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The Family Tree of our 1000th Member, Denielle West

By Lawrie Butler, FIBIS Research Officer

Denielle West became our 1000th member in July 2006 and was featured in our Journal 16. The Society decided that to celebrate the occasion, Denielle's family history should be investigated using mainly British Library sources. Denielle provided four pages of ecclesiastical events relative to the Long, Riggs, Brindley, Bance, Lowe, Neal and McCann families. These were based on her own investigations in the India Office Records (IOR) at the British Library and on *International Genealogical Index* (IGI) sources as well as odd Army records. Many of these records were incomplete since Denielle for family and distance reasons had been unable to continue the research. In particular, Denielle hoped that branches of the family tree could be extended back to the UK.

All the above family names with varying degrees of certainty have indeed been linked to UK origins (and elsewhere) and all through ranks in the Honourable East India Company (HEIC) and British Armies. Though only one officer (albeit from the ranks) appears, most of the other soldiers are of senior NCO status. As usual there are variations in name spellings over the years and there are repetitions of forenames like William, Richard and Elizabeth as well as a composite one, Cumberland John. Preservation of mothers' surnames as second forenames is common, although the source of one – Whalley – has not been found. With some lines arising in the 18th century, one is occasionally made aware that with Alphabetical Listings dating from a compilation in 1831 which automatically omitted veteran soldiers who had died by that date, only the Musters pre 1831 will reveal the details. Also in the 18th century, marriages with native Indians were encouraged and there are references to this, particularly in the marriage records. There are several instances of second marriages, indicating firstly the early deaths brought about by a harsh climate and a lack of hygiene and secondly the financial need to remarry at an early opportunity. Another unusual feature is the family tree spanning two Presidencies, since more commonly a family stayed within one.

The LONG family

Denielle had started from her grandfather (gf) Vincent Albert Riggs Long and traced back via ggf Frederick Henry Bance Long to William Long {2} and William Long, her ggggf whose first marriage shows him as a native dresser marrying Jane Pilly in Bangalore in 1816. Ten years later we find him as a Sub-Assistant Surgeon entering his third marriage. Trawling back through the baptisms, we find him as son of Richard and Elizabeth Long, Sergeant Pensioner. When one looks at the Alphabetical Index of Madras European Soldiers,¹ Richard does not appear indicating that he probably died before 1831. The marriage indexes show that on 16 Feb 1772, Richard Long, Invalid and Elizabeth were married at Cuddalore – the mention of a wife without a surname indicates she was probably a baptised Indian while the above mention of William as a 'native dresser' is further confirmation of local connections within the family.

¹ L/MIL/11/102. All references are to India Office Records (IOR) unless otherwise stated.

Tracing the origins of Richard Long (Denielle's gggggf) was a major exercise. The Musters of 1768-1770² list Long, Richard, England, joining Infantry, and arriving by the *True Briton* in 1768 and also a second Richard Long, via the *Pacifick*, also in 1768. Farrington's *EIC ships journals*³ show that both ships were in the same convoy but neither has a passenger list. Embarkation lists⁴ show no additional information regarding wives or birthplaces while Depot lists are not available at this date. Later Musters refer to one or the other of the Longs as a Lang! Summarising after a study of all the Musters 1768-1822:

- the Muster of 1803 Invalids and Pensioners – Richard Lang, England *True Briton* 1768.⁵
- the Muster of 1816-17 Register of Pensioners – Richard Lang, now Sergeant Pensioner, was 20 yrs old when landed from England via *True Briton* 1768.⁶
- the Muster of 1822 showing casualties during 1822 - Richard Lang, Sgt, aged 76 yrs....died 7 May 1822 and casualties by death include 'Richard Lang....who left Rs.54.As.11 [*roughly* £5.17s], bequeathed to Jane Bright, daughter', who received the money on 20 May 1822.⁷ Investigation of Bright marriages shows a James Bright who married an Ann Long, rather confusing, since one of Richard's daughters was an Anna! Yet James Bright's first child was named Richard.
- The funeral on 8 May 1822 was at Cuddalore, Richard LONG, Invalid Sergeant, being buried by a Protestant Missionary.⁸ It appears that Richard must have been an Invalid and perhaps a Pensioner for some 50 years! His age of 76 indicates a birthdate of 1746, not too adrift from the earlier Muster age of 20 years old in 1768.

All records point to Richard Long having come from 'England', but with no other detail further investigations of parish records are impossible. Similar 'vague' details also mean that one cannot trace the parentage of William's second wife, Dorothy Brookman. Dorothy (Dorothea) was baptised as one of three children of Frederic (sic) and Minja Brookman whose marriage has not been traced. Denielle has pointed out that her own father in an early investigation in Calcutta, had found that 'a Frederick Brookman, born in Germany, had arrived in India with the 14th Hanoverian Regt in 1792' (but was an Invalid in 1809).⁹ A check of other Musters in London reveals that Frederick in 1798 was a Corporal, aged 38 years and had arrived in Dec 1792.¹⁰ Without a precise location in Germany, one cannot trace any further.

² L/MIL/11/110.

³ Anthony Farrington, *Catalogue of East India Company ships' journals and logs, 1600-1834* (London, 1999) on the British Library open shelves.

⁴ L/MIL/9/86 (Oct 1767-Mar 1769).

⁵ L/MIL/11/122.

⁶ L/MIL/11/126.

⁷ L/MIL/11/129.

⁸ N/2/8/528.

⁹ L/MIL/11/124.

¹⁰ L/MIL/11/119.

The BRINDLEY/ RIGGS families

In 1887 Denielle's ggrandfather F H B Long married Charlotte A W Riggs who was a cousin, the daughter of Cumberland John Riggs and Charlotte Augusta Arabella Long, both of whom had been widowed. C J Riggs was the son of Joseph Riggs who had married an Elizabeth Augusta Brindley in 1820. On the marriage entry, the latter, unusually, is quoted as 'European Spinster' yet her parents on her baptism certificate are shown as Cumberland J Brindley {1}, a Conductor, and Mellian, probably a local girl. Even more curiously, in an attempt to locate where C J Brindley {1} had originated, I looked at the *East India Register*¹¹ for lists of Conductors but could only find one Brindley, a William. I looked at Casualties in Madras¹² and found that Conductor William Brindley had died on 20 Dec 1824 at Secunderabad. The Biographical Cards show the same but the Madras Burials¹³ show that Cumberland John Brindley also died at Secunderabad on 20 Dec 1824 – so I have referred to him as William (Cumberland John). William by a second marriage (no details apart from wife's name) had at least three children, one of whom was a Cumberland John, born in 1815, who also became a Conductor. Like Richard Long with no precise location in England, all we have for C J Brindley {1} in the 1810 Muster Effective Supernumerary List is:

*Brindley, C John – England – Madras – 1810.*¹⁴

Checking the Embarkation List¹⁵, we find there is no ship 'Madras' in 1810 and this is confirmed by the 1811 Madras Register and Farrington's Directory. But back to the *East India Register & Directory* of 1816, we find that CJB is now Conductor William Brindley!

