The Journal
of the
FAMILIES IN BRITISH INDIA SOCIETY

Number 34 **Autumn 2015**

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 editor@fibis.org

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

Many family historians notice curious little connections that pop up every now and again during research. In our last *Journal* we featured the story of newspaperman JH Stocqueler. Member Joan Harrison recognised the name as that of the first Englishman her ancestor John Norton met when he arrived in Bombay. Norton's time in India, extracted from his memoirs, features from p18. In fact, Stocqueler appears again, this time as more of an adversary, in the story of George Parbury, the publisher of *Parbury's Oriental Herald* (p3).

The entrepreneurial spirit of the likes of Parbury and Stocqueler extended back throughout the Company years in India. The second part of David Blake's survey of the East India Company's history appears from p38 and details the fortunes made by some of its servants. Likewise, from p45, James Day's research into the founder of Madras, Francis Day, reveals a willing and able Company servant who enjoyed a bit of private trade on the side. Less than 100 years later, young writer Edward Bankes was keen to make his fortune in early 18th century Bombay. Francesca Radcliffe recounts his experiences from p29.

I am sad to have to say that this is my final *FIBIS Journal* as your editor. I hope you will permit me a paragraph or so of indulgence in which I will try not to get tearful. I would like very much to pay tribute to my fellow trustees and officers, who devote many hours and much effort to keeping FIBIS a thriving society. Their hard work and enthusiasm is guided by Chairman Peter Bailey, whose own great enthusiasm and vision for FIBIS as a modern family history organisation keeps the society moving forward.

Most of all I would like to extend my sincerest thanks to my long-suffering proofreader Lawrie Butler, who has kept me on track and saved me from many a clanger.

FIBIS members are excellent researchers and so editing your Journal has been a privilege. I take away a much broader and deeper knowledge of the history of India during the British period than that with which I arrived. I have loved sharing your family stories and I thank everyone who has allowed me to help bring their articles to publication.

I wish your next *FIBIS Journal* editor, Margaret Murray, every success. Please do keep sending in all your wonderful stories.

Sarah Bilton

New Canadian Liaison

Many members will have firsthand experience of the excellent service our liaison officers Mary Anne Gourley (in Australia) and Eleanor Neil (in New Zealand) provide in assisting FIBIS members with advice and research,. They also kindly spend time promoting the society to the wider genealogical community at events in their home countries.

We are pleased to announce that FIBIS member Karen Gallagher has kindly volunteered to be the society's officer 'on-the-ground' in Canada. Members can contact Karen by email at **canada@fibis.org**

The Life of George Parbury, associate of Allen, Thacker and Spink

Dr John Carpenter

For those familiar with his name, George Parbury is probably best known as the author of *Hand Book for India and Egypt*, published by Wm H Allen & Co in 1841. Parbury's journey from Calcutta to England was well described, and the work included a useful appendix of tips for new travellers, but in truth it added little to a wealth of such books published over several decades. Nonetheless, George Parbury deserves to be better known, not least for his involvement in publishing, freemasonry and public life, both in India and England.

Charles Parbury and the *Asiatic Journal*

George was the son of Charles Parbury, who was born in Islington in 1778 to Mary (née Pollen) and George Parbury (1739–1801), a chaser.[1] Charles was apprenticed, in 1794, to an Edward Parbury named as a 'Citizen and Merchant Taylor of London', to learn his Art.[2] The indenture does not make clear either the relationship or what 'Art' Charles was to be engaged in over the next seven years; but as he was to become a bookseller we must assume that was the skill he learned from Edward. In fact it is likely that the Edward in question was a brother nearly ten years older than Charles.[3]

Charles Parbury was involved in publishing *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British India and its Dependencies*, the first edition of which covered the period January to June 1816. It was printed in London that year for 'Black, Parbury, & Allen, Booksellers to the Honourable East India company, Leadenhall Street.'

The *Asiatic Journal* initially set itself the aims of providing 'a faithful register of Indian Occurrences' in which 'Appointments, Births, Marriages, Deaths, &c. are regularly inserted'; the inclusion of verbatim reports of Debates at the East-India House; offering 'new and interesting Information concerning the Countries and their Inhabitants'; and following the progress of Christian Missions in India. This valuable publication[4] went on until 1845,

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[1] Chasing is part of a two part process to form a design, with raised and sunken areas, on metal. George (b.1739) was the son of skilful and highly regarded chaser Ishmael Parbury. George's skills proved valuable to Matthew Boulton and clockmaker George Graham, amongst others. [J Ayres, *Art, Artisans and Apprentices: Apprentice Painters & Sculptors in the Early Modern British Tradition* (Oxbow Books, 2014) p405; Jeremy Lancelotte Evans, 'George Graham' ODNB, 2005]

[2] London Metropolitan Archive COL/CHD/FR/02/1425-1430

[3] Edward traded as a stationer at Holborn Bridge from 1794-98, including a period in partnership with stationer George Gowing. ['Exeter Working Papers in Book History', http://bookhistory.blogspot.co.uk/2007/01/london-1775-1800-p-q.html accessed 7 April 2015] The Parburys' sister Charlotte married Gowing in 1799, the year after Edward 'fell in a fit from his horse' and died while riding near Norwood (*Times* 26 Jun 1798). There were many family connections in the publishing and printmaking world (see chart p17).

[4] http://wiki.fibis.org/index.php/Asiatic_Journal accessed 8 April 2015

broadening its horizons to include foreign India, China and Australasia. Later volumes ran to some 350 pages, three times a year. No library seems to hold any post-1845 edition, and it is not known why this flourishing journal ceased publication so abruptly.[5]

The title pages of each issue of the *Asiatic Journal* provide a useful chronicle of the history of its publishers, and an indication of how long Parbury was involved:

1816-17	Black, Parbury, & Allen
1817-21	Black, Kingsbury, Parbury & Allen
1822-26	Kingsbury, Parbury & Allen
1827-35	Parbury, Allen & Co.
1835-45	Wm H Allen & Co.

In addition, trade directories, which are typically a year or more out of date, show that in the period 1815-16 a company known as 'Black, Parry & Co., Booksellers & Stationers' was at 7 Leadenhall Street. There then seems to have been a major change of hands in the following year, with Henry Parry leaving, and Alexander Black joining forces with Charles Parbury and William Houghton Allen.

Unfortunately, the history of this important company appears not to be documented in full, but a death notice for Charles in 1834 is evidence of his status in the company:[6]

> Aged 56, Charles Parbury, esq., of Leadenhall-st. and Seymour-place; head of the firm of Parbury, Allen, and Co., the eminent booksellers connected with India.

He was buried in St Pancras Old Church and William H Allen took over the firm and the *Asiatic Journal*.

George Parbury: publishing in India and William Thacker

Charles had married Hannah Warne in 1804 and their second child George, the main focus of this article, was born in 1807, probably in Shoreditch.[7] George was apprenticed to his father 'Charles Parbury of Leadenhall Street in the City of London Bookseller' and 'Citizen and Merchant Tailor of London' in March 1823.[8] In December 1826, George was granted permission to travel to India and reside in Bengal; the surety of £500 was provided by 'Charles Parbury and William H Allen, booksellers of Leadenhall Street'.[9] George is recorded as arriving in Calcutta on the steamship *Enterprise*[10] in 1828.[11]

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[5] It is worth noting that *Allen's Indian Mail*, from the same publisher, began its run in 1843.

[6] *The Gentleman's Magazine*, January-June, 1835, p105

[7] Born 24 Jan 1807, bapt 18 Feb 1807 at St Leonard, Shoreditch. London Metropolitan Archives, St Leonard Shoreditch, Register of baptisms, May 1804 - Jun 1807, P91/LEN/A/004/MS07496, Item 014 (Source: Ancestry.co.uk)

[8] London Metropolitan Archive COL/CHD/FR/02/1636-1642

[9] FIBIS database, transcription of Z/O/1/10, Miscellaneous Bonds, No 5783, 1827

[10] The *Enterprise* had been specially converted to use either sail or steam. On her first steam voyage in 1825 she left Falmouth for Calcutta, via the Cape of Good Hope, so heavily laden with

Parbury had been sent by his father to engage with William Thacker's bookselling firm in Calcutta. Thacker (1791–1872) was said to have been a surgeon[12] on the Indiaman *Earl St Vincent* and had sailed several times to the East. Surgery was evidently not his true vocation, because on 6 January 1819 he received a licence from the East India Company, allowing him to reside at Fort William 'to dispose of Messrs. Black Parbury and Co.'s consignment'[13], presumably shipped from England, thus marking the beginning of Thacker's company in Calcutta.

According to one account Parbury was made a partner of Thacker's firm soon after he arrived;[14] according to another, and perhaps more reliably, he was 'admitted as a partner in "the firm of W. Thacker and Co., St. Andrew's Library Calcutta" on December 31, 1838.'[15]

In any event, George represented W Thacker & Co. when he attended meetings of the tradesmen of Calcutta in June and July 1830. Their intention was to form a Calcutta Trade Association and a committee was formed of thirteen members, including Parbury, to consider various proposals. The Association came into being and ran successfully for many years; William Spink[16] was the Master of the Association in 1852 and published an account of its first twenty years.[17] Parbury was only a member for a short time, however – he resigned on 10 September 1831.

William Thacker was also a member, and resigned on the same day as Parbury. His early days in Calcutta are not entirely clear. Having arrived in 1819 he presumably set to work to

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coal that she took 113 days to arrive instead of the hoped-for 70. (http://tinyurl.com/oavr5rq accessed 7 April 2015)

[11] *The Quarterly Oriental Magazine*, January–June 1828, page cccxxviii

[12] Perhaps 'aspiring surgeon' would be more accurate. I am grateful to Vida Milovanovic, Assistant Archivist and Records Manager at the Royal College of Surgeons for informing me that William Thacker was qualifying for a Diploma (MRCS) on 16 February 1810 'and was referred. This means he did not pass.' He returned on 2 March 1810 and was awarded Mate to Indiaman qualification, which probably meant that he was assistant to a qualified surgeon.

[13] 'The History of Thacker Spink and Co.' in *Bengal, Past & Present: Journal of the Calcutta Historical Society*, vol. XLI, January–June, 1931

[14] 'British Tradesmen of Calcutta 1830-1900: A preliminary study of their economic and political roles' in CB Sealy (ed.) *Women Politics and Literature in Bengal* (East Lansing: Asian Studies Center, Michigan State University, 1981), pp43-62.

[15] *Bengal, Past & Present: Journal of the Calcutta Historical Society*, vol. XLI, January–June, 1931

[16] William Spink (1816-1891) was a nephew of William Thacker. Thacker's sister Elizabeth married George Frederick Spink in 1815 and William was their first child. He went to Calcutta in 1839 as an assistant to Thacker, and was admitted into partnership on 1 July 1851 (see ref 12). Interestingly, William named one of his sons (born in Calcutta in 1856) William Thacker Spink, suggesting that his uncle was a godfather.

[17] *Report of the Proceedings of the Calcutta Trade Association*, (Calcutta: P S D'Rozario and Co., 1852)

establish his publishing company. Evan Cotton's history of the company[18] is, unfortunately, silent on the early days. The earliest volume noted so far and which was sold by 'Mesrs. Thacker & Co., Saint Andrew's Library' appeared in 1827.[19]

Thacker's first marriage was to Mary Edwards on 19 October 1824 at St John's Cathedral, Calcutta.[20] Mary had arrived from England on the *Fairly* that same year.[21] Sadly she died on 19 May 1825, ten days after their daughter was born. Thacker remarried on 8 November 1827 to Martha Anne Smith, probably again at the Cathedral. This was another short-lived marriage: Martha died on 22 July 1830, again at the time of a daughter's birth.

William Thacker's third marriage was to Helen Parbury, George Parbury's youngest sister. They married at St Pancras Old Church on 29 Dec 1841 and had many children, all in England. Helen outlived William by almost ten years.

Freemasonry

Meanwhile, back in Calcutta, George Parbury was developing a string of contacts and he became a freemason in 1830. Freemasonry in Bengal seems to have been started by the Governor-General The Earl of Moira, the past acting Grand Master of the Masonic Lodges of England. Moira arrived in Calcutta on 25 September 1813 and sanctioned the 'Moira Lodge of Friendship and Fidelity' – its warrant was granted on 8 November 1813. However, the lodge ceased operations about June 1821,[22] and the warrant was returned in 1823.[23]

Records at Freemasons Hall in London give Parbury's membership details, both in Calcutta and in London:[24]

George Parbury
Aurora Lodge of Candour and Cordiality
No. 816, Calcutta
Initiated: 7th August 1830
Age: 24

George Parbury
Moira Lodge No. 109 (now No. 92), London
Joined on 22nd November 1836
Age: 30
Address: 30 Old Broad Street
Occupation: Merchant

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[18] 'A Famous Calcutta Firm: The History of Thacker Spink and Co.', *Bengal, Past & Present: Journal of the Calcutta Historical Society*, vol. XLI, January–June, 1931

[19] *Costumes of India. Part 1. Consisting of ten coloured plates or twenty eight costumes.* (Calcutta: printed and published at the Asiatic Lithographic Press, & also sold by 'Mesrs. Thacker & Co.', Saint Andrew's Library, 1827). See http://tinyurl.com/lwywyt2 accessed 7 April 2015

[20] *The Quarterly Oriental Magazine, Review and Register*, (Calcutta: Messrs. Thacker & Co., 1824), page cxxxviii

[21] Ibid. page cxlv

[22] *Masonic Records*, 1717-1894, John Lane, London: Freemasons' Hall, 1895, p467.

[23] *Ars Quatuor Coronatorum*, Vol. xxix, 1916, p5 The reference goes on to note that the Provincial Grand Lodge of Bengal was re-established shortly after the date of this Warrant and other new Lodges were formed under the sanction of this body instead of holding directly from the Acting G. Master.

[24] I am grateful to Peter Aitkenhead, Assistant Librarian, for providing this information.

Address: Calcutta	Exalted: 10th May 1838
Occupation: Bookseller	Master of the Lodge in 1838
	Resigned in 1842

The Aurora Lodge united with the Lodge of True Friendship No. 383 (now No. 218), Calcutta, on 17 August, 1830 and George Parbury was passed in the Lodge of True Friendship on 2 October, 1830, and raised on 20 November, 1830. It is not known how long Parbury remained a member of this Lodge. As for his London activities, in the *Freemasons' Quarterly Review,* dated December 1838, there is an account of the annual festival of the Moira Lodge which gives the following information:

> The festival was honoured by the presence of several visiting brethren; amongst whom, we noticed Brothers … Parbury of the Kilwinning Lodge, Calcutta.[25]

George Parbury's masonic status in India is further made clear by an entry in *The Freemasons' Quarterly Review* in 1843 announcing the birth of his son Edward Fraser:

> March.—The lady of Bro. G. Parbury, Russel-square [*sic*], Prov. G.S.B. Bengal, of a son.

The abbreviation signifies Provincial Grand Standard Bearer Bengal.

Away from freemasonry, Parbury was a member of the jury at a session of the Supreme Court in Calcutta at the end of 1831, in a trial held before the Chief Justice and involving a shooting incident near Delhi. The jury brought in a verdict of Not Guilty.[26]

Return to England

In 1832 George Parbury sailed to England, and married 22 year old Mary Anne Joanna Ellis in St Andrew's church, Hertford on 21 May 1833. In April 1834 their first child, George Edward Ellis, was born. His baptism in May at St Pancras church suggests that the family were living nearby. Unfortunately the infant survived only four months; he was buried in the same church. This was an especially sad year for George – his father Charles died three months later.

Now that he was back in London, Parbury could turn his attention to developing more useful contacts for his business and civic activities, probably building on his masonic links. He gained Freedom of the City on 3 September 1835, followed three months later by Livery status in the Merchant Taylors' Company, 'one of the Great Twelve Livery Companies of

[25] Kilwinning Lodge in the East No. 845 (later No. 574) was constituted under a Provincial Warrant on 23 December 1826, in Calcutta.

