiece Thackeray, and Isambard Kingdom Brunel, along with the founders of modern Polo and the then notable painter Schumberg.

For May, an Associate Professor of History at University of Melbourne and direct descendent of Jones, this magnificent study represents half a lifetime's effort and research across three continents. May has synthesised together the work of many others, including my own marginal scratchings, published in the Journals of the Scottish Genealogy Society.<sup>1</sup>

May takes his materials from the broader palate of the British Library and the National Library of Wales, and the collections of Edinburgh's Dr Graham's Homes of Kalimpong which feature later in the story. Several field work visits to the Rain's Hills themselves have given May a unique insight into the motivation of the missionary, and the impact then and now of their work; insight that would readily apply to those interested in similar missions.

Having written on Thomas Jones in the past, when I saw that this much more detailed book was to be published, I was sure that its scope would be of interest to the *FIBIS Journal* readership. Not simply the story of the missionary, which is extraordinary in itself, where Jones teaches a nation its letters and becomes a hero still revered in India today; his interest in giving an indigenous people the skills of woodworking, coal mining and ironwork, to maintain themselves against the oncoming Imperialist and capitalist merchants; the harrying of Jones by the establishment; his dismissal by the church; his abandonment of family to flee for his life from his enemies; the growth of the Raj and racism.

In this microcosm of the Empire, May tells of the politics of early British India, new scientific thought, racism and military ideology. Mix into this melange of the *unco guid* the headier elements of sexual intrigue, adultery and child marriage, back biting and petty hatreds and views of a stiff, starched British Raj will be changed forever.

David Macadam

---

<sup>1</sup> They were 'Thomas Jones: Missionary and Maverick' where I discussed the life of Jones and 'Landscape not Portrait' which extended the study.