Joseph Riggs appears to have been the first of his family to have come to Madras. The Alphabetical List of Europeans in Madras¹⁶ shows that he arrived in 1813 via the *General Stuart*. The Embarkation list¹⁷ shows Joseph Riggs, previously a clerk born in Bassishaw, Middlesex, attested on 10 Feb 1813 aged 18 years, embarked 11 Mar 1813 and landed at Fort St George on 10 Aug 1813. From the search engine 'Google' I found that Bassishaw was in the City of London and the Parish Registers of St Michael's Bassishaw are likely to be held by London Guildhall Manuscripts. A Muster of 1822¹⁸ when he was a Barrack Sergeant and 27 years old confirms his date of birth as 1795, but the Madras burial registers¹⁹ show that in 1832 he was aged 45 years and his date of birth appears to be 1787!

¹¹ *East India Register & Directory*, 1817.

¹² *Ibid*, 1824.

¹³ N/2/23/294.

¹⁴ L/MIL/11/124.

¹⁵ L/MIL/9/98.

¹⁶ L/MIL/11/102.

¹⁷ L/MIL/9/98.

¹⁸ L/MIL/11/129.

¹⁹ N/2/14/85.

The BANCE family

In 1847, William Long {2}, Denielle's gggrandfather married a Susan Elizabeth Bance, daughter of Michael Bance, Sergeant Major Pensioner of Bangalore and Elizabeth his wife. Checks of their children's records indicated that Michael was in HM 13th Light Dragoons – a British Army Regiment. He is listed in Crowder's book *British Army Pensioners Abroad*.²⁰ The fact that he was a Pensioner also suggested that a search of the National Archives Website would be useful, revealing:

*Michael Bance, Born Bethnal Green, London, Middlesex; served in 22nd Light Dragoons and 13th Lt Dragoons; discharged aged 48 years; served 1795-1827.*²¹

His full discharge papers revealed that he was discharged in consequence of chronic rheumatism and defective vision and his general conduct had been very good. The calculations for his pension as from 21 May 1828 were attached. Like Richard Long and William Brindley, Michael Bance had his first child via an assumed native Christian, Terimah and then went on to have two further marriages.

The LOWE family

Denielle already knew that her Lowe gggrandfather was Amos Lowe, born in Lincolnshire, England in 1850. After attesting at Wakefield in 1875, aged almost 22 years, he joined the 1st Battalion of the South Yorkshire Regiment of Light Infantry. He was discharged from the Army in 1885 at his own request on payment of £9.00 after serving 9 years. The same year he married Alice M McCann Neal. After a period as a Guard, he finished as a Colliery Manager, probably in the Burdwan area. While the burial details of Amos's wife have been located, those of Amos have not.

The NEAL family

There is a little uncertainty about the ancestor of Denielle's gggrandmother Neal. Firstly there was a ggguncle John Neal, about whom Dorian Leveque of the British Library's Reference Services has provided background information to Denielle's mother. John Neal was born in Chunar on 25 Nov 1834²² (but oddly he was only baptised on 27 Jan 1861) and was enlisted in India at Dum Dum on 25 Sep 1855, shortly after marrying Elizabeth McCann in Chunar. He progressed swiftly joining the Unattached List on 3 Nov 1858 as Sergeant, then becoming firstly Sub-Conductor on 31 Dec 1863 and Conductor on 3 April 1867. He was pensioned on 2 Mar 1871 and according to the Biographical Card Index, died in 1895 but no ecclesiastical record has been seen, neither is his death shown in the *Indian Army List* (IAL).

His brother, James, born 25 Aug 1837 advanced even more rapidly. The *Indian Army List* of Apr 1891 shows him as promoted to Honorary Captain, Deputy Commissary on 16 Sep

²⁰ Norman Kenneth Crowder, *British Army Pensioners Abroad, 1772-1899* (Baltimore MD Genealogical Pub, c1995) on the British Library open shelves).

²¹ WO 97/16 page 23 (The National Archives Website).

²² N/1/99/25.

1882 while IAL of Jan 1895 shows him as Honorary Major, Deputy Commissary, and being retired on 25 Aug 1892. Maybe his more rapid enhancement was because in 1861 he transferred to the Royal Artillery while John stayed with the Unattached List of the Bengal Army. I traced James's burial date in the Bengal N/1 records to 1907.²³ Then I thought of the L/MIL/14 series supposedly showing service records from around 1900 to 1947. What a welcome surprise it was when I found the complete service record²⁴ for James Neal. The first form is one entitled 'Attestation for EIC Service (Half Pay Bugler, Trumpeters and of Mixed Parentage)' – the first time I have seen an Attestation Form for the HEIC. At the age of 14 years 10 months, he was enlisted as a half pay recruit at Meerut on 25 Jun 1852. Later on 25 Jul 1856, having served 4 years as an 'Entertaining Bugler', he was re-enlisted at Thayetmyo (Burma) as bugler and after the Mutiny elected to join the Royal Artillery as a Trumpeter on 4 May 1861, transferring to the Unattached List on the 10 Mar 1865. Promoted Sergeant on 7 Apr 1866, he went to Sub-Conductor on 3 Jul 1866 and Conductor on 23 Sep 1869. He then transferred to 24 Brigade on 1 Sep 1871 and to 11 Brigade on 1 Jun 1875. Finally he was promoted Deputy Assistant Commissary on 21 Jan 1881, Assistant Commissary on 11 Aug 1882 and Deputy Commissary, Honorary Captain on 16 Sep 1882.

But his service record was not just about the 'dry bones' of service promotions. There is a letter from his Colonel notifying him of his wife's death on 12 Apr 1885 caused by a broken ankle. There is a report of the death of his youngest child at the age of 8 years 5 months during treatment in hospital. There is a copy of his marriage record as Bugler Neal and the baptism details of his 7 children.

The baptism record of John shows the father as Richard Neal while the marriage record of James shows the same. Richard's marriage record of 1825 shows him as 'soldier', while one of his daughter's baptisms (1832) shows him as Gunner, Veteran Company. 'Soldier' could be either of HM or HEIC regiments. An internet check of TNA WO97 records showed a Richard Neal from Leicester being attested on the 22 Dec 1834 so he could not be our Neal. The Alphabetical Annual Long Roll of NCO.s and Privates of the European Invalid Veteran Company, taken at Chunar on 1 Jul 1832 shows:

*Neale Richard, Gunner Artillery Invalid, age 45 years, from England (Balston, Leics.), attested Hinckley 11 Nov 1809; joined from 1st Artillery Company 18 Oct 1831.*²⁵

It is interesting that prior to 1831 he calls himself a soldier but post 1831 he shows up as a Gunner Veteran. Despite the change in surname spelling, he does appear to be our Richard Neal. The final twist in the tale is that in a Muster of 1842 he is referred to as Richard Neal, Gunner Artillery Invalids but said to be from Bolton, Lancaster – probably a transcription error. There are indeed many errors in the Muster details – including Calister for Balston, Leicester – all probably introduced by copying previous entries - but the

²³ N/1/341/204.

²⁴ L/MIL/14/5737.

²⁵ L/MIL/10/153.

additional identifying details of height, hair colour..., date of arrival, etc. confirm all are of Richard.