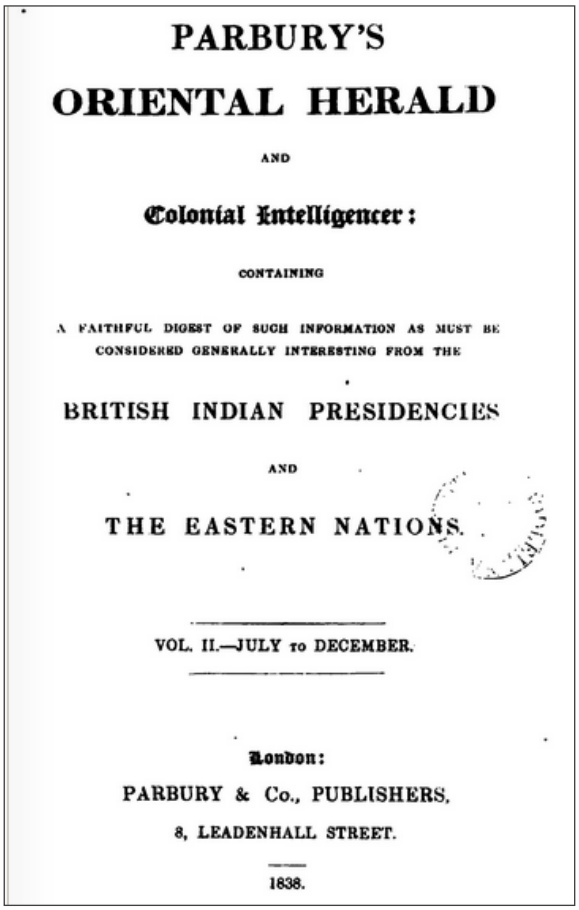
[26] *Calcutta Magazine and Monthly Register*, v. 25-28 (Jan-Apr 1832), p16

the City of London'.[27] George rose through the echelons of the Company to become Master in 1866.

George and Mary's second child – yet another George – was born in July 1836. A third child was born in Bishopsgate in 1837: Emily.[28]

In 1837, George advertised[29] the forthcoming publication, in 1838, of *Parbury's Oriental Herald*, which soon became *Parbury's Oriental Herald and Oriental Intelligencer*. This was a short-lived publication from Parbury & Co. at 8 Leadenhall Street; it was taken over by James Madden at the same address around 1839.[30] The curious thing is that by 1838-9 the *Asiatic Journal* was well in its stride and covering the same ground more comprehensively, and so it is difficult to see what the *Herald* was trying to achieve.

Parbury's overland journey


PARBURY'S

ORIENTAL HERALD

AND

Colonial Intelligencer:

CONTAINING

A FAITHFUL DIGEST OF SUCH INFORMATION AS MUST BE CONSIDERED GENERALLY INTERESTING FROM THE

BRITISH INDIAN PRESIDENCIES

AND

THE EASTERN NATIONS.

VOL. II.—JULY to DECEMBER.

London:

PARBURY & Co., PUBLISHERS,

8, LEADENHALL STREET.

1838.

Eighteen months after Emily's birth Parbury was on his travels again: in May 1839 he sailed from Portsmouth on the *Owen Glendower*, arriving in Calcutta on 20 August, presumably on business with Thacker & Spink. George remained in Calcutta for some eight months, and then he was off once more, this time overland to Bombay and then by ship, eventually to England. His account of the journey would become his *Hand Book for India and Egypt*.

George departed Calcutta on a steam vessel early on 13 August 1840. He had it in mind to write a book 'in the form of a journal, in order that travellers by that mode, (even at other seasons), as well as by common boats, may form by comparison an idea of their own rate of progress, by reference to the table of distances

[27] These were the senior Companies in the City from which all Lord Mayors had to be chosen. The last working tailors in the Company are believed to have been at the end of the 17th century, and thereafter the main activities of the Company were social (and nowadays mainly charitable).

[28] Her birth was announced in Parbury's new publication, *Parbury's Oriental Herald*, Vol I, No I, January 1838. Emily went on to marry James Frederick Imray, a future hydrographer and chart publisher, at Caterham parish church in 1859.

[29] *Bent's Literary Advertiser, Register of Engravings, &c.*, (London: Robert Bent, 1838) p117

[30] See London Street Views https://londonstreetviews.wordpress.com//?s=parbury&search=Go accessed 7 April 2015

in the Appendix.'[31] The descriptions he gives, of people, places, wild-life and the terrain are vivid, and appealing to the arm-chair traveller.

The steamer took him to Allahabad, which was as far as they could go at the time. Then followed several hundred miles by 'palankeen' (palanquin), via a network authorised by the Post Office department, to Agra, Delhi and on to Bahr, some ten miles from Pinjore. Here the palanquins were stored until next required. George then made his way to Simla by 'jaumpaun' – a form of arm-chair on long bamboo poles and visited Narkanda, at an elevation of some 8,000 feet. From Simla he travelled to Ferozepur and the Sutlej River.

Despite his promise to give future travellers an idea of their rate of progress, it is hard to work out where Parbury is on which date. Eventually, though, he reached Bombay at the end of November, 109 days after setting out. On the first of December he was on the steamer *Cleopatra*, en route to Aden and Suez. He noted that life on board was tolerable:

> The saloon of the Cleopatra is very elegant, and her few cabins are fitted up with standing bed-places, washing-stands, and looking-glasses. It is impossible to give an idea of the nuisance of the coal-dust, which literally pervades everything; and, whether below or above, to be clear of it for a single hour, is totally out of the question.

Suez, however, was a different matter: its appearance from the sea 'is anything but inviting' and, once on land, the travellers saw 'the wretchedness of Suez [which] has been often described, but never in terms too severe.' They left it and its dreadful hotels behind, to cross the desert, dressed as brigands and armed with weapons from the *Cleopatra*, reaching Cairo safely on 21 December. It came as a welcome relief to be on board 'the splendid steamer, *Great Liverpool*', bound for England. Parbury set foot on home soil on the 16 January 1841, six and a half weeks after leaving Bombay, and just over five months from Calcutta.

Reflecting on the last leg of his journey, Parbury wrote:

> No person who has ever made a voyage in that splendid vessel the *Great Liverpool*, can do otherwise than bear willing testimony to her excellent qualities as a sea boat, and to the comfort and elegance of her accommodations and internal arrangements.

Parbury wasted no time in publishing the description of his travels, some of which was probably written during the voyage home. The first edition, published anonymously, was dedicated to an unknown lady: the tribute was dated London, 20 June, 1841. Obviously pleased with the success of his first effort, 'George Parbury, Esq., MRAS' produced the second edition[32] a year later, this time addressing his dedicatee by name, Mrs Benjamin

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[31] George Parbury, *Hand book for India and Egypt* (1842) p13. The quotes from the *Hand Book* on subsequent pages are from this edition.

[32] Both editions rejoiced in the full title of *Hand Book for India and Egypt, comprising the narrative of a journey from Calcutta to England by way of the river Ganges, the north west of Hindostan, the Himalayas, the rivers Sutledge and Indus, Bombay and Egypt; and Hints for the guidance of passengers by that and other overland routes to the three presidencies of India.* Both were published by William H. Allen & Co.

Harding of Wadhurst Castle, Sussex.

> My Dear Friend,
>
> The success which has attended this work since the period when it was anonymously addressed to you, now emboldens me to lift the veil which would have preserved your name from discredit, had my first attempt at authorship proved a failure. The permission to dedicate so unimportant a production to you I feel to be no mean honor, yet I could not consistently ask for such indulgence from any other person, as I have only to repeat, that but for your suggestions it would never have had existence.
>
> Believe me very faithfully yours,
>
> George Parbury, Mansfield House, Russell Square, 1st June, 1842.

Mrs Harding was someone George clearly knew well, but in what context? She was Louisa Nutbeam Harding, born about 1812 in Suffolk. She had married Benjamin in 1840, having been widowed by the death of George Flamwell Le Neve, a surgeon, in 1837. The interesting fact is that she was born Louisa Nutbeam Thacker, but I have not been able to trace her parents. Is her maiden name a coincidence, or could there be a connection to William Thacker and India? Parbury's gratitude to her suggests that there was.

George was quick to use 'MRAS' after his name in the second edition of his book, signifying that he was now a Member of the Royal Asiatic Society. The Minutes of General Meetings on 5 March, 1842 note that 'George Parbury Esq was elected a Resident Member of the Society.'[33] Founded in 1823, by 1842 RAS membership was approaching 400, with many eminent people amongst them, including Prince Albert, Leopold I of Belgium, two Dukes, six Earls, 70 Fellows of the Royal Society and a high proportion of military gentlemen. George Parbury's networking had reached new heights.

George's book – a copy of which he had lodged in the RAS library – was soon given a warm review in *The Asiatic Journal*:[34]

> It is satisfactory to us to find that the opinion we gave of this work has been confirmed by the concurrent voice of the critical press, not only at home, but in India—one of the ablest periodical writers in that country having described it as 'by far the most complete and accurate compilation which has yet appeared in India,' and 'without which no one ought to embark'—and that a second edition should have been called for in so short a space of time. This edition is a very great improvement upon the first, many portions being entirely re-written… We have no doubt (trusting to the intelligence and industry of the author, and to the facilities he possesses for acquiring this species of information) that he will render this work, as the *Friend of India* expects it will be, 'the standard guide for Indian travellers.'

Not long afterwards, Wm. Allen & Co. published JH Stocqueler's[35] *Hand-Book of India*.[36] Parbury's colleagues, W Thacker and Co., rather foolishly chose to attack Stocqueler's

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[33] I am grateful to RAS archivist Nancy Charley for this information.

[34] *The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register*, Vol. 38 New Series, May–August 1842, p128

[35] See 'From Soldier to Newspaperman: The Varied Experiences of Joachim Hayward Stocqueler in Bombay and Calcutta from 1819 to 1843', Audrey T Carpenter, *FIBIS Journal*, Spring 2015, p3.

work in 1845. His waspish rejoinder is included in a piece in *The Bombay Times and Journal of Commerce*:[37]

> We republish from the *Madras Athenaeum* a letter from Mr Stocqueler in defence of his second edition of the 'Hand Book of India.' The author touches very tenderly on the weak points of his work to which critics have adverted. He defends himself – and not without success – against the charges of plagiarism from Parbury. He might be more effective had he been less warm – but let that pass. By far the most extensive depredations have been committed by Mr Stocqueler on 'Rushton's Gazetteer.' We last year adverted to an amount of theft in this way not very usual, where numberless consecutive pages were taken at one place from the work, without the slightest acknowledgement! The whole then appeared to us little else than a mere collection of fragments: what was new was not true, and what was true was not new.
>
> TO THE EDITOR OF THE MADRAS ATHENAEUM.
>
> Sir, — Some friends connected with the London Press have brought to my notice some extracts from an *Overland Circular* published by Messrs. W Thacker and Co. a month ago, in which my '*Hand Book for India*' has been rather severely handled. I suppose it did not quite suit the purpose of the Editors of the Circular to send *me* a copy. Had they done so, this reply would not have been delayed to the present time.
>
> It is charged against the '*Hand Book*' — 1st. That the second Edition is not a *bona fide* Edition, inasmuch as the alterations only comprise some forty or fifty pages, and that many of the errors of the first Edition are still apparent in the second.
>
> 2d. That I have revoked my opinions upon the Indian Press.
>
> 3d. That I have not acknowledged my obligation to Mr Parbury's 'Hand Book of India and Egypt.'
>
> […] The last charge of Thacker and Co. is amusing. Mr Parbury went up the river from Calcutta to Allahabad, and noted the order in which the stations on the river's banks then stood. Not having heard that any of the places had disappeared since the publication of Mr Parbury's book, I believe I consulted it as to the *mere itinerary*, but I took very great care not to be indebted to that gentleman for any description of places. Bating [sic] the fact that I have followed Mr Parbury in asserting that Barrackpore is on the left bank of the River, that Hoogaly is above Serampore and below Gazeepore &c. &c., I defy the most acute critic to discover any points of resemblance between us. The author of *Basil Bouverie*[38] may claim the merit of having contributed a page or two and the beginning of the river sketch, and Miss Emma Roberts's friends may demand (and justly) honor for the assistance I derived from *her* admirable sketches all the way up to Allahabad; but from Mr Parbury's pretensions to have helped the book, Heaven deliver me!

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[36] JH Stocqueler, *The Hand-Book of India, a Guide to the Stranger and the Traveller, and a Companion to the Resident* (London, 1844)

[37] 14 May 1845

[38] Sir John William Kaye, founder of the *Calcutta Review* in 1844, was a writer of military history and, anonymously, of fiction, including the *Story of Basil Bouverie* in 1842. Later, back in England, he took over John Stuart Mill's secretaryship at the India Office.

> But Mr Parbury perhaps thinks that for even saving me the trouble of going to a map and ascertaining what factory came next to Santipore I ought to have alluded to his book in my preface. Has Mr Parbury ever reflected that in doing so, I should have been advertising a production, which, for his own credit, he ought to wish the public might forget.
>
> Has it ever occurred to him that in sending people to buy his *personal narrative*, facetiously dubbed a 'Hand Book of India and Egypt,' I should be guilty of leading people to purchase a volume which treats of the merest fraction of India in the most superficial style, and was found so ridiculously insufficient as a guide to Overland Travellers that none of the passengers by the *Hindostan* in 1843 (I speak of *them* as I was one of them, though doubtless others have been in the same predicament) could gather from its pages the slightest information that was of any use to them. I declare most solemnly that my Hand Book was solely undertaken and put forth because Mr Parbury's was so wretchedly imperfect, and for no other reason; and now that it (my book) is before the world amended and improved (and not for the *last* time) I am quite content that it should be denounced by Mr Parbury as something better than it was when first I ventured before the public, for that, after all, is the gist of the disinterested complaint of W. Thacker and Co.
>
> I am, Sir, your faithful servant,
>
> London, March 22, 1845. J. H. Stocqueler.

By 1850 Wm. H Allen & Co. seem to have given up defending Parbury's book. Their publication in 1850 of Captain James H Barber's *The Overland Guide-Book; a Complete Vade-Mecum for the Overland Traveller, to India viâ Egypt* contains many advertisements at the back, including their 'Select List of Works on India, &c.' There is no mention of Parbury's book in the 20 or more titles listed, but we see Stocqueler's volume advertised with much favourable blurb, with the *Friend of India* noting 'that it is the most complete and accurate vade-mecum which has yet appeared.'

Parbury's new life in England

Mary Parbury's fourth and last child, Edward Fraser, was born in London in March 1843. Soon afterwards George sailed again to India, perhaps to keep an eye on his business connections there. He returned from Calcutta on the recently launched steamship *Bentinck*, departing in March 1844. In October of the following year, Mary died of consumption at Mansfield House, 37 Russell Square, aged only 34.[39]

Now that he was back in England, Parbury seemed to have put India behind him for a while. He became very involved in the plans to build new railways. In 1845 the newspapers

[39] The death certificate indicates that she had had the disease for eleven months, although how that could have been known quite so precisely is not clear. In any event, George was not present when Mary died. Her death was instead reported by a Mary Ann Withers who was living at the same address.

were full of advertisements inviting gentlemen to buy shares in railways whose futures were always full of promise:

Port of Wisbech
Peterborough, Birmingham, and Midland Counties
Junction Railway.
Provisionally Registered.
Capital £300,000, in Shares of £20 each.
Deposit £2 2s. per Share.

The importance of this Railway will be at once seen by a glance at the Map. It will open the whole of the manufacturing and mineral districts of the Midland Counties and the Potteries to Wisbech, the nearest Port of Belgium, Holland, Germany, and the Northern States of Europe.

George Parbury, probably on his 70th birthday in 1877.[40]

Parbury was on the Provisional Committee of, or otherwise involved with, at least twenty such schemes, and was named a Director of at least two. George's enthusiasm reflected the national frenzy. By the peak of the railway mania in 1845 and 1846, scores of railroad companies were formed and many more proposed; in 1846, 272 Acts of Parliament were passed for the purpose of incorporating new railroad companies. However, the Bank of England tightened its monetary policy by raising interest rates and, needless to say, a crash followed; 'once-comfortable middle class and affluent investors who had sunk their life savings into railroad stocks were financially-ruined after the bubble popped.'[41] It is not clear how much money Parbury invested in the schemes, or how much he lost. Strangely, there is no evidence of any interest by George in the later development and expansion of Indian railways – perhaps his experience in England had dampened his

[40] I am grateful to family historian Janet Avent in NSW, Australia for permission to publish this portrait; and to Ms Jayne Shrimpton, professional dress historian, for proposing a date for it.

[41] *The British "Railway Mania" Bubble*: http://www.thebubblebubble.com/railway-mania accessed 7 April 2015

enthusiasm. And it is sad to realise that his passion for railways was at its peak while Mary's short life was coming to an end.

In 1849 Parbury was married again, this time to Lucy Wilson Key. Lucy was the fourth child of John Key, later Sir John Key, first baronet, Lord Mayor of London and Master of the Stationers' Company.[42] It is very likely that George would have known Sir John through his City contacts and especially at Merchant Taylors, but the two had been in contact much more recently: the Chairman of the Provisional Committee of the Port of Wisbech railway scheme was 'Sir John Key, Bart., Alderman of the City of London'.

Lucy, who was fifteen years Parbury's junior, provided George with five more children: three sons and two daughters, born variously in Germany, Calcutta and England.[43] The couple set off for India when Lucy's third pregnancy was well established, a journey which, seen through today's eyes, was a precarious thing to attempt. However, all went well. Their journey took them via Suez, from where they left on the *Akbar* on 20 December 1852, and arrived in Bombay on 5 January 1853. Six weeks later they left Bombay on the *Ganges* for Calcutta, where Ernest Pollen Parbury[44] was born on 28 April. There is no record of the family's return journey. Lucy had two more children in England and lived to the age of 90!