The McCANN family

The McCann family, like the Neal family, were based at Chunar so it is not surprising that there were at least two marriages between the families. The fact that both Richard Neal and James McCann were veterans probably drew the two families together. The Muster details of 1829 are as follows:

James McCann, Gunner, 4 Co., 5 Battalion, 30 years old, from Ireland, St James, Dublin. Enlisted (in HEIC) at Berhampore, 27 Dec 1828 for 3 years. From HM 47th Foot with previous service 7 yrs 313 days. ²⁶

He was invalided as from 2 Oct 1840. The Muster of Sep 1854 shows the Casualty Roll of the Pension Establishment, with his death on the 20 Jul 1854.²⁷

A Family Tree of Military Families

This is a typical family of the period yet with more than its fair share of military families. We have members of HM regiments and others of the HEIC with an interchange in both directions. There are at least four Conductors represented. There is a medical member of the military – William Long as a Senior Apothecary. Others include a druggist and a chemist. But above all, one is aware of the ‘harbingers of death’ – *filariasis*, *haematemesis*, effusions in the chest and numerous other afflictions too horrible to contemplate.

Summarising the origins of the families, these appear to be as follows:

Richard Long – England 1748

Frederic Brookman - Germany 1760

William (Cumberland John) Brindley – England 1777

Joseph Riggs - St Michael's, Bassishaw, London, c1787 (-1795). Records at Guildhall Library

Michael Bance – Bethnal Green, c1779. London Metropolitan Archives

Richard Neal(e) - Balston, Leics; Balstone, Lancs; Calister, Leics; etc, c1787

James McCann – St James, Dublin, c.1804

Amos Lowe – Lincs, England, 1850

With the limited records available, it is unlikely that the search in England or anywhere else will be anything like as interesting as this one has been.

Thank you, Denielle.

²⁶ L/MIL/10/150.

²⁷ L/MIL/10/175.

Researching Officers who served in the East India Company Army

By Richard Morgan¹

Introduction

History of the EIC's army

The East India Company's Army began in 1668 when the Crown handed over a regiment already at Bombay to the East India Company who then reconstituted it as the Bombay European Regiment. By 1760 the Bombay Regiment had long been disbanded and there were only 4 infantry regiments in Bengal, and 6 in Madras. If these regiments were up to full strength, they might amount to some 200 officers. Clive's forces at Plassey in 1757 are estimated at no more than 3,000 men. When the Company needed additional troops it had to hire them from the British Army.

The majority of the Indian regiments were not raised by the Company until the late 18th and early 19th century, and on the eve of the Indian Mutiny in 1857 there were about 140 regiments in Bengal, about 40 in Bombay, some 65 in Madras, 16 in the Punjab and 4 more in the Hyderabad Contingent. These regiments included infantry, light cavalry, irregular and local troops, artillery (horse and foot) and engineers (sappers and miners or pioneers). The 'Contingents' were regiments of the native princes loyal to the Company. For almost all regiments the other ranks and NCOs were Indians and the officers Europeans. On 1 November 1858 the East India Company ceased to exist and many of its original regiments also disappeared. Those that remained were transferred to the Government of India and in 1861 many of these were merged with the British Army. Most of the native infantry and light cavalry regiments of the Bengal Army had mutinied. On the other hand the native infantry of Madras and Bombay had almost all remained loyal and survived the Company period. But the native artillery regiments of all three presidencies were disbanded and their European troops of all arms were transferred to the British Army.

It is to be noted that the three Presidencies - Bengal, Madras and Bombay - into which the East India Company's India was divided, operated to a considerable degree separately from each other and an officer recruited into the Bengal Army, for example, would be unlikely to transfer into the Madras or Bombay Army. It was only in 1895, long after the East India Company had ceased to be, that the separate Presidency armies were finally amalgamated into a single Indian Army.

¹ This is the edited text of a lecture given to the FIBIS 'Open' Meeting on 25 November 2006. Richard Morgan is the editor of *The Diary of an Indian Cavalry Officer 1843-63: John Hatfield Brooks* (his great-great-uncle) available from Pagoda Tree Press, 4 Malvern Buildings, Fairfield Park, Bath, BA1 6JX (email: hughrayner@pagodatreepress.com) and reviewed in *FIBIS Journal* 12, p33. A companion lecture on researching soldiers was given by Peter Bailey, based on his book *Researching Ancestors in the East India Company's Armies*: see p45 of this *Journal* for details and review.

For the period before about 1760, when as we have seen the East India Company's forces only amounted to some 10 regiments, there seem to be no surviving lists of officers, so the only hope is to plough through other records, including grave inscriptions, East India Company Military Correspondence with accounts of campaigns, etc.

Selection and promotion of officers in the EIC Army

By the latter part of the eighteenth century, officers were recruited directly for service in the EIC army. As Philip Woodruff in *The Men Who Ruled India: The Founders* remarks, the Civil Service was predominantly middle class. The aristocracy did not usually figure among their number. The same is true of the Company's Army. However occasionally we find an officer from a poor background who presumably had the good fortune to be known to a Director of the EIC. Such a one is Maj-Gen Thomas Murray 1781-1846 whose father was a hairdresser in Edinburgh.

At least in theory entry was not by purchase as it was in the British Army, but by nomination by a Director of the EIC. In practice some of the Directors openly sold nominations. Cornwallis who became Governor General in 1786 abolished the sale of commissions and required that only nomination should continue. We shall see that young men, when applying to become officers, were required to say on oath that money had not changed hands to assist their nomination.

Promotion – known as ‘the Step’ - was on the dead-men's shoes principle. In an army where sudden death in battle has always to be a possibility, this is a better mechanism than it would be in a civilian organisation. The effect of the climate on European constitutions and the fact that just about everyone suffered from malaria must have improved the opportunities for promotion still further. Furthermore many officers preferred to retire from the army before the climate or warfare finally caught up with them, and the usual mechanism for this was to invite their more junior colleagues, who stood to gain from their retirement, to buy them out. So although selection for the army was by nomination only, the Step usually included an element of purchase.

An example may be helpful: in 1858 the junior officers of the 1st Bengal Light Cavalry agreed to buy out Capt Siddons for Rs.3500 – about £350 sterling at the time, but in purchasing power worth perhaps 100 times that in today's money. His junior colleague Capt Brooks contributed Rs.2000 (£200) as his share. I think the Lieutenants must have contributed less. Siddons duly retired on 1 Jan 1857 - and mortified his erstwhile colleagues by dropping dead only 6 days later.

Printed Sources

I propose to divide the sources into two classes – printed and unprinted – ie manuscript. Perhaps illogically, I propose to deal with printed sources first because for the most part they are a little more widely available - at the Society of Genealogists' library, for example, or on the open shelves of the Asia Pacific and Africa Collections (APAC) (formerly Oriental

and India Office Collections: OIOC) at the British Library (BL). My recommendation is to use these sources first before turning to the manuscript sources.

1760-1800

For the period immediately before 1800, Edward Dodwell and James Samuel Miles, who for 30 years and 20 years respectively worked in the Military Pay Department, wrote an *Alphabetical List of the Officers of the Indian Army 1760-1834, corrected to Sep 30 1837*. The list is not actually very alphabetical. All the names beginning with a particular letter are grouped roughly alphabetically usually within the date of the officer's entry into the army. (A similar semi-alphabetical arrangement is used for the indexes to pre-1858 Wills at the Family Records Centre.) The list is divided on the traditional basis of the three Presidencies and contains perhaps 6,500 Bengal names, 4,000 Madras ones (Madras had the four Mysore wars (1769-99) in this period) and 2,000 from Bombay. For each officer his career is recorded up the ladder of promotion to Major-General if he ever reached that dizzy height, and there is a column at the end for comments - usually relating to why the officer no longer received his pay (death or dismissal or his transfer elsewhere).

For example, we learn that W G Johnston of the Madras Army died Sep 12 1834 at Vizianagram - a useful piece of information, since it may be worth looking for his grave - a list has been published of Vizianagram graves by BACSA (British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia). Other examples include Thomas Gore (Bengal Army) who

‘Died on board the *Bee* on passage from Java to Malacca in 1812’

or James Bates Terrell (Bengal Army)

‘Killed Feb 21 1816 near Muckwanpore’

or Thomas Pender (Madras Army)

‘Cashiered Oct 27 1828 in India’

Presumably the information is all derived from the pay records Dodwell and Miles handled for so many years, so it has nothing about the regiment the officer served in nor the battles he fought (unless he happened to die in one). The British Library open shelf number is OIR355.332. The Society of Genealogists also has a copy – all the Society's material is on shelf IND/ARM/LST unless otherwise mentioned.

In 1909 a manuscript was discovered and published entitled *Government of Madras - Military Department List of the Army for 1787 corrected up to 1793*. A similar list for 1801 is bound up with the Society of Genealogists' copy of the 1787 list, so for these limited periods for the Madras Presidency this further assistance is available. It is to be noted this deals only with Madras - nothing for Bengal or Bombay. Again the records show only the dates successive ranks were reached and a few sparse comments in the last column, similar to those in Dodwell and Miles. There are about 1,000 names in each of the two lists and there is an index to each. This volume is in the Society of Genealogists' Library (a

largish red volume labelled on the spine *Madras Army Lists 1787 and 1801*) though I cannot find it on the open shelves at the British Library.

Another useful publication is V C P Hodson's *List of the Officers of the Bengal Army, 1758-1834*, published in 4 volumes - the first two in 1927-28 and the last two in 1946-47. Hodson seems to have used the lists I have just referred to and then fleshed the entries out with information from such publications as *Burke's Landed Gentry*, *Burke's Peerage*, *Walford's County Families*, newspapers, etc. I mentioned above that the majority of officers were upper middle class, and these aids to the genealogy of such people should always be consulted, along with the lists for Oxford and Cambridge Graduates – Joseph Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses* and J Venn's *Alumni Cantabrigienses*. All these are to be found at the Society of Genealogists' Library and elsewhere. Hodson usefully makes clear which of these additional sources he uses, and they are always worth checking.

An example from Hodson is Major Robert Wilberforce Bird.

BIRD, Robert Wilberforce (1814-1888). Major. 4th N.I. b. Benares 25 May 1814. Cadet 1834. Arrived in India 16 July 1835. Ensign 24 Feb. 1835. Lieut. 31 Mar. 1841. Capt. 1 July 1848. Retired 1 Apr. 1856. Hon. Major 1 Apr. 1856. d. Great Malvern 29 Apr. 1888.

Of Barton House, Shipston-on-Stour. J.P. for Suffolk and cos. Gloucester, Worcester, and Warwick, lord of the manor of Barton-on-the-Heath, Moreton-in-Marsh. Son of Robert Mertins Bird, B.C.S., member of the Sudder board of revenue, Allahabad (who was son of Robert Bird, of Taplow, Bucks.), and Jane his wife, dau. of Rev. David Brown, provost of Coll. of Fort William, Bengal. m. Elizabeth Maria. (She died Leamington 15 Dec. 1893.)

Services: Ensign d.d. 12th N.I. 21 July 1835; do. 65th N.I. 24 Aug. 1835. Posted to 4th N.I. 24 Sept. 1835. Actg. Intr. & Qmr. 13th N.I. 27 May 1840. Junior Asst. to Comr. in Saugor 24 Mar. 1841. Leave s.c. to Cape 28 Feb. 1842. Asst. to A.G.G., S.W. frontier, 22 Jan. 1844. First Asst. to Resdt. at Lucknow 25 Feb. 1846; do. to Supt., Ajmere, 28 Apr. 1852.

Refs.: *Walford*, 1900, p. 86. *The Times*, 2 May 1888.

The four volumes total about 2,500 pages and list some 8,000 or so Bengal officers - nothing on Madras or Bombay. It does not deal with officers who joined the service after 1834, but as we have seen with Major Bird, for those who joined before that date and

continued after it, it tells the whole story. The British Library open shelf number is again OIR355.332. The Society of Genealogists also has a set.

The next item is not a printed source but this seems the logical point to note that Hodson's work was evidently originally prepared on '5 by 3' cards as part of a larger work involving the other two Presidencies and covering pretty well everyone he could discover with any kind of official position in India – that is to say, including civil servants, officers of EIC Ships, etc. Furthermore the cards cover at least 100 years more than the book - up to at least the 1930s. The whole card index, arranged in a single alphabetical series comprises, I estimate, perhaps some 50,000 names, and is now at the Templer Study Centre (formerly Reading Room) at the National Army Museum, where it is available for examination. It is a very valuable but underutilised resource. The bad news is that the Templer Study Centre is

open only 2 or 3 days a week (Thursdays, Fridays and the 1st and 3rd Saturdays each month).

1800-1858

If an officer served after 1803, the *East-India Register and Directory* lists all officers and their regiments. The publication was usually published twice a year (January and July). In 1844 it became *The East-India Register and Army List*, and continued till Independence in 1947 under a variety of other titles.

The lists under whatever name are for the earlier period divided into the three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras and Bombay, with the regiments listed in numerical order. Additional sections added over the years covered veterinary officers and surgeons, with officers retired after full service in 1812 and chaplains added in 1814. From 1821 a list of casualties was added as well as information on early retirement, resignations and dismissals.

There is a useful index for each army in each Presidency up to 1858. Officers are listed within surname by rank not alphabetically, so Smith, Arthur may well come after Smith, John if John was a Captain and Arthur only an Ensign. Pagination originally was within presidencies - ie Madras and Bombay each started again at page 1. Like British Army lists, it often included pages marked a, b, c, etc.- eg 123, 123a, 123b, etc so as to disturb the pagination as little as possible. The effect of this is that if you fail to find an officer on the page indicated - say page 231 by the index, it may be worth looking at the previous issue and seeing what regiment was on page 231 then, since often the indexers had failed to notice that the 45th Bengal Native Infantry was now on page 232 not 231! This also meant that the type for the index was used again and again from year to year and became pretty worn. Even after 1858 when the index for each Presidency is combined into one enormous index of over 60 pages, the type and paper are often poor. A good magnifying glass can sometimes be useful. Another trick to save space was to set a long name in smaller type so as not to disrupt the layout. Again the magnifying glass can help.

The information is by regiment in much the same way as *Hart's Army Lists* for Britain, with the regiment's current station, its uniform ('facings orange'), and gives the officers in order of seniority with dates of their promotion, and a useful 'Remarks' column for such items as 'On furlough', temporary transfers such as 'Gov Gen [ie Governor-General's] bodyguard', etc. Irregular regiments were included but not volunteers, so for example during the Mutiny the scratch force called the Bengal Yeomanry Cavalry appears nowhere in the lists.

A nearly complete run of all these lists is available at British Library open shelf number OIR354.54 and at the Templer Study Centre at the National Army Museum, and the Society of Genealogists has several volumes including a good run from 1818-1859.