For George life was focussed on Merchant Taylors again. In July 1855 he was appointed a Warden and a member of the Court of Assistants, which meant that he had more involvement in the management of the guild. (In passing, is it a coincidence that Lucy's child number four, born in 1856, was named Stanley Warden?) Parbury's new status required his involvement at important events:

> A deputation from the Merchant Taylors' Company had an interview with his Royal Highness Prince Frederick William of Prussia yesterday, at Buckingham Palace, and presented to his Royal Highness the freedom of the company. The deputation consisted of the Master of the Merchant Taylors' Company, Mr. Joseph Turnley, attended by the Wardens: Mr. George Parbury, Mr. W. Foster White, Mr. William Gilpin, Mr. William Jackson, and Mr. Samuel Fisher, clerk to the company.[45]

Parbury's role, as Master, was to tender for the Prince's acceptance. He took the opportunity to mention the approaching marriage of his Royal Highness with her Royal

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[42] Sir John Key was elected as a member of parliament for the City of London at the 1832 General Election. He resigned his seat on 12th August 1833 by taking the Chiltern Hundreds. See 'Thornbury House - The Grove and Key Families', http://sms.thornburyroots.co.uk/Thornbury%20House.htm accessed 7 April 2015

[43] So far it has not been possible to find out why the eldest child, Douglas Stewart, was born in Coblenz in August 1850, although one theory in the present day family is that George and Lucy were on a delayed honeymoon trip.

[44] Ernest Pollen Parbury became an East India merchant, and was involved with Thacker & Spink in Calcutta.

[45] *Morning Post*, 4 Dec 1857, p6

Highness the Princess Royal,[46] and ended by hoping that the rolls of the corporation could be further adorned with 'the illustrious name of his Royal Highness Prince Frederick William of Prussia, Citizen and Merchant Taylor.'[47]

Public life was now the new driving force for George Parbury. He was sworn in as magistrate for Middlesex in August 1858, appointed Deputy Lieutenant of the Tower Hamlets in the following month, and made a Surrey magistrate in 1862.

Meanwhile, though, in the late 1850s and early '60s, Parbury's family life was in a state of flux. His son George died at sea in 1859, on his way back from India – he was nearly 23. A newspaper[48] summarized the tragic circumstances:

> On the 5th inst. [5 July], on board *Pera*, off Lisbon, from disease of the liver, considerably aggravated by sufferings and privations consequent on the wreck in the Red Sea of the *Alma* [on 12 June], on which vessel[49] he was returning from India, George eldest son of George Parbury, Esq., of Caterham Manor, Surrey, aged 22.

In January 1862 there was happier news, in the form of Lucy's fifth and last child, Constance Isabel, born at the family home in Caterham, only for the pendulum to swing again in 1865, when Marion Georgina (Lucy's second child) died in Brighton aged 13.

George, nevertheless, forged ahead with civic life. He was appointed Master at Merchant Taylors in 1866, and in that capacity he hosted the following year's annual banquet in Merchant Taylors' Hall.[50] Well over a hundred of the great and the good attended, including the Marquis of Salisbury, the Earl of Sandwich and Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe. His Excellency the United States Minister[51] was a prominent guest, whose health was toasted, along with others, at the end of the evening. The principal speaker was the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Benjamin Disraeli), introduced by Parbury with the effusive praise expected for such an occasion, toasting the Chancellor's name to loud cheers. Disraeli replied in kind, and then continued with the political speech expected of him. George Parbury must have gone home in a very warm glow that evening; he had arrived.

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[46] Victoria, Princess Royal, had met Prince Frederick William of Prussia in 1851, at the time of the Great Exhibition. They became engaged in 1855 while Frederick was on a visit to Balmoral, when Victoria was just fourteen. Their engagement was publicly announced on 19 May 1857, and the couple married on 25 January 1858.

[47] The same deputation from Merchant Taylors' Company, on 16 February 1858, presented 'an address of congratulation' to the Prince on his marriage to Her Royal Highness.

[48] *Herts Guardian, Agricultural Journal, and General Advertiser*, Tuesday 19 July 1859

[49] The *Alma* was a P&O passenger liner (iron screw steamer) built at Birkenhead and launched in 1854. She struck a reef off the island of Haruish, 70 miles north of Perim in the Red Sea, when en route to Suez from Aden: www.poheritage.com/Content/Mimsy/Media/factsheet/92690ALMA-1855pdf.pdf accessed 7 April 2015

[50] *Morning Post*, 12 June 1867, p5

[51] Charles Francis Adams, Sr., son of President John Quincy Adams. Appointed Lincoln's minister (ambassador) to the Court of St. James from 1861 to 1868.

Well, not quite. Perhaps inspired by the banquet, George's next ambition was to be elected a Member of Parliament. He set his sights on Maidstone, but some preparation was clearly needed to get him involved in that part of the country. In 1868 he was on the regatta committee chaired by Viscount Holmesdale,[52] perhaps knowing that 'in past years the town [had] produced regattas, but of a meagre and uninteresting description'.[53] The Viscount's patronage 'enabled them to offer prizes of substantial value to competitors in a truly English pastime.' The event was held on the banks of the Medway and 'refreshments were provided *al fresco*, both sides of the lovely winding river. The green sward on the opposite side of the stream was much patronised by the fair sex…' Fun though it must have been, the regatta did not help further George's ambition; he stood twice as Conservative candidate for Maidstone but without success.

The Parbury vault, Kensal Green.

Not much is known about the closing years of George Parbury's life. There was one last glance back at India when he subscribed to the fund set up to help relieve the great famine of South India.[54] He died on 27 January 1881 at the family home: Thornbury House, Caterham in Surrey.[55]

George was buried in the family vault in Kensal Green Cemetery, west London. He had established the vault, with provision for 12 burials, three days after his first wife, Mary Anne Joanna, died in 1845. Also interred there are George's mother, Hannah; Dame Mary Sophia Key (née Hahn), the mother of his second wife; and his heir[56] Edward Fraser Parbury, the youngest of his sons by his first wife. Present day descendants of George Parbury live in Canada.

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[52] William Archer Amherst, 3rd Earl Amherst (1836 –1910) was a peer, politician and notable freemason, known as Viscount Holmesdale from 1857 to 1886.

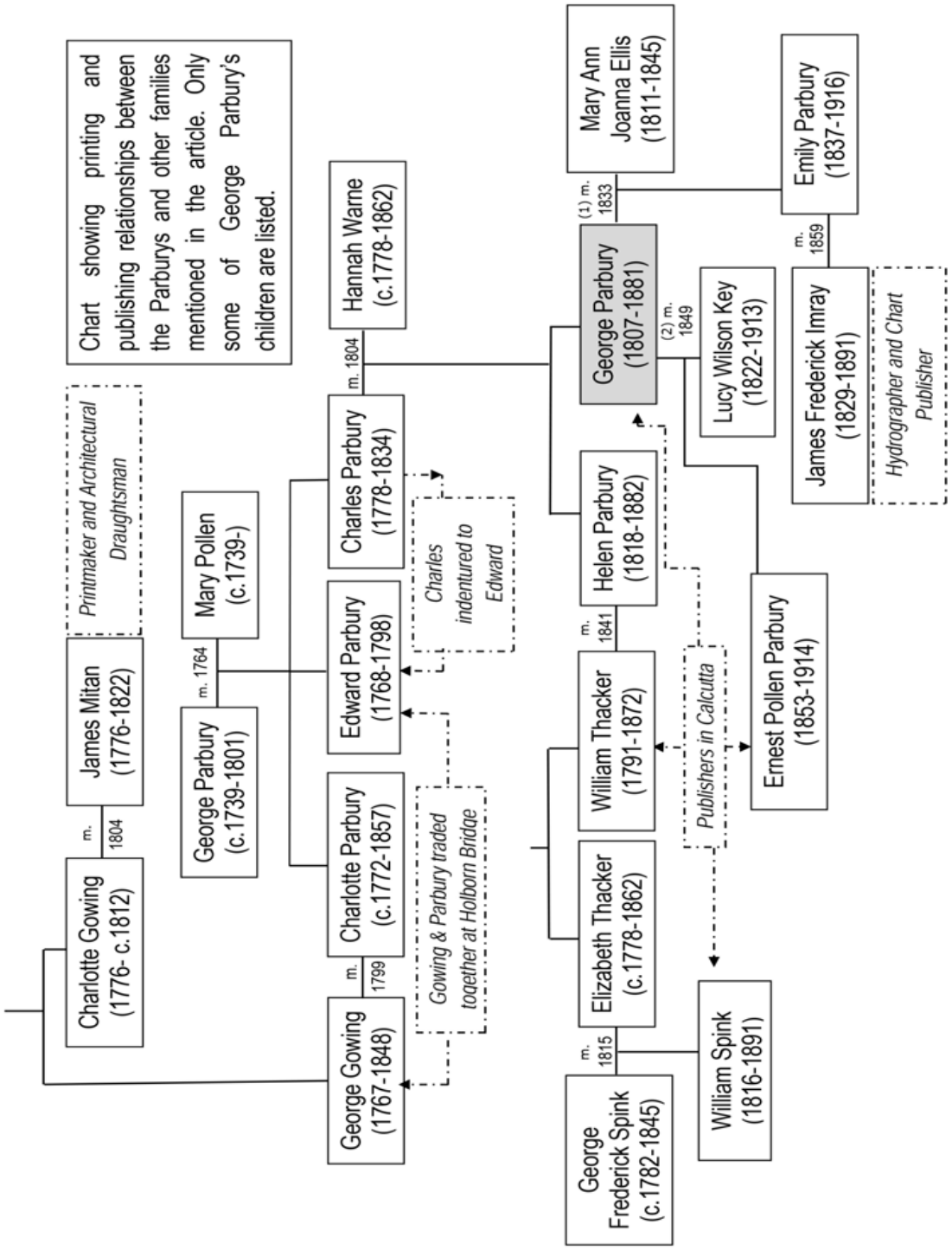
[53] *Maidstone Telegraph and West Kent Messenger*, 19 September 1868, p7

[54] In 1877 William Digby, journalist and social campaigner, became editor of the *Madras Times*, and persistently urged the need of alleviating the great Southern Indian famine. Largely owing to his representations a relief fund was opened at the Mansion House in London, and £820,000. was subscribed. Parbury was one of the subscribers (*The Daily News*, 16 October 1877)

[55] Ancestry.com. England & Wales, National Probate Calendar (Index of Wills and Administrations), 1858-1966

[56] Edward Walford, *The County Families of the United Kingdom* (Robert Hardwicke, 1860)

Clearly, networking and the building of useful contacts had been large components of George's career, both in India and in England, but we shall perhaps never know how aware he was of the range of marital links in his own family tree (see chart below), of people who were important in nineteenth century publishing about India.



The Memoirs of John Norton of the Bombay Mint

Joan Harrison

John Norton was born in 1801 in Birmingham. In his retirement he hand-wrote his memoirs, which have been transcribed from the original by his descendants and stand at some 200 pages. The Memoirs record his early life, his 14 years spent in Bombay, and his later life in Lisbon, where he lived from age 34 to his death in 1876. Extracted from these detailed Memoirs, John's story of his time in India is recounted below.

St Helena

John's earliest recollection was of attending infant school in 1805. He then worked in a brass foundry in Birmingham. At age 14, he enlisted in the Royal Navy and was put aboard a cutter in London, which sailed to Woolwich where he boarded the *Elizabeth*. John was booked in as crew of the frigate HMS *Newcastle*, which was in dock at Woolwich, being fitted out as a guard ship to relieve HMS *Bellerophon*[1] on St Helena. Upon reaching the island in mid-1816, the Admiral of the *Newcastle*, Sir Pulteney Malcolm, took charge of the Station.[2] John Norton and two youngsters were ordered to the Admiral's house as messengers, returning on board each evening. They did this light duty alternately, so when not on guard, John had plenty of opportunities to walk about the island, but Longwood, where Napoleon lived, was out of bounds.

After some months, John's greatest wish was to see Napoleon, about whom he had heard much. At last a working party was ordered to construct an awning over a small lawn in front of Napoleon's house. An officer was in charge of the men and two youngsters, one of which was John. The party returned to the ship every night, and in the morning went again with the materials needed for the work. They had been working for two or three days with no sight of Napoleon, when a former Sergeant of the British Army, living on St Helena, told them that the Emperor was due to come and see the work. Napoleon arrived at about one o'clock and was very pleased with the work. He sat down for a short time, during which a tray with biscuits and wine was shared by all, including the youngsters.

The *Conqueror* was sent to relieve the garrison after eighteen months away from home.[3] On the voyage to England the ship called at Ascension Island[4] on 10 August 1816, and some officers and youngsters got leave to ramble about the Island. They climbed the Green Mountain, which was the mouth of an exhausted volcano and the highest part of the

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[1] *Bellerophon*, the ship that Napoleon surrendered aboard. In fact, John's memory was mistaken and it was actually HMS *Northumberland* that the *Newcastle* relieved at St Helena. Napoleon had transferred to the *Northumberland* for the journey to St Helena.

[2] Sir Pulteney Malcolm relieved Admiral George Cockburn as commander-in-chief on 17 June 1816.

[3] Earlier in the year John and the crew of the *Newcastle* had spent some months at the Cape after a disastrous sailing when the masts were destroyed by lightning.

[4] Ascension Island was garrisoned by the British from 1815.

Island, the road being through a narrow valley where lava had previously poured. When they reached the top, fatigued and hungry, the Station Commander ordered his servants to prepare some food. The kitchen was in a cave scooped out on the side of a rock face, where a meal of goat's flesh was cooked in several ways. After further exploration they sailed for England, with strong winds all the way to Spithead.

John was told that if he wished to continue at sea, he would be appointed to a Sloop of War presently being fitted out in Chatham for service in a foreign station, but feeling homesick, he took a stagecoach from London to Birmingham. Travelling was very slow and took 20 hours by road and when he finally arrived in Birmingham John went straight home. He had brought from St Helena some little presents for his brothers and sisters and a few ostrich feathers from the Cape, but sadly the feathers were stolen from him. At breakfast the following morning his mother made him promise not to go back to sea.

Joining the East India Company and Bombay

John was not long at home before his former employer asked him to return to work at the brass foundry, and there he gained much experience. Now in his seventeenth year he had given up thoughts of rambling from home again, but he eventually went back to London where he got work at a brass fitter in High Holborn fitting gas chandeliers in the Prince Regent's rooms at the 'Crown and Anchor' on the Strand. After arriving in London, he happened to meet with Douglas, his old Admiral's Captain, whom he knew from St Helena. John was invited to stay with him and his wife for some weeks.

When the work ended at the 'Crown and Anchor' John had difficulty getting another job. A young man he had worked with in the Strand had enlisted as a soldier with the East India Company and he told John that mechanics got on well in India and advised him to enlist likewise. John agreed to go with him to where the Recruiting Sergeant lived in a public house in Soho Square. There he enlisted in the Honourable East India Company's Artillery. He remained in Soho Square a few days, then was sent with 30 recruits to join the Depot at Chatham.

At Chatham they were enrolled in their Divisions. They were sent to the regimental barber and given very short hair cuts, their clothes were issued, and they were appointed to Companies to be prepared for drill. The recruits attended Muster in their new clothes, which were all made in one size; some too long and large, and some too small. After Muster, the Regimental tailors soon altered the uniforms. The men were then sent to different drill squads to learn to march. Next their arms were issued - muskets to the infantry and fuzees to the artillerymen such as John.[5]

John was soon drilled and fit for garrison duty and he had to mount guard in turn with the others. Artillery pay was one shilling and fourpence per day, and infantry pay was only one shilling. The artillery provided the guards for the Magazines and military posts around Brompton. In November 1819 an order came for 250 artillery and infantry to be prepared to

[5] Fuzee/fusee - flintlock pistol.

embark for Bombay. John was selected as one of the number, and a few days later marched into Gravesend and boarded the *Thomas Coutts* East Indiaman, which sailed to the Downs, a 'holding' area off the Kent coast, to wait for more passengers.

The short voyage was beset by storms which kept them tossing about in the Channel for some days. In December 1819 they put into Torbay and General Sir Thomas Munro and his wife came aboard – Munro was newly appointed governor of the Madras Presidency. The ship sailed the next day.

On the way they called in at the island of Tenerife to take some bullocks onboard. After 'crossing the line' and sighting Madagascar they called in at the island of Johanna[6] for fresh provisions, where they stayed only a few hours, and sighted no other land until they were off the Malabar Coast. They soon made Bombay, anchoring off the Custom House on 13 May 1820, five months and thirteen days from Torbay.