Lists for the Presidencies

There were other lists, which also shed light on Indian Army Officers. Madras led the way with a *Madras Register* first published in 1799 'compiled for the benefit of the Male Asylum and Printed at the Asylum Press, by the Boys of the Charity' at the price of 4 Pagodas (which later became more prosaically 14 Rupees). Ceylon came briefly under the Presidency of Madras so for the first two issues Ceylon officers also appear. Again the information is in much the same layout as *Hart's*. The BL open shelf No. is OIR954.8.

For Bombay there was the *Bombay Kalendar and Register* begun in 1806. *Kalendar* became *Calendar* in 1826. It continued from 1829 till 1868 under the title of *Bombay Calendar and Almanac*. A bonus is the inclusion of volunteer regiments (local Fencibles - some 30 names) and even the Portuguese Militia. The BL open shelf No. is OIR954.792.

For Bengal, although there are some publications, dating from 1813, comparable to the *Madras Register* and *Bombay Calendar and Almanac*, they are somewhat sporadic and in my view not specially useful. More useful is a work by a certain Thomas Carnegie Anderson in the Adjutant General's office: *Ubique, the Service of the Officers of H.M.'s Bengal Army* (Calcutta, 1863) published by himself, evidently as a labour of love.² It gives only Bengal officers still in service in 1863. Thus the many who died in the Mutiny are not present. Unfortunately Anderson gives only initials, not Christian names. The regiments are those which the officer was in before the reorganisation of 1863.³ But in addition to the now familiar dates of achieving various ranks, he gives quite a lot of detail about campaigns and mentions (but does not identify) medals. Brevet-Major J H Brooks, P.H. [*Passed Hindustani examination?*], late 1st Bengal European Cavalry furnishes an example:

BREVET-MAJOR J. H. BROOKS, P. H., late 1st Bengal European Cavalry.

Cornet, 30 Jan. 43—Lieut., 16 Oct. 45—Captain, 20 Feb. 53—Bt.-Major, 20 July 58.

SERVICE.—Major Brooks served at the battles of Maharajpore, 1843. *Bronze Star*. Allawal, 1846. *Medal*. And during the Punjab Campaign, including the passage of the Chenab and actions of Chillianwallah and Goojerat, 1848-49. *Medal*. Served with the Sarun Field Force in 1857-58. Present at the battle of Sonepore, 26th December 1857, in

² [Military charge of Gorucknath Regiment of Goorkhas, at the battle of Phoolpore, 20th February 1858. In Military charge of the Ramdul Regiment of Goorkhas, and at the battles of Amorah, 5th March and 17th April 1858. In Military charge of Buruk Regiment of Goorkhas. *Medal and Brevet-Major*.] of the This dated British Army.

Anderson's own entry is laconic, but does tell us proudly:

Captain ANDERSON served for thirteen months prior to entering the service as a 'Special Constable' during the 'Chartist Riots,' for which he received the thanks of the Queen.

The volume was re-issued in a limited edition by J B Hayward and Sons of Polstead, Suffolk in 1985 and is available on the shelves of the Society and the British Library at OIR355.332.

Soldiers of the Raj

Mention must be made of a curious extension to the *Indian Monumental Inscription Series* on European tombstones which were helpfully collected by the Indian Government from 1896 onwards. Discussion of this series as a whole lies outside the present article but one volume must be considered. Vol II of the *Series*, for the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Kashmir and Afghanistan, was published in two parts in Lahore in 1910 and 1912. The first part is the conventional list of about 1,000 inscriptions, but the second part is devoted to quite detailed and lengthy biographies of many of those involved – many of them pre-1858 officers in the old EIC.

From this I discovered the strange career of Capt Samuel Boileau Goad, whom I knew from other sources to have been a difficult man - as late as 1850 he challenged a fellow-officer to a duel. But I was unprepared to find that during his 24 year service he managed to get himself court-martialled no less than three times: first in 1832 for having 'fabricated and circulated malicious and false reports' concerning his commanding officer. He was acquitted, but the C-in-C decided that the acquittal was not supported by the evidence and declined to endorse it. Less than a year later he was accused of 'conduct highly insubordinate to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief', and also for 'conduct highly insubordinate and disrespectful to his immediate Commanding Officer'. If this looks like a re-run of his first trial it was successful, for he was found guilty on the first charge and was suspended from rank and pay for one year. Yet two years later he was again on trial because he 'upon frivolous and unjust pretences refused to make reparation' to another officer in a personal dispute, conducted in a Meerut newspaper. He was again acquitted. When he finally retired he went into the real estate business in the hill station of Simla, and at the age of 70 committed suicide.

The source of all this wealth of biographical material remains a mystery but I suspect that the author - he had the romantic name of George William de Rhé-Philippe - had access to newspapers of the period.

For some reason de Rhé-Philippe never repeated - or was never allowed to repeat - the biographical details in any subsequent volume, but we must be grateful for what we have. The volume was reissued in 1989 under the title *Soldiers of the Raj* by the London Stamp Exchange at the somewhat steep price of £85, but has now been reissued at a more reasonable price by the Naval & Military Press. Copies are for sale through FIBIS. It is also

on the British Library open shelves OIR929.5 and in the Society of Genealogists' Library at IND/M38.

Manuscript sources

The records I have considered so far are the printed sources. The manuscript sources comprise chiefly cadet papers – when a cadet was admitted to the army – service papers, and military fund papers concerned with his pension rights and those of his dependants.

Military Cadet Papers - Indexes

There are two types of non-printed service record which we should consider. When an officer entered the Army his previous career at the Company's college at Addiscombe and elsewhere was also recorded. For Madras and Bombay, indexes were prepared by an eccentric Lt-Col Hubert Kendall Percy-Smith. Percy-Smith's index to Madras is a typescript dated 1981, divided into two parts: 1750-1834 and 1835-60, with over 6,000 names arranged alphabetically giving for each cadet surname and Christian name, the year he entered the service, his year of birth, year of death and the file reference for his cadet papers. The index to the Bombay cadet papers, compiled 1990, is similar, again divided into two parts: 1750-1834, and 1835-60 and comprises a mere 1,700 names. Copies of these Indexes are at Society of Genealogists. For Bengal we do not have any Percy-Smith index.

The original indexes to all three Presidencies are of course at the British Library (past the low bookcases and filing cabinets on the left as you enter, in bright red binders in the fifth wall bay along). They can also be consulted on the Access to Archives (A2A) website www.a2a.org.uk. The documents themselves are almost all available on microfilm in the third cabinet on the left as you enter the room. For those papers which have not been microfilmed access is to the original records which can be ordered on the British Library's system in the usual way. The reference will end with an ' f '. This is the folio number in the top right hand corner of the page where the candidate is approved, so you have to go back a few pages (folios) to find the start of his entry.

Military Cadet Papers

The Cadet Papers themselves at L/MIL/9 record a young officer's admission into the army. Typically in the period of the East India Company and just after (up to 1860) they consist of:

- i A petition by the applicant;
- ii A nomination by a Director of the Company on the recommendation of either the applicant's relation or simply a friend who has the ear of the Director;
- iii Optionally there may also be letters in support of the application, including where relevant a letter from the East India Company's Military Seminary at Addiscombe in Surrey;

iv A brief questionnaire ('examination') which:

a) asks about the applicant's education with the name of his school and the type of education he had. At Wimborne Grammar school in Dorset Theodore Longworth (1819) studied 'English, Latin, Greek and French with Writing and Accounts' - no mention of Maths!

b) asks about his parentage. Young Longworth wrote 'My father and mother are dead. I have an Uncle who is a Merchant in Manchester'.

c) asks bluntly whether the applicant has paid anyone for his place - the suspicion of corruption was never far away in the old East India Company;

v Affidavit as to birth usually with supporting certified copy of baptism - this was especially important as the Company generally did not accept applicants over 22 years of age;

vi Parent's or Guardian's certificate as to the accuracy of the affidavit.

For one small group of cadets there can be considerable extra information. There was a sort of scholarship for the sons of 'Persons who have served in the military or civil services of Her Majesty or the East India Company' and this carried on after the end of the Company from 1858-1930 under the title of Queen's (or King's as the case may be) India Cadets. The cadet papers for these (L/MIL/9/292-301) are also indexed in a red binder in the fifth bay. As an example of their genealogical richness, Francis Henry Smalpage (1873) was we are told the son of Frederick Ely Smalpage, Captain Adjutant in HM Bengal Artillery. Questions as to the length of the father's service, the appointments held, etc, tell us that the father entered the service in 1847, and died at Agra in 1864, leaving 2 sons (of whom Francis Henry is the elder) and two daughters. The application is made for Smalpage by his aunt Mrs Frances Alicia Morehead of Easington Rectory, Saltburn. She also tells us that his grandfather Maj Francis Smalpage drowned in 1838 'in the Rainy Season'; that his uncle F J Smalpage was killed at Aliwal (a battle in the Sikh Wars in 1846); and another uncle T H Smalpage died in China 'from the effects of exposure during the Mutiny'. If you are interested in the Smalpages all this is spectacularly useful (see extract from Smalpage's application below, IOR ref: L/MIL/9/299: f105).

4. Specify the length and nature of the Father's Services, the appointments held by him, and the number of his children, particularising the number of sons and daughters respectively.

Father entered the service *in 1847*

Retired

Died *at Agga East India 1864. and*
was Adjutant of his Battery at
Mooltan during the Mutiny, was
much exposed during that time. He
left 2 sons. 2 daughters with nothing
but their pensions to depend upon.
He is the eldest son Francis Henry
Smalpage on whose behalf I this
next of kin & Father's sister make
this application for a Queen's Indian
Cadetship. His Grandfather
Major Francis Smalpage was drowned
1838 in going his appointment in the
Royal Service. His Uncle J. F. Smalpage
was killed at Alwal, another Uncle
Major J. H. Smalpage died in China from
the effects of exposure during the Mutiny.

5. State any facts you may desire to bring to notice regarding the present circumstances of the Family.

I have 4 children, 2 sons have been brought up &
educated by me their Aunt & have
no means but that they are entitled
to from the India House.

Service papers

The service papers comprise an informative group of documents in the series L/MIL/10-12 for the three Presidencies Bengal, Madras and Bombay. For the East India Company period, these list promotions including posts such as Adjutant or Quarter-Master and Interpreter, as well as the 'step', i.e. the ladder of promotion. They are indexed in the red binders at the British Library, though after the initial entry you will have to go through the annual volumes for each year using the italic number, which the index provides. Again these indexes can also be consulted on the A2A website, and indeed an A2A search will pick out the relevant annual

volumes without you having to check each one.

At L/MIL/10/34.9 we find that Lt Archibald Impey of the Bengal Engineers attended the Company's Military Seminary at Addiscombe. This included a year at Chatham with the Royal Engineers studying military surveying, etc. At Addiscombe young Impey won prizes: for Mathematics, Military Drawing, Military Surveying, Hindustani and French. What was less admirable was that he was condemned

to lose one step in the rank of Ensign Cadets to stand below Cadet Walker, as a mark of the Court's [of Directors] disapproval of his misconduct in copying certain surveys of land while at Chatham from those of two other Cadets.

Another example is Lt Hugh Rose of the 3rd Bengal Native Infantry, who had joined in 1843. Information about him is sparse till the 1850 volume when we learn with astonishment:

Severely censured for having asserted that the Editor of *Mofussilite* Newspaper was drunk at a ball and when threatened with personal chastisement for making assertions prejudicial to his (the editor's) character applied for a guard to protect him from the insolence of the said Editor such conduct implying a want of spirits unbecoming.

And from the Madras Presidency, Capt John Shepherd's entry (much abbreviated):

slightly wounded in Action with the Burmese at Wattygoon near Proome on the 16th November 1825, under Major Evans' command of the 22nd Regiment. Appointed 1st Battalion Pioneers 18th February '42. Has passed a most creditable examination in Hindoostanee and is entitled to the reward 8 March 1831. Permitted to return to Europe on 12 April 1832. Sailed 11 May 1832 "*Orontes*". Forwarded for submission to the Court of Directors a memorial on the subject of the recent diminution of his Staff allowance Mil. Cons. 6th Decr '36. Major Hutchinson Commdg 24th N.I. [Native Infantry] reports that Capt Shepherd is 'a very good officer and does his duty well'. Forwarded a Memorial from him on the subject of his removal from the 24th N I to the 8th. 5 Nov '39. Court states that the applications of Capt Shepherd for an exception in his favor cannot be complied with. ... an active intelligent and excellent officer who know his duty well but is discontented, irascible and requires management.

All this gives a wonderfully vivid picture of the man.

Military Fund (Pension) Papers

At the other end of his career an officer in the East India Company service during the first half of the 19th century had a record kept for pension and hardship fund purposes of his spouse(s) and children.

First there was the Lord Clive Fund for invalid officers and widows 1769-1885 (L/AG/21/10, L/AG/23/2). Mr Anthony Farrington (whose name will be well known to all who use the India Office Records) has put together an index of the approximately 320 names (a slim blue binder, labelled 'Lord Clive's Fund' in the fourth bay). Capt Frederic Ely Smalpage is there with his widow's name and the date of her death: Amelia, 19 Oct 1875.

For the earlier 19th century, each of the three Presidencies had a Military Fund - in effect an army pension fund. If an officer was killed, his widow, infant sons and daughters up to the age of marriage could expect to benefit. Thus the Fund needed to know an officer's dates of birth and death, his marriage(s) with name (not always the maiden name) of his wife/wives, her birth year, the year of the marriage and her date of death. Children are all listed (including still born), with names and ages of all up to the age of 21, date of any

death before that age, and in the case of daughters either the date of marriage or date of death.

These records were considered financial rather than military so appeared in the L/AG/23 (for Accountant General who was the Chief Finance Officer in the India Office) series. The papers at L/AG/23/ are followed by the number 6 for Bengal, 10 for Madras, and 12 for Bombay. For Bengal the Fund runs from 1824, for Madras from 1808, and for Bombay from 1816. These dates may seem a bit restrictive but the Fund in fact contains information outside these rather narrow limits. All officers who were in the army at the time the Fund began joined, so an officer who was a Cadet in the 18th century can be included. Similarly unmarried daughters who lived well into the 20th century are included.

The format of these records varies according to Presidency. Bengal records are hard to use and disappointing in the amount of information in one place. Some intellectual sadist devised a decimal date system whereby the year is divided into 1000 so that June 1 1843 is expressed as 1843.414! If you can work your way through this, you may as a bonus find some clue as to the address of a beneficiary though it is usually only a place name - eg Paddington.