The next morning they were quartered in the town barracks, and later the Infantry was sent to Fort George Barracks to join the Bombay Regiment there. The first Englishman John met was a Mr Stocqueler, a clerk in the Auditor-General's office.[7] Before long, John was hospitalised in the General Hospital for a month with severe back strain, and during this time the rest of his comrades were marched off to Matunga, the Bombay Foot Artillery Headquarters. When discharged from hospital he was sent to join his regiment at Matunga, which he found very different from Chatham - he had to attend a daily punishment parade, witnessing men being flogged unmercifully, mainly for getting drunk or insubordination.

To the Gun Carriage Manufactory

The Company Sergeant compiled a list of men's names, ages, trades and what part of England they came from, and consequently, John was ordered to Bombay to present himself to Major Macintosh, the Superintendent at the Gun Carriage manufactory in Colaba.[8] He was sent to the metal turning-department, where he was put in charge, receiving 10 Rupees a month, which plus his Army pay, totalled 24 Rupees. On 6 May 1821 John replaced a sub-conductor of ordnance who had died in hospital, and was promoted in his place, becoming a Warrant Officer, the highest rank held under a commissioned officer. His pay was now nearly 50 rupees a month, and he lodged for some months with a Dutchman who worked at the Courthouse.

John became ill with dysentery and suffered from a severe liver pain in his side. When better he went back to work for a few months, but the pain in his side returned, and he had to go to hospital, where leeches and blisters were applied until he recovered. About this time an expedition was formed and sent up the Persian Gulf, where Arabs had killed some

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[6] Johanna - Anjouan, an island of the Comoros group.

[7] Joachim Hayward Stocqueler (1800-1885), journalist and writer. See p11. For his life in India, see 'From Soldier to Newspaperman: The Varied Experiences of Joachim Hayward Stocqueler in Bombay and Calcutta from 1819 to 1843' by Audrey T Carpenter, *FIBIS Journal* 33 (2015) p3

[8] Colaba, southernmost of the original 7 islands of Bombay until the causeway was built

Englishmen. An Army was formed of European and native soldiers, both horse and foot artillery, and nearly all the men who came in the ship with John were sent. Very few of them returned - over 100 having been killed by a body of Arabs. John considered himself very fortunate to get the appointment he did, otherwise he would have been with them.

John's evenings were often spent at Mrs King's house in the Fort. Mrs King was a widow whose husband had been the High Constable of Bombay. A young lady named Anne MacKenzie lodged with her, the daughter of a Captain in the 72nd Regiment who was killed at the storming of the fort at Ahmednagar. Anne and John took a fancy to each other and he proposed to her, the couple marrying on 18 June 1822.[9] They had a small house in Colaba, near the Department, where they lived for some months.

Ahmednagar

John was again hospitalised for about two months, then he and his wife were sent to a convalescent station at the top of the Western Ghats where they remained for three months.[10] John notes they visited the Karla Caves, near Khandala. On Christmas Day 1823 they had pea-fowl for dinner and returned to Colaba three or four days later.

John then spent a few months at Severndroog[11] on the Malabar Coast before being appointed to join the Arsenal at Ahmednagar, which had come under the British in 1817, some seven years earlier. He sailed up the coast to Bombay before travelling by tattoo[12] to a traveller's bungalow and the next day reaching the city of Poona, about halfway between Bombay and Ahmednagar. John had to report to Major Griffiths, who was the Commissary General, but who was living about 30 miles further on in Saroon.[13] The next day they started out for Ahmednagar, having sent their baggage on before, keeping only a servant and cooking pans, as they had 36 miles to go. After Poona there were no more travellers' bungalows so they put up in any convenient place they could get. Stopping during the middle of the day to eat, they went on again in the afternoon and got to Ahmednagar about dusk, where there was an empty house in the Ravaline ready for them.

The next morning, John presented for duty in the Arsenal, which was in the middle of the Fort, a very large round building with towers and a wide road all round the inside. Some of the towers held small cells used for imprisoning soldiers sentenced to solitary confinement for long periods. Major Griffiths had given John some drawings of the huge brass gun[14] that

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9 IOR N/3/6/147

10 The Western Ghats are the mountain range running down the west side of India.

11 Suvarnadurg, 'the Golden Fortress', in Maharashtra, captured by the British in 1818. Not to be confused with the hill near Bangalore captured by Cornwallis from Tipu Sultan in 1791.

12 Tattoos - small horses.

13 Saroon – probably Seroor, now Shirur, on the road from Pune to Ahmednagar.

14 Bijapur gun, Malik-i-Maidan or the Ruler of the Battle Plain, said to have been cast in 1549 in Ahmednagar. The gun is 4.45 metres (14.6 ft) long and 1.5 metres (4.9 ft) in diameter with a 700

was found in the fort at Bijapur and he asked John to make a model. John said would do his best as he had plenty of brass, reclaimed from old native brass guns found in the fort. He made a strong wooden lathe, and 12 crucibles out of iron, coating them inside and out with moulding clay, into which the molten metal was poured. Next morning the casting was perfect. The Major was delighted, but John still had to make the tools for boring, which would take some time. The bore turned out perfectly good, and the Bijapur model was flawlessly finished.[15]

The Bombay Mint

In 1825 John received a letter from a Mr Ingle who had just arrived from Birmingham with the machinery for the new Mint to be erected in Bombay. The machinery was from Boulton and Watt of Birmingham,[16] and Mr Ingle, being acquainted with John's family, had brought letters and presents from them, and he asked John to come to Bombay to receive them. John applied to the Major for leave and was told that as soon as all the models were finished and packed, it would be granted. The Major thought that if John got to Bombay, it might be in his interest to stay there. But it was not John's intention just then, for his wife was expecting their first child.

So John got everything finished and the models were sent off. He got leave of absence and set off for Bombay, where he was introduced by Mr Ingle to Captain Hawkins of the Corps of Engineers, who had been to England to see the machinery being made.[17] Hawkins had seen the models made by John and told him that he might need his services some day. John thanked him and after spending an evening with friends, started back for Ahmednagar, taking his wife's mother to be present when the baby was born. Anne, his wife had been confined and she and their little girl were doing well. They wanted her christened, but there were no clergyman in Ahmednagar, but one from Poona used to call occasionally. At length, a clergyman arrived, and the baby was christened Jane, after John's mother.[18]

When a man who was employed in the erection of the Bombay Mint machinery was taken ill and died, Hawkins, now Major Hawkins, sent for John and offered him the position if he could get permission from the Major at the Fort to leave his post at Ahmednagar. Leave was granted, and General Orders were issued for him to be transferred to the New Mint, and to present himself to Major Hawkins without delay, which he did. He started duties at

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millimetres (28 in) bore. The cannon weighs 55 tonnes and is considered one of the largest forged medieval guns.

[15] About this time, John received a letter from home telling him of the death of his mother, which saddened him. John's mother Jane died in Birmingham on 20 November 1823.

[16] The manufacturing and engineering firm founded by Matthew Boulton and James Watt.

[17] John Hawkins was responsible for the design of the Mint and for supervising the construction. He died at sea in February 1831.

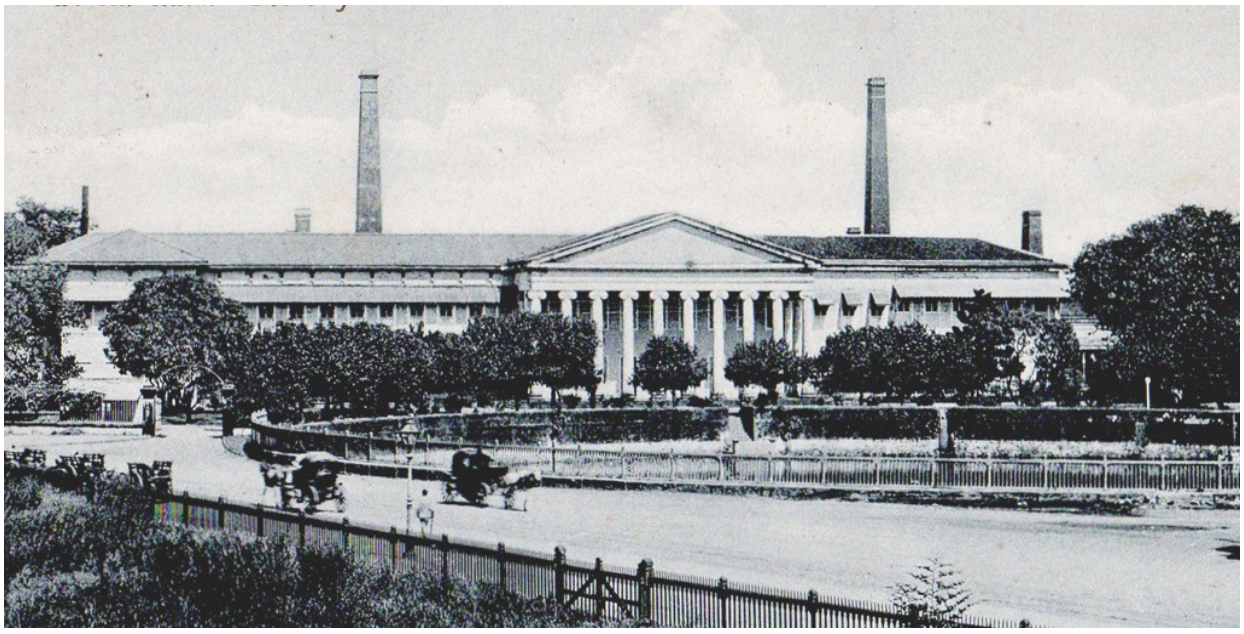
[18] Baby Jane Norton born Nov. 1825. Christened in Ahmednagar, 28 November 1825 (IOR N/3/8/80), died Bombay, August 1826 (IOR N/3/7/435).

the Mint with an increase of £120 per year and as he spoke Hindustani and Mahratta languages fluently, John managed all the native workmen. The old Mint was still standing close to where the new one was being built, and the Major gave John the choice to choose any part of it to live in, so he could be near to the work. John then had very good quarters, rent free, and kept it until the new Mint was finished, and the Old Mint was ordered to be pulled down. He was now very comfortably situated, but his baby daughter Jane died in October 1826. His wife's mother[19] also died about this time and the Major ordered her coffin to be made by the carpenters of the Mint.

A die multiplier at the Mint died, and Major Hawkins proposed to the Government that John should be nominated to fill the vacancy, for which he must be discharged from the Army. This was done, and John was now on the same footing as the other mechanics, with the same contract and conditions they had. In August 1827 his son William[20] was born. As they began to pull down the Old Mint, John again took a house in Colaba.

Steam ships and the Overland Mail Route

In 1829 the Government were investigating establishing a communication route with England via the Red Sea, and two steamers, the *Felicia* and the *Enterprise* were brought from Calcutta for the purpose. However, their machinery was in such a state that they were



The New Bombay Mint designed by John Hawkins, from a postcard owned by FIBIS.

not fit for the Red Sea voyage. Consequently, the *Enterprise* was sent back; but having taken out the boilers of the *Felicia*, the Government had to keep her, so she was converted into a sailing yacht for the Governor.

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[19] Anne Mackenzie's mother - no burial found as we do not know her name.

[20] IOR N/3/8/7, William Henry Norton, born 30 August 1827, Bombay.

The best route was much disputed; the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf; and Thomas Fletcher Waghorn came from Calcutta with a cutter to make a trip to help decide the benefit of the overland passage to England. He took with him several young men as passengers who were going to England on furlough. According to John, he had made a good voyage.

It was decided to build a steam vessel in the Bombay dockyard and send to England for the machinery. The keel of the new steamer was laid down and the building went on rapidly under the direction of the parsee shipwright, Edeljee Cursetjee.[21] A pair of 75 horse power engines arrived, which were made by Maudslay's of London, who also sent the engineers to erect them on board. But when the new vessel was ready for launch, two of the engineers had died and the other was incapable of doing anything, being ill in hospital through excess of drinking, so Major Hawkins was asked if any of his men at the Mint were capable of erecting the machinery. Mr Ingle, John Norton and Mr Enderwick started the work and had it done sooner than was expected. Major Hawkins reported that they had worked hard and had done everything to his satisfaction and the men received the thanks of the Government, but no further remuneration.

It was the first time John had had anything to do with marine engines, and he obtained knowledge which he had no other means of getting and which was useful to him in later life. On the first day trialling the steam, the way-shaft of the slide gear broke. It was a day or two before Christmas and so Ingle and John did the repairs in the Mint during the Christmas holidays by using wrought iron (the broken shaft was of cast iron). At length all was finished, and the trial trip went well. The vessel was named the *Hugh Lindsay*, after one of the East India Company's directors. She was ordered to be got ready for sea and fitted out as a man-of-war, commanded by officers of the Company's Navy and started for Suez with mail and passengers, being the first vessel for that service;[22] and so began the overland route to England.

Final years in Bombay

By 1830, John's wife Anne had become ill and kept to her bed continually, their son William cared for by his own Indian nurse, but also well looked after by Anne's friend, Margaret Thomas.[23] Anne lingered on until her death in October and she was buried in the same

[21] Possibly Ardaseer Cursetjee, shipwright at the Bombay Dockyard, innovator and later Chief Engineer. He was the first Indian to be elected Fellow of the Royal Society. Anne Bulley's *The Bombay Country Ships 1790-1833* (2000) states that the *Hugh Lindsay* was built by the Master Builder Nowrojee Jamsetjee (p245), but she does note that Ardaseer Cursetjee was at the dockyard working under the chief engineer of the Bombay Mint.

[22] Paddle steamer the *Hugh Lindsay* made her maiden voyage to Suez on 20 March 1830 with Captain James Wilson of the Bombay Marine at the helm. She was 411 tons, with two 80-HP engines. Norton's reference to 75-HP engines may have been misremembered.

[23] Margaret Thomas christened 20 July 1817, Bombay (IOR N/3/5/40). Her parents were William Thomas (a matross in the artillery) and Jane Young who married 1816 in Chatham.

grave as Jane, their daughter.[24] John never thought she was so dangerously ill, but the Doctor said it was liver disease. Little William was now more than two years old and John needed a trustworthy person to look after him. Mrs Potter, whose husband worked at the Mint, was engaged to look after William and John paid her 30 rupees per month. John took one of the bedrooms in the lower part of Mrs Potter's house, took his meals with the Potter family, and gave her 60 rupees each for their rooms and board, which helped her very much. Room was found for most of his furniture, the rest put into an empty store room.

Mrs Potter was a good friend to Margaret Thomas, and when Margaret became very ill, she stayed with Mrs Potter. Upon her recovery better John sometimes took Margaret out for a short ride in his buggy. Her mother now wanted to take Margaret home, but Mrs Potter would not hear of it, saying Margaret should stay until she was quite well. So she remained, her mother frequently calling in the evening. John heard that Margaret was unhappy at home and she told him that she worried what would become of her as her mother intended remarrying. John told her that if her mother got married, he would marry Margaret if she would have him, but at the same time, she must reflect that he was much older than her and had one child that required a mother's attention. Margaret said his age and the child required no reflection and the only obstacle was the consent of her mother, whom she thought would refuse. That same evening, John went to see Margaret as her mother was there. When John said that he was thinking of getting married again, Margaret's mother, who was 'all smiles' replied that it was the best thing he could do. He thanked her and said he had spoken to Margaret about it and she was willing to marry with her consent. Her mother flew into a rage, and took Margaret home. Later he received a note written by Margaret begging him to call in the evening as her mother wished to see him. John visited again, and said that he still wished to marry Margaret if he was given consent. In response, he was told that Margaret had been an undutiful daughter and was too young to take care of a house properly. Nevertheless, Margaret's mother gave her consent, and John proposed marrying Margaret, and then took a house in Mazagaon,[25] where he lived until they married on 8 April 1831.[26]

Major Hawkins had been ill for some time and was ordered to make a voyage to sea. He was replaced at the Mint by a Captain of Engineers, and John began to feel very uncomfortable at work as the Captain was 'daily annoying'. He brought more men from Calcutta and some European soldiers to work in the Mint, who were of little use, never having seen mint machinery. Of the original old hands, only Ingle, Enderwick and John Norton were left and the three of them were constantly annoyed by the Captain. John was

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[24] IOR N/3/9/791, Anne Norton, buried Bombay, 20 October 1830, age 22 years. John is noted as an artificer at the New Mint.

[25] Mazagaon - One of the original seven islands of Bombay.