Bombay records are a little easier, with a proper alphabetic index in L/AG/23/12/16, but the best is Madras. Madras has a digest of all the nearly 6,000 records photocopied from index cards typed up in 1981 by Mr Farrington (yet again) and Ms Margaret Makepeace, and bound in a fat black volume on the open shelves at the British Library labelled *Madras Military Fund - Rights of Subscribers and Families* (OIR 355.332).

You can check this against the original volume at L/AG/23/10/2. It is huge, bound in brass at the top, and weighs at least 6 kilos, with a cover over 500 cms high! Its index is very odd but easy to use once you get the hang: names are grouped by initial letter, then by number of syllables, then divided by the first vowel. If that sounds complicated consider trying to find an Officer called Thompson. Thompson consists of two syllables so ignore the monosyllabic Tait, Timms, Tonks, etc and start on the two-syllable names which follow them. Thompson's first vowel is 'o', so ignore Taylor, Treadgold, Tilney. Thompson will be in the next batch of T...o names. Beyond Thompson will be Turner and Tyler and then three-or-more syllable names like Tanqueray, Thirkettle, and Tomkinson!

For Lancelot F C Thomas we find his dates of birth, retirement and death, the first names, dates of birth, marriage and death for two wives (Christian names only), dates of birth of two sons and five daughters with dates of marriage of four of the daughters (one married twice), and dates of death for the unmarried daughter and one son who died under 21 - information surely well worth looking for.

Conclusion

I have touched on only some of the main sources of information. There remain plenty of others such as inscriptions on graves, wills, Indian letters and journals, and memoirs especially about the Mutiny, etc. Reference must also be made to Peter Bailey's excellent *Researching Ancestors in the East India Company Armies* (see p45).

Death on the Pale Horse: William Mayne and the Mayne military tradition in India

By David Gore

The family of the late Rupert Mayne (1910-2001) 'flocked into India from 1761 onwards, leaving two graves in Darjeeling, two in Allahabad, one in Maharashtra, one in Meerut, one in Bangalore, one in Akola and another in Lucknow'.¹ Rupert's pride in the part played by his ancestors in India's history is reflected in his stories of their courage and sacrifice.

William Mayne, 1818-1855, Bengal Infantry and Irregular Cavalry

Ever since Alexander the Great invaded India through the Khyber Pass, the North-West Frontier with its mountain passes has been seen as a vulnerable border. India's frontier region is arid, mountainous and cut by valleys, which are oven-hot in summer and freezing in winter, and above them rise 'hills' of up to 6000 feet. Its people are a troublesome miscellany of armed tribes, generically described as 'Pathans', who were invariably at odds



William Mayne

with each other or, when united by their fierce Islamic faith, with the British – or whoever was trying to bring the present into their 13th century lives. It is no surprise that Osama bin Laden is said to be hiding out somewhere in this wild region.

Just west of the Khyber Pass on the hot dusty road to Kabul lies the town of Jalalabad. There the great fort was for centuries 'vital ground' in the bloody campaigns and skirmishes of British and Indian troops protecting India's borders. It was into this inhospitable environment that a young Lieutenant, William Mayne, arrived in 1840 to join Jalalabad garrison during the First Afghan War.

William led the Irregular Cavalry contingent at Jalalabad. He was a fine horseman and always rode out on a handsome grey charger, a distinctive figure to the enemy watching from the hills. In time they came

to mark him well. He had a huntsman's eye for country and used his cavalymen to such good effect that on foraging expeditions he was often able to surprise the enemy with the

¹ Mayne family papers provided by the late Rupert Mayne, and as quoted in *Plain Tales from the Raj*, editor Charles Allen (André Deutsch, 1975).

speed and ferocity of his attacks. The Pathans became very wary of him, and began to refer to him as 'Death on the Pale Horse'.

Young William Mayne distinguished himself in the bloody but successful defence of his garrison in that war, and he was there to see the grim disaster that ended it. On 13 January 1842 a lone rider, Dr Brydon, exhausted and on a failing horse, was brought into Jalalabad fort by William (a scene recorded in a famous painting by Elizabeth Butler). Brydon was one of the few survivors from the garrison at Kabul of 4,500 British and Indian troops and their 12,000 camp followers who had been slaughtered by the Afghans, or had frozen to death in the deadly cold of the mountain passes. For many days anxious eyes continued to scan the horizon from the walls of Jalalabad for other survivors. By night fires were built and bugles were sounded to guide them in. A few sepoy soldiers eventually struggled in but Brydon was the sole European survivor to reach Jalalabad.²

Such was William's grisly introduction to warfare on the North-West Frontier. It was the start of a dangerous career during which four major wars and many subsidiary campaigns were fought on the Indian sub-continent. William was in the thick of it and was many times mentioned in despatches. He had his horse killed under him eleven times, yet he survived unmarked for sixteen years until he died in Cairo on his way home. 'Fever and dysentery have too surely effected that which the bullets of the enemy were never able to achieve and his gallant spirit is at last laid low' says the inscription on his tomb. William was one of many members of the Mayne family in India whose courage and panache brought them recognition - and to some of them a quick death.

Augustus Mayne, 1829-57, Bengal Horse Artillery

For nearly two centuries, Mayne son had followed father to India in the service of the Empire. Among them was young Augustus Otway Mayne of the Bengal Horse Artillery who was killed at the Relief of Lucknow in 1857. The great Lord Roberts, on finding his body, 'took his dear friend Mayne out at early dawn and dug his grave and buried him in his blue frock-coat and long boots, and, as they laid him there, leant down and fixed his eyeglass into his eye as he always wore it in the heat of the fray. His grave now lies on the seventh fairway at Lucknow Golf Course, a cause of great frustration to golfers'.³

Augustus was one of six brothers, all of whom were in India during the Mutiny. Only two lived to return home again - Frederic Mayne, a chaplain in Bengal, and Jasper who served in the Madras Engineers. The Indian Mutiny was a blaze that started among native troops; it spread rapidly and took the British nearly two years and many deaths finally to quell.

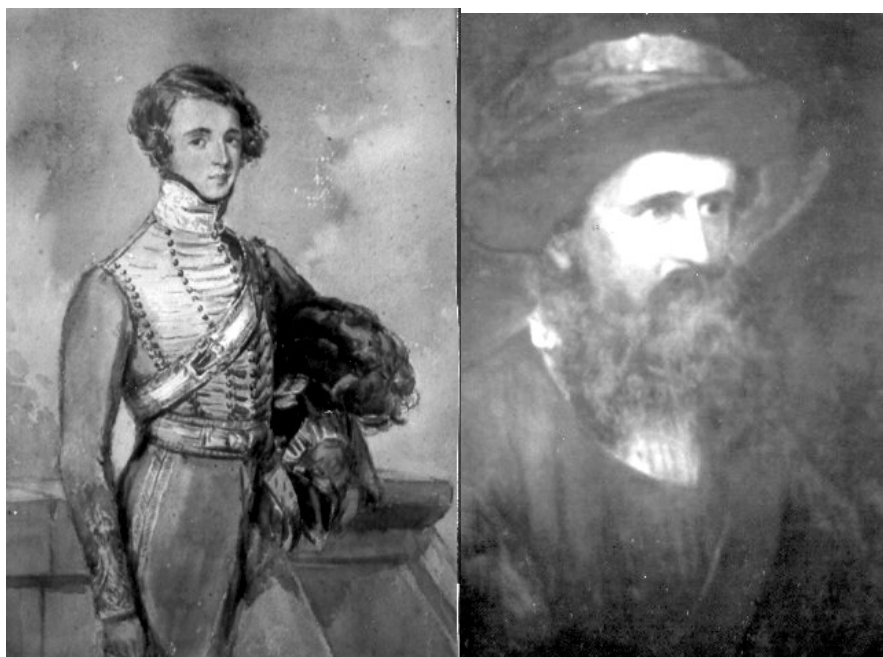
Henry Mayne, 1819-1861, Madras Cavalry

The eldest of the brothers, Henry Mayne of the Madras Cavalry, at the height of the Mutiny raised and led a regiment of irregular but loyal cavalymen against the mutineers. To this

² Bryan Perrett, *Against All Odds* (Arms & Armour Press, 1995).