[26] IOR N/3/10/102, one of the witnesses was a Jane Hodgson, likely the bride's mother. The following year she married Jonathon Rollanson (N/3/10/375), the marriage witnessed by John Norton. Rollanson obtained a bond in 1828 to 'erect Steam Engines in Bombay'. (IOR Z/O/1/10 no.6987)

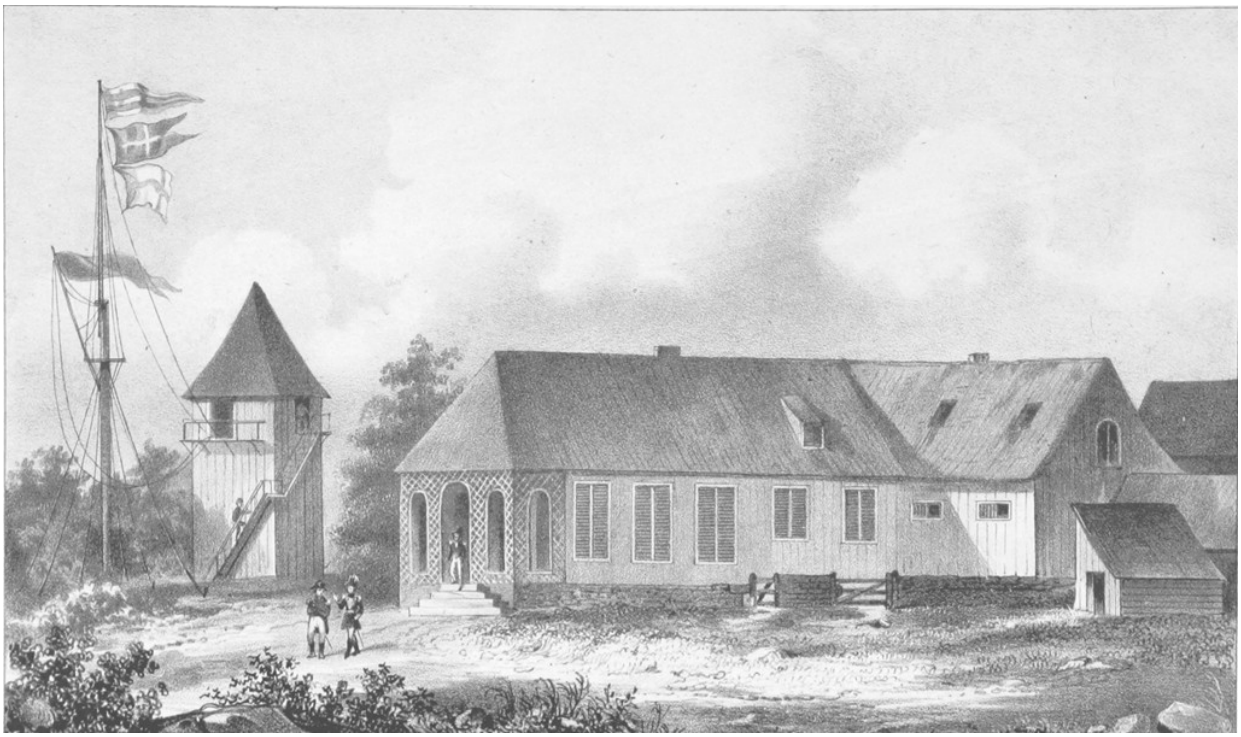
upset when instructions to his men were contradicted and he knew that things had now gone too far. Thinking to leave the Mint, he handed his resignation to the Captain, who then failed to pass it on. Hearing nothing, John saw Mr Farish, the Mint Master[27] and told him everything. Farish remonstrated with him about leaving, but wrote to the Captain for an explanation as to why the resignation letter was not forwarded. He replied that he thought John might relent and recall it, and he could not spare John from the Mint as he could not get anyone to do the coining. Farish told the Captain to forward John's resignation to the Government. He did so and gave John an excellent reference and recommended that he should receive some remuneration for his assistance in the erection of machinery on the steamer *Hugh Lindsay*. The Captain applied for John 'to be retained until an equally competent person could be brought from England', which John objected to. The Government decided to give him an annuity of £80 annually if he received it in England or £30 if he stayed in India, with permission to return to the Mint if he wished. They also ordered 300 rupees for his passage to England. This and the pension were for the services on the *Hugh Lindsay*. It was finalised on 6th December 1833.

Return to St Helena

He auctioned his house and furniture, and booked a passage to England on the barque *Undaunted*, embarking on 4 January 1834 for England.[28] John paid 150 pounds for the family to have the aft cabin and he had fit up a water closet at his own expense. He took his goat and two kids, to supply them with milk during the voyage.

[27] James Farish, Mint Master since January 1830.

[28] *Bombay Calendar* 1835



Longwood House in 1837, monograph by AD van der Gon. Netscher (British Library, HMNTS 10095.f.8, public domain via Flickr)

En route to England, the ship anchored off St Helena, where health officers boarded to examine the ship's papers and check the crew's health. On landing, the Nortons went to a hotel situated in front of the house where Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm had lived years before. The next day a group visited Napoleon's tomb[29] and then started for Longwood. The house was in a sad and dirty state, with some rooms now stables for cattle and the plot where the awning was erected was almost obliterated. Napoleon's bedroom was full of sacks of flour and the parlour turned into a store. They left Longwood next morning, but calm seas delayed them for some days. But a fair breeze sprang up and they made good progress for about a week. They expected to sight England in a few days, but the wind veered round and a gale began. They were forced back off course for eight or ten days until they were near the banks of Newfoundland. Eventually they sighted England and after a voyage of four months, tugs towed them to London Bridge, where they landed on Tuesday 29 April 1834.

The Nortons eventually got to Birmingham about six in the morning, where John, Margaret and the children were made welcome. Just a few months later, on 18 June 1834, their baby girl was born.[30] John obtained and furnished a house and found employment managing a mill. Later some friends belonging to the engineering firm Boulton & Watt told him that they

[29] Naploeon was buried in the Valley of the Willows in 1821. Six years after Norton's visit, Napoleon's remains were removed to Paris, where they were reinterred at Les Invalides.

[30] John and Margaret's daughter Sarah Margaret Norton born 18 June 1834 in Birmingham.

John Norton, in the later years of his life.

were preparing machinery at the Soho Foundry[31] for a mint in Lisbon and that people were wanted to go to Portugal to erect it. John said that it suited him where he was and had no wish to go abroad again. Soon after Mr Watt[32] sent for him and asked if he would like to go to Portugal. Watt said that he was surprised John had not contacted the firm on his return from Bombay, being so many years with their machinery. He asked to see John's certificates from the Bombay Mint and contacted Wilcox & Anderson of London, who were contractors for the Lisbon Mint. A week later John received a packet enclosing his certificates and a copy of Boulton & Watt's letter to Mr Wilcox, which stated that if John was not engaged they were doubtful that the machinery would be properly erected. Mr Wilcox, in reply, begged them to engage John and offer more salary than was first mentioned. At length John promised he would go as Margaret thought that the beautiful climate would suit them better than stopping in England.

At the end of April 1835, the Nortons travelled to London, sailing in May for Lisbon on Mr Wilcox's brig the *Flirt* and arriving 21 days later on 5 June 1835. John erected the Lisbon Mint machinery in 1835 and supervised coin production until 1863.[33] He died on 28 June 1876 in Lisbon and was buried in St George's English Church, Rua Estrela, Lisbon, alongside his wife Margaret.

Acknowledgements

My thanks to Peter, in Lisbon, another co-descendant of John Norton.

[31] Matthew Boulton and James Watt's factory at Smethwick, West Midlands.

[32] James Watt Jr managed operations at the Soho Foundry.

[33] He had four employment contracts issued: Maintenance for Mint installations, Navy Dockyard and all machinery in Government facilities.

W. Edward Bankes, an East India Company writer in the 1720s[1]

Francesca Radcliffe

While listing the contents of the numerous boxes of the Bankes family of Kingston Lacy's archive,[2] which the National Trust has deposited at the Dorset History Centre for safekeeping, I came across nine letters, written between 1726 and 1729, by Edward Bankes to his older brother John, from India.[3] These letters, written in handsome handwriting, on large sheets of paper, intrigued me, and having read them I could not help trying to find out more about the young man who wrote them. Some of the letters are annotated on the back, by his brother John, with the date of arrival, and in some cases the date they were answered. The letters took an average of a year or more to travel from India to Kingston Lacy.[4]

The first letter, from Bombay, is dated 31 January 1726. In it Edward announces that he had arrived there safely on 24 September 1725, sailing on the ships *Devonshire* and *Wyndham* (these two Indiamen were travelling together, and it is not clear in which he sailed). It had been a 'tolerably quick and pleasant voyage of five and half months'.[5] But Bombay was as big a disappointment as he had been forewarned by 'ill descriptions on board', and it was now too late to change his destination. If he had known 'I would never had any thoughts of coming to it, but since it is my misfortune to reside at so bad a place am resolved to try a little longer to make the best of a bad market.' So who was Edward Bankes and why was he so unhappy to have landed in Bombay?

William Edward was born on 1 August 1702 at 2am, the seventh child of John and Margaret Bankes.[6] On the first page of the family Bible, dated 1616 and still in the library at Kingston Lacy, his parents wrote down his name after those of his six older siblings. They

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[1] This article was first published as 'W. Edward Bankes 1702-1729, The Young Bankes who went to India' in *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society* 133 (2012) pp43-49. It is republished here, in a slightly edited form, with their kind permission.

[2] Kingston Lacy, near Wimborne Minster in Dorset, was the seat of the Bankes family, formerly of Corfe Castle.

[3] Dorset History Centre (DHC), Bankes of Kingston Lacy Archive, D/BKL Box 8C/66

[4] In all the quotes in the text I have adopted Edward and John Bankes' spelling.

[5] In the British Library (BL) I looked up the records and logbooks of these ships, but unfortunately — although confirming the good weather and good winds they enjoyed in the long voyage - there is no mention of the names of the passengers which sailed in them: each carried eight passengers and ten soldiers as well as the crews. IOR L/MAR/B/230A 1725/26: Windham & L/MAR/B272B Devonshire 1725/27.

[6] Margaret Parker had married John Bankes in 1683. She was the daughter of Sir Henry Parker and Margaret, daughter of Alexander Hyde, Bishop of Sarum. Her grandfather, on her mother's side, was Bishop Townsend and Bishop Davenant was her uncle. The Parkers were an old and highly respectable Devonshire family. From 'an Historical Account of the Bankes Family' from the *Dorset Free Press,* July 17 1874.

had a number of children: five died in childhood and are buried in the crypt of Wimborne Minster, and seven survived to adulthood. Their eldest son John, to whom the letters were addressed, was born in 1692 and although Edward often mentioned that he also wrote to his mother, grandmother, aunts and other relations as well, only these nine letters to John survive. From 1691 Margaret Bankes kept monthly accounts in the book for the family's expenses.[7] It is an excellent record, and reading through it we can trace the development and progress of her family, with numerous references made to Edward.

These records are a wonderful source and reveal a great deal of information about the life of a well-to-do household in eighteenth-century Dorset. Edward (Neddy to the family), was first mentioned when at the age of five he was the recipient of two new frocks and a cap. The book painstakingly lists, page after page, the endless payments for 'shoes, stockens, gloves, breeches, boots, cloaks, wigs & pouder' (which the Bankes children wore from the age of twelve, and yearly payments to the barber for shaving their heads and looking after their wigs), not to mention swords and belts, and payments to teachers for teaching mathematics, writing, singing and dancing. We learn that the doctor was called in to bleed Neddy, aged seven, who seems to have run into more scrapes than his brothers. Local doctors were called in many times to look after him and advice was sought from them regarding the sickly child. Pain in his eye required repeated visits by the surgeon. Tantalizingly we shall never know what was wrong with Neddy's eye, or his health for that matter. It may not have been good, but it seems unlikely that he was left with permanent weakness or disability.

Edward's elder brothers, John, Ralph and Henry went to Eton and in due course Edward followed them, in April 1718.[8] By then only Henry was still there while John and Ralph were travelling, one in France and the other in Italy. Back from Europe John went on to Oxford, and Ralph to Cambridge. Ralph died in 1718, aged 22 — while John, twice MP for Corfe Castle, became rather eccentric, miserly and reclusive, and died a bachelor in 1774. Henry went on to Cambridge, became a lawyer at the Inns of Court and died in 1776.[9]

In 1718 Mrs Bankes, a widow now - Mr Bankes having died in 1714 - married Mr Thomas Lewes, and life at Kingston Lacy must have changed dramatically. One of the consequences is that the eldest son, John, as head of the family, took over the duty of entering the family expenses in the account book. His entries are not as detailed and do not make many references to his brothers and sisters, except to record the amounts due to them in interest moneys or their share of inheritance: brief entries only, such as in January

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[7] DHC D/BKL Box 8C-55 'An account of the Expences of the Family from Oct 1691 to April 1741'.

[8] Enquiries at the Eton College Archives revealed that Kings' Scholars only are recorded from 1660 onwards and that both Ralph and Henry were Kings' Scholars and attended the school from 1711-1717 and 1715-1720 respectively. Mrs P Hatfield, pers. com.

[9] DHC D/BKL Box 8C-55 Personal and Family Papers, John Bankes in the Account Book for the year 1721 records the legacies left by Ralph to his brothers and sisters at his death. Ralph had died in Cambridge of smallpox in December 1718. Dr Patricia McGuire, Archivist King's College Cambridge, pers. com.

1719, 'P^d to my B^r Edward part of interest money due at St Thomas day 1719, £4.19.06.' John recorded payments made to his brothers and the total of moneys Edward received from 1720 to 1724 was in the region of £425, including £160, the interest on his father's settlement when he reached the age of eighteen.[10] He also recorded the money spent in October 1726 'for some wine sent as a present to Edward at Bombay', as well as a present to him of £5; and two years later he sent him some beer, the cost was almost the same!

There is no record of when Edward left Eton, and whether he finished his studies there, or what he did once he left, but we find him on his way to Bombay in 1725. In 1724 Edward had received his share of his brother Ralph's inheritance and legacies left him by Lady Bankes and Mrs Prince: £419 plus interest of £60. This money, part of his 'Fortune' as he described it [Letter 4], was used to set him up with all necessary items needed for his new life as a 'Writer'[11] with the East India Company.[12]

We do not know the reasons behind his decision to work for the East India Company. Perhaps the Parkers and Hydes — relations on his mother's side — who were working for the East India Company in India, maybe in London, encouraged him to follow them.[13] The family certainly had connections and strings to pull!

In one of his first letters (Letter 4) Edward stated

> I cannot help often reflecting how wretched a thing it will be for me to live in this part of the world so long & to so little purpose, without the pleasure of seeing my relations or my native country, I have often wished since I have been here that I had followed the Sea Business, as I remember it was hinted once by my good friend Mr Boulton …

He certainly wanted to make his fortune. His ambition was to get an 'Estate in due course' and perhaps he believed that working for the East India Company in India would be easier

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[10] John's accounts also show that he paid £42.00 in 1725 to Mr Lloyd, on Edward's behalf, for boarding in his school from Michaelmas 1714 to Feb 1717.

[11] A 'writer' was the lowest of the four classes into which the East India Company's Civil Servants were divided. The other being Factor, Junior Merchant and Senior Merchant. In the early years of the Company these junior servants were employed to record all aspects of its business operations: director's decisions, accounting details, minutes of the Court meetings etc. This rank came to an end in 1841.

[12] A c.1800 list of 'Necessaries for a Writer to India' included books such as Carlisle's Arabian Poetry and a Persian grammar, wax candles, tobacco and all sorts of clothes from striped gingham trousers, cashmere breeches and white silk hose to fancy-waistcoats, fine hats and sea-hats. The full list can be seen at http://www.bl.uk/learning/images/texts/empire/transcript894.html

[13] There is a record in the East India Company Minutes Book of a Samuel Hyde who arrived in India in July 1722, working as a Factor at a salary of £15. He became a member of the Council in 1729. 'A List of Persons in the Service of the Right Hon. United English East India Company on the Coast of Choromandell', Oct 1729, page 43. He may have been the same Samuel Hyde to whom his mother, Martha Hyde, sent a box valued £15 at Fort St George in 1725, 'Dispatches from England XXIV-XXXVII, 1721-17332", 45. We can perhaps speculate that he too was related to Margaret Bankes and encouraged Edward to join the East India Company.

and quicker than in England. But the job of a writer was not a piece of cake, it was in fact a 'drudge, writing days and night, scarcely a minute of pleasure to myself', as he stated in his first letter, adding that he had no other thought than to return to England, and hoped John would not insist he stayed in India against his will. What he resented most was that he saw no way of making his fortune quickly, as the trade in the island (Bombay) was 'so entirely sunk and what little remains is engrossed by three or four people'. He also deplored and regretted not having stayed in London a year longer, missing the opportunity to go to Bengal or Madras instead, where trading was more open and lucrative.[14] Edward repeatedly begged his brother to use any pressure he could with his East India Company acquaintances in London to have him 'recommended' and transferred to Bengal.

Still, in the midst of all his gloom, Edward did recognize that he had a number of good friends, among whom was his cousin Parker,[15] who gave him some 'Comfort'. The Governor, William Phipps, also showed him great civility by asking him, often, to dine with him 'which is look[ed] upon as a favour here'. He also greatly appreciated a gift of a chest of Galicia wine that his brother, aunt and grandmother had sent him: 'in these hot countries a little good wine is requisite to keep up one's spirits' [Letter 2].

In the same letter he writes: 'I may venture to say without bragging that I do as much business as any young fellow of my standing in the Service & I believe most here think the same', and went on to say rather endearingly 'I hope you will not neglect any opportunity of writing to me for was any ship to come without hearing from you I would immediately conclude you were all dead'.

Life in Bombay was not cheap either [Letter 3]: 'it is not to be imagined how dear everything is in this part of the World, the Company's allowance though tolerably handsome will not by a great deal maintain me'— even if Edward was far from being extravagant unlike, apparently, everybody else was 'in that place'. And 'notwithstanding all the care and good management that I was capable off [*sic*] & Mr Waters who assisted me in everything, it cost me upwards of £60 for things that I was under necessity of buying on my first arrival here'.[16] He was employed in the secretary's office, and the Company's salary for a writer was £5.00 per annum plus an allowance of 30 rupees a month. Perhaps the Company was

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[14] The Writer post fell within the patronage of the Company Directors and there were only a certain number each year for each presidency. Margaret Makepeace pers. com.

[15] In his first letter he complained that he was 'prevented to write to all his relations including his uncle Parker by the great hurry of business, he had not really been in bed these eight nights before two in the morning and then out again by a little after six, as my cousin Parker will inform'. In November 1715 a Lawrence Parker was in the East India Company Council in Bombay and became Deputy Governor in 1717-1719. There is also a record of a Henry Parker dying in Bombay 1724. It is not known whether either was related to Margaret Bankes. IOR O/6/37, Bombay Civil Servants 1712-1752.

[16] The East India Company records in Bombay show that in 1715 a Thomas Waters was a young Factor, he became a Factor in 1721 & member of the Council in 1725 and 1726, and did become chief of Persia in 1729 as Edward mentioned in one of his letter.

relying on their employees to set up deals on the side, as many factors were doing and as Edward was longing to do. Mr Waters helped him 'a little in Shipping' or 'Merchandizing' as he also called it, and he was hoping to make a little money in some of the 'voyages'. The 'Foreign Silver' that Edward had brought with him from England was transformed into rupees, and some of them (1000 rupees), were invested in the ship *Devonshire* which went from Bombay to Bengal. He was hoping to make 20%, if not more, on this deal. 1500 more rupees were invested in another ship, the *Boone*, which was trading with China. These were great hopes which unfortunately did not materialize: the China ship

> arrived … And was immediately to Proceed to Surat to dispose of her cargo… But alas, such is the uncertainty of a merchant, that after the appearance of making a very prosperous voyage was on the 8th March last, accidentally blown up at Surat Barr to the Great Detriment of this place as well as others.

One third of her cargo was saved, but Edward's loss was 800 rupees (or £100). He was dejected (or rather suffered 'much uneasiness at first'), but not for long, as he reflected that 'it was the fate that often attended a merchant, & I soon contented my self'. The *Devonshire* did make 19% but that only gave him 200 rupees. He reassured his brother that he was endeavouring to retrieve his losses as soon as possible. However his brother may not have been too happy; we do not have John's letters to Edward but when Edward thanked him for his advice [Letter 5] he also agreed that 'I am sensible that I am come out to make a fortune and not to spend one'.

In March 1727, Edward, having received many letters from England the previous months,

'Bombay on the Malabar Coast belonging to the East India Company of England', showing the custom house, St Thomas Church and the flagstaff of Bombay, Jan van Ryne (1753), scanned by representatives of The British Library Board (Wikimedia Commons).

could hardly contain his delight, especially as he also had news of his 'happy & unexpected removal to Bengall'. This, he believed, was entirely due to John's efforts 'and solicitations' on his behalf, as the Company apparently did not often grant such transfers and to the end of his life he declared he would be indebted and grateful to his brother. There is a note in the court book of the East India Company which states on 15 March 1726: 'That Edward Bankes a Writer at Bombay being much indisposed have leave to be removed to Bengall in hopes of recovering his health.'[17] It took a full year for this news to arrive in Bombay.

But as soon as Edward had received permission to move, the departure from Bombay was swift; at the end of March 1727 he left by the ship *Hertford* on his way to Bengal.[18] He looked forward to seeing 'almost all India viz^{r} Surat, Mallabar coast, Fort St George & Gov^{r} Phipps has been so kind as to promise me a letter to Gov^{r} Frankland & I am in hopes of getting another to Mr Bourchier in Council at Bengall'.[19] Edward requested further recommendations from his brother and promised to write more once settled in Bengal. He wanted to send a present to show his brother 'a little of our Bombay work in the head of a cane which you will be so good as to think worth of your acceptance', but not having found a proper cane yet, he hoped to find one soon. He promised to send his friend Mr Boulton a 'Hogs head of Old Goa Arrack', as this was easier from Bengal than from Bombay. He hoped to send his mother, grandmother and Miss Packington something from Bengal, with a promise to give what description he was able of Bengal.

From Calcutta, Edward wrote the seventh extant letter to John, dated 30 January 1728/29,[20] a very long letter in which

> I thank God I am so very well contented with the place and the prospect I have of one day making a Fortune that I am entirely happy and satisfied with the choice I have made, especially the place which is infinitely beyond the rest on every respect, and I hope that what I wrote from Bombay at several times expressing the uneasiness I was under will not be construed as want of resolution to go through the profession I had undertaken. … I am so happy to be removed I must tell you that my being first settled at Bombay will prove of Great advantage to me; for I have settled a correspondence and have acquired an insight & knowledge of the trade of that side of India.

He noted he left Bombay with the goodwill and love of everyone, and of course the promised recommendations from Governor Phipps (Bombay) to Governor Frankland (Calcutta) and he requested yet more from brother John in London.

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[17] IOR B/59 Court Book (Minutes of the East India Company), 207. The mention in the East India Company records of Edward's ill health is surprising. It may have been only on those grounds that the Company would agree to a transfer. Edward, in most of his letters stressed how well he felt and how good his health was.

[18] In a subsequent letter he mentioned that the ship he sailed on was called *Hailford*, which left Bombay the 23 March 1727 and arrived in Bengal the 15 July.

[19] IOR L/F/10/1 Bengal 1706-1760, Mr Richard Bourchier was a member of the East India Council and had arrived in India in 1726.

[20] In New Style dates, the year would be 1729.

Edward gave John his promised description of Bengal:

> … first as to the situation of the place, our factory is a very noble building preferable to any of the Company has standing, close to the famous Ganges' side. The country is very open and affords all manner of necessarys for life in Great Plenty, but its lying so extremely low makes it subject to damps and fog therefore not altogether so healthy a climate as one would desire, but I never enjoyed my health better than I have here notwithstanding I arrived in the Sickly season, which is rains & at this time of the year it's so very cold that I could very well bear an English fire, which you'll imagine to be very extraordinary in these Parts.

He went on, explaining, or trying to, the 'notion of the Trade' in Bengal,

> 'especially for Young Beginners in what they call Inland Trade, which is to send up into the Country at such particular Times money from what goods & such a quantity of each sort as you think it is in your power to dispose off [*sic*] to the shipping that goes to all parts of India. The Great Benefit that accrues from this way of trading is that there is Little or no Risque to the run which in my opinion is a very good article in a Merchant Profession.

But there was 'a very Great Inconvenience' that he felt obliged to acquaint his brother with, and that was 'the Devouring Article of the Common Interest of 12%*'.* Still he was optimistic and meant 'to make any considerable advantage of, & I must assure you that even now I have such a share of Business that will permit me to trade for 30,000 Rupees per Ann. & I am in no doubt but will yearly encrease'**.** Brother John may have started to worry but as he read on, he probably thought that his younger brother was suffering from sunstroke: to 'his Tender and kind Brother' Edward made a request, being sure that John would 'indulge [him] in it' when Edward told him how much it would be in Edward's interest. He begged John to lend him 'a thousand pounds for three or four years at the Common Interest', as his fortune 'tho' very handsome' would not permit Edward to trade without borrowing money in Bengal. At this point he must have realized that John would never have lent him such a large sum of money, even if Edward's 'maxim shall be little & sure'. And so, knowing that there would be more family money due to him, he explained that

> by this ship I have sent my Mother a Power of Attorney to receive from you the remainder of my Fortune & to send it me by the first Opportunity,[21] ... but on different ships, for the sooner I receive it the better. In case of Mortality I have given the Power to my Brother Henry to act as an Attorney for me.

John's reaction can only be surmised; in the following sentence Edward thanked him for all the care John had taken in managing his fortune, and for the kind present of beer, which 'was very good and acceptable!' And, of course, he renewed his thanks for John's care in 'Recommendations', and congratulated him on his 'being rechosen at Corfe Castle'.[22]

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[21] This power of Attorney is in the Kingston Lacy Archive, DHC D/BKL Box 8A/79 Personal and Family Papers,

[22] John Bankes was first returned to the Corfe Castle constituency in 1722. He was re-elected unopposed in 1727 (the year before this letter) and again in 1734.

John, in a previous letter, must have suggested to Edward that he should study French and Latin, and Edward agreed that he 'is thoroughly sensible what an advantage both French and Latin will be to me & how far it will put me above the Common herd of Mankind', but he 'is no less Sensible that I am but still a Writer, & shall be far from taking upon me the Merchant'. Edward concluded the letter with the usual request for recommendations and with news of the 'much lamented death of Governor Frankland',[23] before announcing the arrival of a family who had lived in India for 40 years, 'Mr Adams and his family famous for Generosity & Hospitality to strangers, and whose daughters are worth ten thousand pounds fortune.'

John did send the money to Calcutta,[24] permission from the Council of the East India Company having been granted on 31 December 1729, and the money arrived in Bengal in 1730, but too late.[25] The last letters from Edward from Calcutta [Letters 8 and 9], dated 25 February and 25 July 1729 are shorter, earnestly repeating the request for the £1000 to be sent to India at the earliest opportunity, stressing how important it would be for him to have 'unlimited credit to manage' and carry out his negotiations and 'what Business I please'. Edward also reassured his brother and thanked him for his 'caution against Play' and once more assuring John 'that Vice reigns very little in this Place, for my own part I am Persuaded it will never Affect me'.

This letter arrived at Kingston Lacy in April 1730. But Edward had died in Madras on 2 November 1729, aged 27, and was buried the following day in St Mary's Church, Fort St George.[26] Why he had gone to Madras from Calcutta we may never know. No records about this could be found in the books and dispatches of the East India Company in the British Library. There is a brief mention of his death in the Bengal East India Company dispatches book, he was only a writer after all. [27]

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[23] Henry Frankland, who had been in office since 1726, died August 23rd 1728.

[24] DHC D/BKL Personal and Family Papers, Box 8C/55. John Bankes' entry in the family Account Book, dated Feb 1729 reads: 'To my brother Edward Bankes the remenant of his fortune as by Rec from my mother Mrs Lewes… whom he impowered to receive it by virtue of a letter of Attorney dated 30th Jan 1728/29. This sum of a Thousand pounds was remitted to him in Jan 1729 in pieces of Eight on board the *Crags* bound for Fort William in Bengal & sent over in the Treasury of the East India Company'.

[25] IOR B/60 Court Book, Minutes of the EIC 3 April 1728-3 April 1730: on 31 December 1729'….that John Bankes Esq have the liberty to send to his brother Mr Edward Bankes £1000 in foreign silver, all on the Company usual terms'.

[26] IOR N/2/1/228 Madras Burial Book

[27] IOR L/F10/1 Bengal 1706-1760, List of the Honble Company Covenant Servants with the Bay of Bengal according to their station: 'On 2nd November 1729 Mr Edward Bankes departed this life at Madras, buried on November 3rd'. Enquiries if the grave may still exist in the Cemetery of St Mary's Church in Madras proved negative. The huge cemetery has been taken over by the jungle. Henry Brownrigg, pers. com.

His mother, Margaret Lewes, died in 1730, probably unaware that her beloved son Edward had died the previous year, this news probably taking more than a year to reach England. She was buried in the Bankes' family crypt in Wimborne Minster on 11 November 1730.[28]

Edward Bankes' short life and even shorter experience with the East India Company is not unusual. Of the nine young men who are listed in the court book of the East India Company's minutes as having started work as writers at the same time as Edward himself, two were dead by 1728. Of the others, John Maynard died in Bombay in 1731, John Wood married Frances Lyons in Bombay in 1730, and died in Bengal in 1735, John Morley died in 1738 in Bombay, and Nathaniel Whitwell, the one who outlived them all, died in Bombay in 1748. No records could be found of the other three. The East India Company was never short of recruits, as young men of the upper and middle classes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were eager to join the Company hoping to make a quick fortune, despite the great hazard to their health that going to the Far East entailed. Between 1707 and 1775 the death rate amongst the Company's employees was 57% in Bengal. New factors and writers were recommended and selected very carefully by the Court of Committees: they had to be of blameless character, were expected to have some particular aptitude 'in navigation and calicoes' or 'in Merchant accountant and arithmetic', and a knowledge of a foreign language such a Portuguese, Arabic or Turkish was encouraged.[29] Once approved, they worked as writers for anything up to five years before they became factors and three years later they would have become fully fledged junior merchants, if alive and still working for the Company. When joining, the Company exacted a bond of up to £500 as a precaution against private speculation. This was the result of the miserly salaries the writers and factors received and so, in order to realize the expected financial reward, they often resorted to private speculations or merchandising before it was permitted, i.e. as merchants. Surrounded by tempting opportunities, most of the factors 'followed their entrepreneurial instinct', and many, after a number of years working for the Company, returned home having accumulated large fortunes.[30]

Acknowledgements

My thanks to the staff of the Dorset History Centre and particularly to Mark Forrest who read my text and offered valuable suggestions, to Margaret Makepeace at the British Library who was most helpful in providing sources for EIC research and to Derek Andrewes for his help in transcribing Edward's letters.

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[28] Edward's will which he drew up on 24 March 1724, a few days before he sailed from England, is still in the Bankes Archive. In it he, 'Edward Bankes, Writer to the East India Company and bound on a voyage to Bombay in the East Indies being in good health and of sound mind and having recommended his soul to God' left the sum of £50 each to his dearly beloved mother Margaret Lewes, and to his sister Mary Janson. All the rest of his estate was bequeathed to his brother Henry who was appointed sole executor. The will was witnessed by Richard Booth, James Kelleck and Joseph Seward. DHC D/BKL Box 8A/80.

[29] John Keay, *The Honourable Company, A History of the English East India Company* (Harper Collins, London, 1993) p34-5

[30] Ibid.

The East India Company: some snapshots of its history (Part 2)

David Blake

This is an extended version of a talk given at the FIBIS AGM on 1 November 2014. Part I of this article, looking at the early years of the Company, appeared in FIBIS Journal 33.

Upheavals in India and at home

The halcyon years of peace and prosperity of the early eighteenth century came to an end in the 1740s and was followed by 70 years of warfare and turmoil in India with serious political repercussions at home. There is no space here to recount the East India Company's many wars, but their immense consequences can be gauged from the fact that whereas in 1740 the Company's possessions in India amounted to little more than a number of factories, by 1820 it had become the greatest territorial power in the Subcontinent, ruling much of northern India and almost all of the presidencies of Madras and Bombay at their fullest extent.

But if this career of conquest and annexation was disastrous for the Company's enemies, it was by no means wholly beneficial to the Company itself. It became a victim of its own success. Or perhaps one should say of the success of its servants, for in many ways what happened was dictated not by the Directors in London but by their servants in India, in whose mind what was uppermost was not necessarily the good of the Company but their own private profit. This was particularly so in Bengal where they grossly abused commercial privileges granted by the Nawabs to the Company for their own private gain. It was largely to curb these excesses that the Nawabs came into conflict with the British, and it was largely to preserve them that the Bengal Council deposed Mir Jafar whom Robert Clive had installed as Nawab after the Battle of Plassey (1757) and replaced him with Mir Kasim. Then when Mir Kasim attempted reform he, in turn, was deposed and Mir Jafar brought back. Little of this had the approval of the Company's Directors who believed that peaceful relations with the Nawabs would assist their trade much more than constant political disruption and war.

Furthermore, the profiteering, corruption and political meddling rife among the Company's Bengal servants was beginning to provoke strong criticism at home from politicians and indeed public opinion more generally. Added to which, when they returned to this country, not content with meddling in the Company's affairs (thereby causing volatility in the price of its stock), they also proceeded to flaunt their ill-gotten wealth, buying or building stately homes, and entering Parliament. I am echoing their enemies perhaps too readily, but there was some truth in these criticisms of the 'Nabobs', as they were opprobriously known. However, they eventually made it into the upper reaches of English society and their descendants and stately homes are still with us. Clive of India himself was the most prominent. Though he died in 1774 (almost certainly by his own hand while suffering from depression) his son married the heiress of the Herbert Earls of Powis, was granted the same earldom, and founded the line that still bears that title today, with his own son and

The John Carr designed Basildon Park, built for Francis Sykes. Photo by GiacomoReturned, 2010. (Public Domain via Wikipedia)

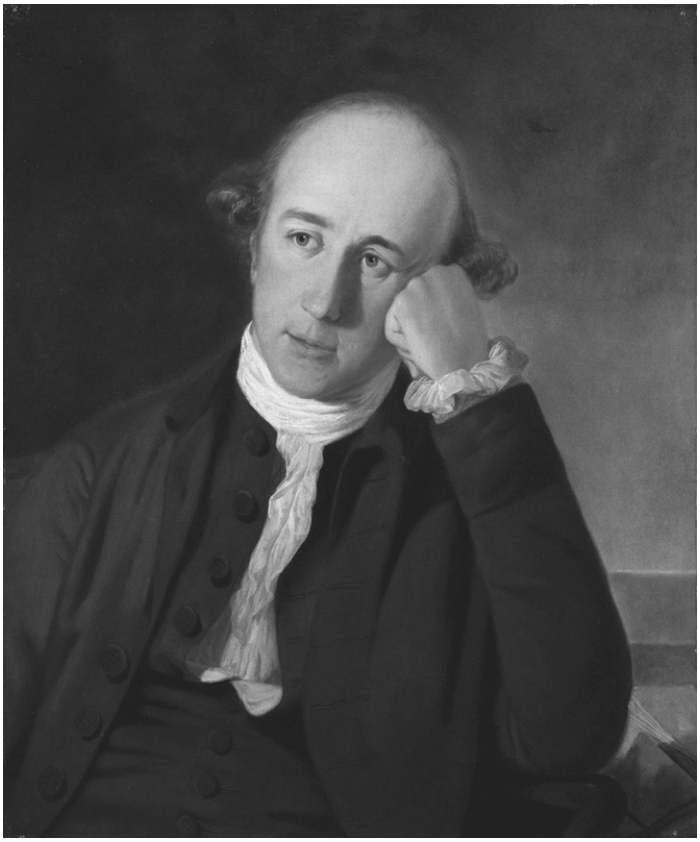
heir changing his surname to Herbert. Among lesser examples of the breed was George Vansittart (1745-1825) who acquired Bisham Abbey in Berkshire, now a National Sports Centre. Another, Francis Sykes (1730-1804) acquired a baronetcy and built a magnificent stately home, Basildon Park, though he did not live to see it completed. The Baronetcy lives on in the person of Sir John Sykes. Yet another was Richard Benyon (1698-1774) Governor of Madras 1735-44 who on return to England was able to purchase and enlarge Gidea Hall in Essex. Better still, he married an heiress and his son eventually moved into her ancestral home: Englefield House. The family still live there. They acquired a baronetcy in the early twentieth century, and the present baronet, another Sir Richard Benyon, was for a time junior minister in the Coalition Government and according to the *Daily Mirror* is Britain's wealthiest MP.[1]

The appearance of these *nouveaux riches* in English society, and their incursion into the politics of the East India Company and into parliamentary politics (about 20 of them were MPs in 1768) caused resentment among many older established families. More seriously there was a growing sense in Parliament and Government that the Company's servants in Bengal were out of control and that the Company itself needed reform to stabilize the situation. Worst of all, some politicians were beginning to feel that a private company should not be a sovereign ruler and that its territories in India should ultimately belong to

[1] 'Richest MP in Britain slams welfare state...etc', *Daily Mirror*, 24 February 2014

the Crown. We have seen that the Company's commercial difficulties in 1771/72 meant that it had to seek a bailout from the Government. It got a loan of £1.4 million but the price was Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773 which marked the beginning of the end of the Company's independence.

Under the Act, the Governor of Bengal was given some oversight of the other two Presidencies and now became Governor-General. Warren Hastings was the first man to occupy this post. He had been Governor of Bengal since 1772 and had already begun the process of administrative reform. Hastings continued in office until 1784, the longest period in office of any Governor-General or Viceroy; and the most turbulent. Under the Regulating Act, three political appointees were sent out to join a reconstituted Governor-General's Council. These three, among whom the most active was Philip Francis, soon fell out with Hastings who found himself in a minority on his own Council, supported only by his colleague Richard Barwell who, like him, was an old India hand. Their disagreements were deep and bitter, so bitter in fact that Hastings eventually provoked a duel with Francis in which the latter was wounded. Francis returned to England and intrigued with the Whigs to whip up criticism of Hastings's administration. Death and departure among Hastings's enemies on the Council enabled him to regain control, but his troubles were not over since he also had two wars on his hands: with the Marathas (1775-82) and Hyder Ali of Mysore (1780-84).



Warren Hastings c.1772, by Tilly Kettle (CC BY-NC-ND 3.0 © National Portrait Gallery, London, NPG 81)

With such colleagues to try his patience and two wars to finance it is perhaps not surprising that Hastings's behaviour became more dictatorial and that he resorted to some dubious means of raising finance. In short, though he rendered great services in India, in doing so he provided ample ammunition for those who, like Philip Francis, personally hated him, or who like the Whig politician Edmund Burke, more idealistically but quite mistakenly, saw him as the embodiment of a corrupt Company regime in India which lined the pockets of its servants and oppressed the natives.[2] Hastings returned to England hoping for a peerage. In fact

[2] Burke had good grounds for much of his condemnation of the Bengal administration, but was mistaken in his estimate of Hastings who was less self-seeking than many company servants, tried to improve the Bengal administration, and was notable for his sympathy for Indian culture.

he was impeached. It was a show trial in all senses: in its early days the fashionable world eagerly sought tickets of admission to watch the spectacle. Hastings was acquitted on all charges. His ordeal had lasted for seven years, the trial had bankrupted him, but the Company did grant him a pension which enabled him to fulfil his boyhood dream of re-purchasing the family house at Daylesford, now occupied by the Bamford family of JCB fame.

From Company Raj to British Raj

The final phase of the Company's history saw it morph from a commercial enterprise with governmental responsibilities attached, into the Government of India pure and simple. The onset of this sea-change in the Company's role can perhaps be traced back to the Company's decision in 1771, when appointing Hastings as Governor, to 'stand forth as Diwan': that is, to abandon Clive's 'dual system' of governing Bengal through the Nawab's Indian officials and instead take upon itself full responsibility for ruling the country. Hastings began the process of reform, but the turbulent and sometimes chaotic events of his period of office led the political class in England, both Whigs and Tories, to conclude that something more than Lord North's Regulating Act was needed. Thus in 1784, in one of the first acts of his administration, William Pitt passed an India Act to establish a 'Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India', commonly known as the Board of Control. Its President was a Cabinet Minister and the other commissioners soon became little more than ciphers. While leaving the Company more or less free to manage its own commercial activities, the Board of Control exercised oversight of the Company's political affairs.

That oversight became tighter and tighter with the passing of the years and the successive Acts of Parliament (1793, 1813, 1833 and 1853) that renewed the Company's royal charter. The Directors' despatches were indeed still drafted by their own officials, but they had to be approved by the President of the Board, and by 1853 he could in the last resort dictate their contents. Why then, you may ask, didn't the British Government simply assume direct responsibility for running India rather than exercise it at one remove through the East India Company? Basically, because of the general reluctance of Parliament to transfer the Company's enormous powers of patronage into the hands of politicians. Indeed, with some exaggeration, one might say that the Company simply became a gigantic employment agency for people seeking a career in the Indian Army or Civil Service. Looked at more positively, we might compare the Company to a modern Non-Governmental Organization (NGO or quango) whose function was to run India with the Board of Control as its regulator.

Even in their own commercial sphere, the Directors gradually found themselves with less to do. Responding to pressure from independent merchants who wished to grab a share of the East Indies trade, Parliament used the Charter Act of 1813 to deprive the Company of its monopoly of trade with India which, as we have seen, mattered very little since by now it was the China trade that made the serious money. However, with the next Charter renewal in 1833 that went too, and with it the Company's role as a commercial enterprise. So what, you may ask, kept it afloat after that? The answer is its Indian revenues. The hopes of huge financial gain from becoming the ruler of Bengal which Clive had held out in 1765, but

which had for so long been disappointed, were eventually realised, and the Company's 'Home charges', as they were called, plus a handsome dividend on its stock of 10½%, were ultimately paid by the Indian taxpayer - a sore point with Indian nationalists to this day.

The absence of the profit motive, so far as India was concerned after 1813, had the beneficial effect of concentrating the Directors' minds more closely on their responsibility to provide for the good governance of that country. Indeed, on occasion it was now the Home Government which sought to promote purely British commercial interests, and the Directors who would seek to defend India from them, alas usually in vain. Since the time of Hastings and Cornwallis, strenuous and continuing efforts had been made to clean up the Company's administration of its Indian territories, to purge it of corruption, to make the collection of revenue efficient (from the Indian point of view they were all too successful in this) and to provide an accessible and impartial system of justice. Not only that, already in the eighteenth century there were those both at home and in India who acknowledged that British rule in India was alien, therefore likely to be unpopular, and could really only be justified if it promoted the welfare of the Indian people. Some probably even realised that British rule could not last forever.

So, despite further warfare, I think that at any rate after the Charter Act of 1813, we can say that the dominant theme of the Company's history in India is no longer trade or conquest, but the discharge of its responsibilities for the good government of India. And bearing in mind the fact that Parliament, through the Board of Control, was ultimately responsible for India, we should now think in terms of British rather than Company responsibilities. Indeed, in the Charter Act of 1833, British responsibility for Indian welfare was made explicit: it laid it down that 'the interests of the native subjects are to be preferred to those of Europeans wherever the two come into conflict'. Sadly, this admirable rule was often honoured in the breach rather than the observance.

The British sense of responsibility for India was powerfully reinforced by two intellectual movements: Christian evangelicalism, and the secular philosophy of utilitarianism. It was thanks to evangelical influence in Parliament that the Charter Act of 1813 compelled the Company to allow Christian missionary activity in India – something which it had always resisted, since it feared that attempts to convert Indians to Christianity would stir up resentment and opposition among Hindus and Muslims and might lead to unrest, therefore causing disruption to trade.[3] But the evangelical ethos of high-minded responsibility for the welfare of others also influenced some laymen including some members of the Indian Civil Service and Indian Army, and at least one Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck.

As regards utilitarianism, this was a secular philosophy invented by Jeremy Bentham which held that the core purpose of Government was to promote the greatest happiness of the greatest number. This might seem obvious today, but was a novel idea in the early nineteenth century. Bentinck was influenced by utilitarianism as well as evangelicalism,

[3] These concerns may not have been wholly groundless given that missionary activity may have been one contributory cause of the Indian Mutiny.

and it is striking that two of Bentham's closest associates, James Mill who wrote a highly critical *History of British India*, and his better known philosopher son John Stuart Mill, held key policy-making positions on the Company's home staff between 1819 and 1858.

It also has to be said that this British sense of mission in India did have one unfortunate consequence. The 'do-goodery' did rather lead the do-gooders to patronise the 'natives', to think of themselves as superior, and eventually as racially superior, to the 'natives'.

There were of course further wars and territorial acquisitions during the final phase of the Company's history, so that by 1858 the extent of the British Raj was not far short of its final limits in 1947. In London, the Company had in 1799 again rebuilt its headquarters and now occupied a very grand building indeed: a far cry from the few rooms in the house in Philpot Lane where it had begun. Contemplating this transformation, Sir William Foster wrote that the earliest members of the Company would have been astonished

> had they been told that three centuries later the Company would be the owners of a magnificent building standing on a site of an acre and a half, employing hundreds of clerks and, in its numerous outlying warehouses, thousands of labourers! Still more would they have marvelled to learn that the association they had helped to found would one day oust the Great Mogul from his throne, and win for Britain an empire far more populous than that of the Romans at the zenith of their power.[4]

The Company was abolished in 1858 following the Indian Mutiny for which it was rather unfairly blamed. Much in its past history may have been disgraceful, but as we have seen, by this time it had cleaned up its act and was probably now a force for good. However, by the mid nineteenth century, it was an anachronism for the British State to rule its Empire at second hand. Moreover, reforms in recruitment processes and the general improvement in standards for the conduct of public business ushered in by the Victorian era meant that there was no longer much objection to its patronage being exercised by the state. The East India Company's day was done.

Epilogue

Yet the East India Company had an afterlife, or rather two afterlives. Firstly, a residuary body with the same name continued to exist until 1874 to wind up its financial affairs. But it also had a ghostly presence in another body, the Council of India, established by the Act of 1858, transferring the Government of India from the Company to the Crown. It comprised 15 members, a majority of whom were to be men with direct experience of India, and seven of them were to be ex-Directors of the old Company. Its purpose was to provide that expert advice on Indian conditions which the President of the Board of Control had previously received from the Company and its servants, and of which it was thought his successor, the Secretary of State for India, might also benefit. In theory it also had some limited powers of control over him, but in practice neither its advice nor its control exerted much influence. It continued to exist until 1937 when it was replaced by the 'Secretary of State's Advisers'

[4] Foster, 1926, p1

with functions whittled down almost to vanishing point. In 1947 India and Pakistan achieved independence and the Secretary of State, his advisers, and the India Office, all disappeared. But not without trace. Their memory and the memory of the East India Company still survive in the India Office Records which attract family historians and scholars from all over the world eager to study every aspect of that remarkable phenomenon: the British in India.

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Francis Day, the Founder of the City of Madras

James T Day

In *FIBIS Journal* 29,[1] I told the story of the illegitimate children of my 2x great grandfather Charles Day,[2] who was sent out by the East India Company to Fort Marlborough, Bencoolen, in 1794. Charles's father and grandfather were both EIC servants[3] and I wondered if my documented four generations of Day servants went back any further. My research led me to Day ancestors in the early years of the Company in Madras.

The first Day of any note to be mentioned in the East India Co records was a certain Francis Day who joined the Company as a Factor or merchant in 1632.[4] Francis is worthy of note because he was responsible in 1639 for the founding of Fort St. George, later to become the city of Madras (modern Chennai).

Although the Company had had its headquarters at Surat on the west coast since 1612, Madras represented the first territorial acquisition of the Company, and certainly the first settlement of any note on the east coast; thus it can be said in no small way to have helped build the foundation of the Company's fortunes in India. Despite extensive mention of Francis Day in the HEIC records there is nothing to indicate where he came from, nor what subsequently happened to him after he left the service of the East India Company.

My own researches[5] have shown that he was the fourth son of William Day of Ockwells Manor, Bray in Berkshire and Helen Wentworth his wife, the daughter of Paul Wentworth, the well known Elizabethan Parliamentarian. Perhaps Francis Day owed his entry into the Company to influence. His grandfather, Dr. William Day, an Eton and King's man, had been a favourite of Queen Elizabeth, which no doubt accounted for his being appointed a Canon of St George's Chapel Windsor, Provost of Eton and later Bishop of Winchester.[6]

It was probably a foregone conclusion that Francis would be educated at Eton College, as his father and brothers before him. His father, William Day, in his will dated 1628,[7] leaves him £200 and expresses the wish that his widow pays him £10 pa. Francis became a cloth worker

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[1] James T Day, 'Distant Relations Discovered – A Bencoolen Family', *FIBIS Journal* 29 (Spring 2013) pp15-18

[2] Charles Day (1772-1849)

[3] Thomas Day (1738-93), Bombay Civil Service and his father Robert Day (c1709-67) Home Civil Service. Details of their service are in the notes of the aforementioned *FIBIS Journal* 29 article.

[4] East India Court Minute Book, vol XIII, pp140-147

[5] See article entitled 'The Origins of Francis Day founder of Fort St George (Madras)' by James Day from the Genealogists' Magazine, vol 28, no 7, Sept 2005 for a detailed description of the research that lead to this conclusion.

[6] William Day's elder brother, George, had preceded him at Cambridge and had been made Bishop of Chichester. These two were half brothers, the sons of Richard Daye of Newport, Shropshire who in turn was the son of Nicholas Daye of Wrockwardine, son of John Daye alias Dee, son of Morgan Dee, a Welshman.

[7] PCC folio 115 Barrington

and in 1630 married Elizabeth Matson, daughter of his deceased near neighbour, Robert Matson, yeoman of Satwell, Berks, by licence at the church of Chelsea, Middx.[8] At the time he and his bride were living in the parish of St James Garlickhithe, London and he is described as about 24 and his bride as about 21.

Perhaps his choice of cloth worker was on good advice, because on joining the East India Company in 1632 he was able to use his acquired skills to advantage. He was paid £30 pa rising by £5 pa for seven years. Francis Day's first assignment was at Armagon, a small station on the Coromandel Coast to the north of what was to become Madras.[9] The Coromandel Coast 'was important to the European trading companies because it was here that they could purchase Indian textiles, notably chintz, a kind of painted cloth made nowhere else and highly sought after in Europe.'[10]

It cannot have been a very thriving station because in 1636, in a letter to the President and Council at Bantam in Java, to which the Coromandel Coast was then subordinate, Day is described as, 'having much improved his knowledge in Armagon goods. We doubt not but Francis Day's care and experience will daily add to the Company's benefit and raise the walls of that decaying fort'. Two years later, a letter to Francis from the Company's servants at Masulipatam notes 'the sorry state of the factory' at Armagon and recognises that he is 'as badly off for money' as they are.[11] Francis' capability is recognised again in a 1639 letter to the Company from William Fremlen, President of Surat, and his Council, who noted that 'On the Coromondal Coast there is not one able servant left, unless it be Francis Day.'[12]

It was the unsatisfactory state of affairs in Armagon that led Day to seek a better site for the Company's station.

> In 1637 he made an exploratory voyage from Masulipatam to Pondicherry, and in 1639 he again sailed south. In July of that year he arrived at the coastal village of Madrasipatam just north of the Portuguese settlement of San Thome. Discovering the area to be a good source of textiles, he negotiated the grant of a plot of coastal land on behalf of the company from Damarla Venkatadri, the local ruler…and in February 1640 began building a new fort, later named Fort St George.[13]

Although the area around Madras was good for textiles, it was not exactly the ideal spot to found a settlement. It had an exposed surf swept beach with no natural harbour for shipping and was only a short distance from the Portuguese settlement of San Thome. However it was

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[8] Guildhall Library, Ms.10091/13, fol.56r

[9] A Company factory was founded at Armagon, or Armagaon, in 1625.

[10] Andrew Grout, 'Day, Francis (fl. 1625–1652)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004. Grout also notes that 'diamonds, commonly used as a means of remitting money to Europe, were also available from nearby Golconda.' The online edition of the ODNB was updated in 2007 to reflect advances made by my research.

[11] Sir William Foster, *The English factories in India, 1618-1669 : a calendar of documents in the India Office, British Museum and Public Record Office* (1906) p50, letter dated 24 February 1638

[12] IOR/E/3/16 ff 180-219 : 4 Jan 1639

[13] Grout, ODNB 2004, ibid.

rumoured that Francis Day had a 'mistris' at San Thome of whom he was 'so enamoured' that he would do anything to be near her.[14] On such slender pretexts are empires founded!

However, the exploratory voyages and establishment of the new fort were not without their consequences for Day:

> For this enterprise, which cost £3500, Day took on loans on his own account. Finding the financial burden excessive, in August 1640 he proceeded to Surat to plead his case with the governing council.[15]

The Council freed Day of the responsibility and dispatched him to England as his covenanted period of employment had expired. On 22 October 1641, having served the Company for seven years as a factor, Francis Day was admitted to the freedom of the Company, by service.[16]

He was soon back in India again, this time on a salary of £200 pa and taking with him money and goods belonging to the First General Voyage,[17] for which Francis had been appointed factor on the *Hopewell*.[18] Francis Day also underwrote the voyage himself to the value of £500 but his request for private trade to the value of £100 was refused. Moreover, the consideration of the request led to the unanimous resolution that factors would no longer be permitted to indulge in private trade, neither in India, nor on the voyages there or back.[19]

Perhaps returning to India at this time was an astute move, as in November 1641 civil unrest broke out in England leading to the start of the Civil War. Day also took along his son, Francis Day Jr, 'as his servant, a good writer and accountant, who is entertained at 20s. [£1] per month on condition that Mr Day Senior stands security for his not indulging in private trade and for his returning in the same ship.'[20] Francis Day Jr had not seen his father for seven years and he cannot have been more than eleven or twelve years old at the time of this appointment. Although this would appear to be a very young age it is consistent with young gentlemen being

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[14] The Honourable Company', John Keay, p69

[15] Grout, ODNB 2004, ibid.

[16] October 22 1641, East India Court Minute Book, vol XVIII, p59

[17] Initially known as the 'Particular Voyage' this trip was organised by the East India Company to raise funds while it waited for its position to be firm enough to float a new Joint Stock. It was financed with a subscription separate to Company finances and managed by a new committee.

[18] October 22 1641, East India Court Minute Book, vol XVIII, p59. Andrew Trumball was the Master of the *Hopewell*. Francis Day and Trumball had a number of disagreements, as detailed by Charles Grey in *The Merchant Venturers of London: A Record of Far Eastern Trade & Piracy during the Seventeenth Century* (1932)

[19] Ibid.

[20] November 19 1641, East India Court Minute Book, vol XVIII, p84

taken on at such an age as Captain's servants in the Royal Navy. The usual age for joining the East India Co. as a writer was fourteen.[21]

Francis Day served the Company well. He also looked to his own interests and in the Company's records there are frequent accusations and counter accusations amongst his contemporaries of private trade, drunkenness and high living. In 1645 and again in 1654 he was recorded in the Company's Black Book and fined £500 for private trade - the Company guarded their monopoly jealously. History does not relate whether the fine was paid because by then he was out of the service. Having made his fortune in the East he settled down at the age of 40 to the life of a country gentleman in his native Berkshire and acquired a large house in Wallingford called Stone Hall, which still exists today. Only once more does he come into the limelight, as Mayor of Wallingford in 1664, before his death in 1673 at the age of 68.[22] This was quite a respectable age in those days by any standard, and especially for someone who had managed to survive the rigours of two voyages to India.

As for my own connection to these Days, it has been hard to pin down a definitive connection. My 3x great grandfather Thomas Day and his father Robert bequeathed large Chinese porcelain dinner services bearing their coat of arms,[23] pieces of which are still in the family today. The arms that appear on the plates were granted to William Day in 1582[24] and my research has shown that he was the grandfather of Francis Day.[25] How exactly Francis anteceded Robert, directly or otherwise, has yet to be determined, but the coat of arms establishes the family connection.[26]

Francis Day senior set the pattern for succeeding generations of Days, and no doubt his good works on the Company's behalf ensured his descendants easy entry to that coveted service, where men risked an early death for the sake of a quick fortune and early retirement. The Days on the whole were relatively lucky.

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[21] Francis Day Junior (c1630-1693) later joined the East India Company in his own right and went out to India as a factor for Bombay and Surat in 1670. He rose to become fourth in the Council at Surat and died at Bombay in 1693.

[22] I am not certain that Francis Day died in 1673 because I have been unable to find his burial. His will (MS Wills Berks 63) dated 1 Nov 1666 was proved on 23 Aug 1673 so presumably he could have died anytime between the two dates.

[23] PCC (PROB 11/2114), proved June 1850. From Charles Day's 1848 will: 'A dinner service of real china with my Coat of Arms, it is very large and old fashioned ware made in China for my Father a century ago'.

[24] Copy of grant of arms by Norroy, Ms Ashmole, 852, p44 and p365, Bodleian Library.

[25] See note 5.

[26] Bishop William Day, Francis' grandfather, had a cousin, also William Day, Mercer of New Windsor, who was allowed to use the Day arms in 1606. He had five sons. A nephew of Bishop George Day, Richard, was allowed to use the arms in 1584. Hence my descent from the early Days could be from any one of Bishop William's six sons, William Day of Windsor's five sons or from Richard Day.

Memories of my childhood in British India

Pearline Philomena Berry

Pearline Berry (nee Peterson) reminisces about her childhood in 1930s and 40s India.

I was born in Golden Rock, Bangalore, in 1932 and lived, along with my younger brother Peter and even younger sisters Iona and Maureen, in a detached bungalow with a large garden. We had an ayah (nanny) to look after us and a mali (gardener) to do the garden. We also had a cook, a butler, a baker, a butcher, a man who did all the laundry and a man who delivered well water. He used to carry it in a leather water carrier. Everything was delivered fresh every morning – there were no fridges in those days.

I had a very happy childhood. Christmas stands out in my mind. The tailor used to come and sit on the veranda and make us all dresses and clothes for all the Christmas activities, which started with the house being decorated and my mother varnishing all the furniture. We had our hair done in curlers. On 24 December, we went to the Railway Institute to meet Santa and get a present before heading on to Midnight Mass. On Christmas Day we would all open our presents and the band would come and play carols in our garden. We would have visitors and Mum and Dad would go visiting friends too. On Boxing Day there was a party for the children. We used to go and have a ride on the hurdy-gurdy. On 27 December there were races for children and mums and dads too. It all ended with the New Year's Eve Ball.

As I got older, I remember dancing under the stars and sleeping outside in the garden. All the beds went out in June until the monsoons came at the end of July/August - we ran out to play in it. It was such a relief after the scorching summer heat, everything turned green.

When I was 10 we were living in the plains in North India, in Jhansi, and I remember going to our grandparents, Mabel and Vincent Parker, for nearly three months in the summer. They lived in Coonor, in the hills, where it was a lot cooler. The journey took three days and three nights. We went on the 'blue mountain express' (as the train up the hills was called) and it went so slowly. Grandma's house was huge and was called Iona Lodge. It had a lovely garden and at the bottom was a two-storey cottage full of children's toys. It was heaven for us to be able to play with so many. Grandma and Grandad Parker had thirteen children (of which nine survived), so there were lots and lots of toys.

In 1947 India got home rule, so the British had to leave. It was a very sad day. The servants now had nowhere to live as they used to live in the servants quarters. We paid them, fed and clothed them before saying goodbye.

My family settled in Yorkshire. What a culture shock! After living on curries all my life, I found English food tasteless. The cold winters were awful to cope with. Worst of all, I had to get a job – European women didn't work in India.

Well, I survived. I am 82 years old and very happy in Yorkshire, but my life in India will always have a place in my heart. I hope other people reading this will have fond memories of their life in India too.

Competition - Win one of three Genealogical DNA tests

Last year FIBIS ran a competition awarding genealogical DNA tests to three members. This year we are able to repeat the competition and help **three** more FIBIS members explore their ancestry using DNA using a Family Finder test from Family Tree DNA.

Those of us researching ancestors in India often suspect that that the cause of a brick wall is an ancestor of Indian origin. A lack of documentary evidence can make this hard to prove, but DNA tests can sometimes help in these situations. The FIBIS DNA project was set up to assist people wishing to using DNA testing to explore their British Indian origins.

What is a Family Finder Test?

A Family Finder Test can identify living genetic relatives who share an ancestor with you up to 5 generations back. The test can be taken by men or women. Family Finder uses autosomal DNA (Chromosomes 1-22) and the X chromosome to identify regions of your DNA that are 'identical by descent' (IBD) with other members of the Family Tree DNA database. The amount of IBD DNA shared between two individuals is used to determine a relationship range and a suggested relationship.

The test also provides percentages of your ancestral make-up. For example it might say you are 90% European and 10% Central/South Asian. It might then break it down European further into 50% British Isles, 20% Central and Western Europe, 15% Scandinavian and 5% Southern European and Central/South Asian into 5% Eurasian Heartland and 5% Indian Tectonic. There are currently 22 population clusters in seven geographic groups used to evaluate your biogeographic ethnicity or ancestry.

Due to the nature of autosomal DNA, the test does not specify from which branch of your family tree your matches or the percentages of your geographic heritage derive.

Camilla Quint's story

Camilla won a DNA test in our competition last year. She describes what she wanted to find out and what her results told her.

> My family's connection with India is through my mother whose ancestors lived in Burma for several generations, but came there originally from India. The BMD records from Burma are fairly haphazard, with many from the upcountry towns missing or non-existent. By contrast, some of the Bengal records that relate to India are very precise and have helped me trace my male ancestors back to their UK roots.
>
> My maternal grandmother was Theodora Metcalfe née Green, who was born in Burma in 1891. The paternal side of Theodora's ancestry can be traced back through BMD records. William Green, a shoemaker/currier/leather merchant left England with his wife Pheobe in 1815 to work in the East India Company's factory in Bankipore, Patna. Sadly, he only survived till the birth of his third child in 1820. One of his grandsons, Theodorus Green, left Calcutta for Rangoon in 1879 for a job in the Government Secretariat Press. Here he lodged in a boarding house where my great grandmother, Sophie Ellis, lived with her aunt's family, the owners of the boarding house. He and my great grandmother were

soon married and had four children, though he died in 1891 before the birth of the youngest, who was my grandmother, Theodora.

My brick wall came through Theodora's mother, Sophie Ellis, born in 1867 in Myanoung, Arakan, Burma. Her father was James Ellis, a clerk in the District Commissioner's Office, first in Rangoon (from 1860), then in Myanoung (from 1865). His record as an uncovenanted civil servant describes him as 'born in India'. Oral family tradition stated that he came to Rangoon from Calcutta and his wife, Grace Rozario, died in childbirth. Beyond that, I had no firm information on James or Grace's origins.

I wondered if a DNA test would help me clarify my ancestry and so I entered the FIBIS competition last year. My entry focused on my desire to find out something about Grace Rozario's background. I had wondered if a mitochrondrial DNA test (mtDNA), which traces female line ancestry (matrilineal), might help me discover this unknown, maternal side of my family, tracing back through my mother, her mother Theodora Green, her mother Sophie Ellis and her mother Grace Rozario. The judges agreed that it could help, so I upgraded my prize to a full sequence mtDNA test.

My results arrived in June. My mtDNA haplogroup, which indicates the deep ancestral origin of my direct maternal line, and thus Grace's matrilineal ancestors, was given as M9a1b1. This shows that my maternal line originated in either western China, Myanmar (Burma), northeast India or the south Himalaya region. I was delighted with this result as it places Grace's ancestors in the same region that she lived and died.

Although paper records have been unable to tell me anything about Grace, DNA testing has been able to provide information about her ethnic background and place her ancestors in Burma or the region north of that country for many thousands of years.

How to enter

If you have hit a brick wall in your family history in India and think a DNA test might help then why not enter the competition?

The competition is open to **all** FIBIS members. To enter please submit 400-600 words on why you feel a DNA test would be useful in helping you with your British India research and include brief details of your family and your brick wall. If you feel a Y-DNA or mtDNA test will be more beneficial to your research please explain why and we may consider providing a discount off the relevant test in place of the Family Finder test. Send your entries to:

fibis-webmaster@fibis.org

Terms & Conditions

- All entrants must be FIBIS members.
- FIBIS trustees and their immediate family may not enter.
- The FIBIS Committee will pick the winning entrants and the judges' decision will be final with no correspondence being entered into regarding judging.
- The judges reserve the right not to award any free tests if the quality of entries justifies that action.
- The competition closes on 31 Dec 2015 and winners will be notified by 1 March 2016.
- Winners agree to having their stories publicised by FIBIS. Full test results will not be released to the public.

Review

Pick Up Your Parrots and Monkeys: The Life of a Boy Soldier in India by William Pennington. First published by Cassell UK 2003, paperback edition Phoenix, an imprint of Orion Books, (London 2004), ISBN-13: 978-0753817834

This very interesting and 'easy to read' autobiography covers the Army career of Temporary Captain Joseph William Pennington, Royal Artillery, 151372, from his entry as a Boy Trumpeter at age 14 in 1934 to his World War II experiences in Burma where he was awarded the Military Cross as a Forward Observation Officer. I found some of the details in his account very illuminating, as they cast light on aspects of life in the Army, and social conditions, of which I was quite unaware.

The first chapters cover Pennington's training at the Boys' Depot, Woolwich. He entered training aged 14 (the usual age), with the course lasting a year and split into musical training and horse training (trumpeters attended parades on a horse). The boys were subject to military discipline and other conditions which were harsh by today's standards and were not allowed to leave the Barracks for the first three months. At the commencement of training most of the boys were thin due to receiving inadequate food throughout their childhood, when poverty was so endemic. Generally there was no evening meal served, although food was plentiful at breakfast and the midday meal - to eat at night, you had to provide the food yourself.

Pennington was one of the best recruits and was appointed to the Royal Horse Artillery. He was sent to India, with a small draft of replacements. A chapter describes life on the troopship *HMT Neuralia*. Pennington was appointed to E Battery, Royal Horse Artillery at Meerut, the location of the British Army in India headquarters. He was aged 15 and after his training he did not have contact with anyone his own age on a day to day basis.

The title of the book is somewhat misleading, in that only four of seventeen chapters relate to the time when Pennington was a boy soldier in India. However they are particularly interesting for showing some aspects of life there- the attitude towards the native Indians, the self-contained life the soldiers led and their separation and isolation from what was going on elsewhere, the sadness of the volunteer soldiers who shot horses surplus to requirements upon mechanization of the unit in 1938.

Pennington returned to England in 1939 and was with the BEF evacuated from Dunkirk. He became an officer in 1940, aged 20. Subsequently he was very lucky his unit was diverted from Hong Kong, (where he would probably have become a POW). In Burma he was a Forward Observation Officer providing artillery support, at one time to the Worcester Regiment and subsequently with a company of Gurkhas. This was a very dangerous role and there were very few FOOs left at the end of the war. Indicating the brutality of the campaign in Burma, Pennington recalls a Gurkha beheading a Japanese soldier with a kukri, saving Pennington who was about to be killed with a sword. The author mentions seeing Gurkhas playing football with the severed heads of Japanese.

This book should be of interest to a wide range of readers.

Maureen Evers