³ Mayne family papers provided by the late Rupert Mayne, and as quoted in *Plain Tales from the Raj*, editor Charles Allen (André Deutsch, 1975).

day, the regiment exists as a unit in the modern Indian Army, still known as 'Mayne's Horse'. Henry now lies in a grave alongside his brother Francis at Allahabad, but there is also a memorial to him at Westminster Abbey - appropriately in a cloister called 'Fighting Green'⁴.



Major Henry Mayne (1819-61): as a young Ensign (left), and as the Commander of his Irregular Regiment of Horse

The wife and five young children of Henry's brother Frederic, then a chaplain at Simla, were only saved from death at the hands of the mutineers by hiding for many hours in her husband's church. She was fortunate. A contemporary description of the aftermath of the first massacre at Meerut reads: 'What a spectacle of terror met the eye almost simultaneously with the return of day. The

lifeless and mutilated corpses of men, women and children were to be seen, some of them so frightfully disfigured and so shamefully dishonoured in death that the very recollection of such a sight chills the blood'.⁵

Mosley Mayne, 1845-1910, 3rd Bombay Cavalry, and Rupert Mayne, 1910-2001, Intelligence Officer in India in World War Two

Rupert Mayne, the last of the family to serve in India, was there when the British left in 1947. He tells of his grandfather, Mosley Mayne, who was a Captain in the 3rd Bombay (Queen's Own) Light Cavalry. In July 1880 his regiment were part of a British/Indian force of about 2,700 men on the North-West Frontier. They found themselves near Maiwand, an Afghan village on a desiccated dusty plain with shade temperatures approaching 120 degrees. Facing them with evil intent was a vastly superior force of 10,000 Afghan regulars and 15,000 tribesmen. A gallant effort was made to disengage and withdraw before being enveloped by this army, but it was only partially successful and the British/Indian losses

⁴ Official name 'Cloister Garth' but also known as Fighting Green because the boys of Westminster School used to stage fights there (information provided by the Abbey Library). Coincidentally another member of the family, the Very Rev Michael Mayne KCVO, was Dean of Westminster at the time when the memorial was erected.

⁵ An unnamed witness quoted in Donald Featherstone, *Victorian Colonial Warfare – India* (Cassell, 1992).

were great. Mosley survived the battle, but on behalf of his fallen comrades he published an article criticising the handling of the whole operation. For this, he was forced to leave his regiment, and forfeited the medal for which he had been recommended.⁶

On Rupert's last visit to India he met a pensioner from Mayne's Horse, a very old man who proceeded to bury his white beard on Rupert's chest and sobbed. Eventually the old man recovered and pulled up his trouser leg to show a very badly wounded knee. He explained that in a charge in Mesopotamia he had been hit by a Turkish bullet, had fallen off his horse and that Rupert's uncle Ashton, later General Sir A G O M Mayne, had dismounted and carried him off the field.⁷ Of course, such memories will soon fade and the memorials to the Maynes and many British families like them will crumble. Yet it seems that something of the British military tradition of the Mayne era still survives today in certain regiments of the Indian and Pakistan armies.

⁶ Mosley Mayne, 'Report on the Battle of Maiwand' (Kandahar, 4 Nov. 1880); Leigh Maxwell, *My God – Maiwand* (Leo Cooper, 1979). See also website: www.britishempire.co.uk/forces/armycampaigns/indiancampaigns/campafghan1878maiwand.htm.

⁷ Personal information to author from Rupert Mayne.

On the trail of Manuel D'Eremao and Juliana Dias Da Costa: a* quest to verify oral tradition through the India Office Records

By Beverly Hallam

My father died some thirty years ago and I realised I knew nothing of the history concerning his mother's family. I remembered my grandmother vaguely. She arrived in England from India when I was about ten years old and died not long after. All I knew of her before that time was that she existed somewhere within folded airmail letters covered over every conceivable square inch with spidery blue-black writing – which even spiralled around the address area.

She was very different from anyone I had ever met before (or after) and my three younger sisters and I grew to love her for the wonderful stories she told us every day. She would sit us around her feet and, with the youngest on her lap, she would weave a wonderful tapestry of Indian folklore telling of tree ghosts, phantom carriages and other spirits that inherited that faraway land. The tree ghosts were named Paytnée Boories, they had cracked faces and back to front feet and one of those ghostly carriages appeared at the house once belonging to Warren Hastings in Calcutta – my grandmother told us she had witnessed these apparitions. There were also stories of her childhood, parties in big houses, servants, beautiful clothes and exotic food.

I often found myself thinking of Granny and her wonderful stories. I knew she had inherited her gift for words from her father, William Elliott, who had been a journalist in Calcutta. In fact, his obituary notice in the *Statesman* referred to him as 'one of the oldest journalists of the city' when he died in 1938 at the age of 81 years:

Mr Elliott began his journalistic career nearly half a century ago as a reporter on the *Englishman* and subsequently worked on the staffs of the *Indian Daily News*, the *Statesman* and *Forward*. He was President of the Reporters Club, which started some years ago and subsequently closed down. He was an exceptionally able shorthand writer, his services being constantly requisitioned by Government and various public bodies.¹

I also knew that William Elliott spoke many of the native languages, which was a great advantage in his career, but I knew nothing of his ancestry.

I was advised to contact a cousin of my father's who was passionate about her family history and it was she who told me about my grandmother's descent and, in particular, the tantalising history of our mutual ancestor, Manuel D'Eremao. I have to thank Joyce Mills for starting me off on my search and my great regret is that she died in 2005 and so will not know how far this quest has now taken me.

I was informed that my grandmother, Vera Georgiana Riordan (nee Elliott, 1900-1966) was directly descended from a Captain Val D'Eremao supposedly a soldier of fortune in India,

* A family tree is supplied on a separate sheet.

¹ *Statesman* Newspaper, 1938.

who was rewarded by Lord Lake in the form of lands and money for deeds conducted during the time of the Napoleonic wars. Who he was or what he had done was not known but it was said his name was linked with the Bourbon family, a Spanish Grandee and, (everyone's favourite!), a Rajput Princess! Joyce showed me William Elliott's baptism certificate which bore the name of his mother, Hannah D'Eremao, as well as letters written by her late father and an aunt as evidence of this tale.

But where was I to look? This family didn't appear to be British and, certainly, I could find no mention of the Val D'Eremao surname in the early part of the baptism, marriage and burial indexes in the India Office Records (IOR) at the British Library.

A soldier of fortune

My instinct was then to go online and I began to search the rootsweb mailing list. This pointed me to the index to personal records held in the British Library¹, and an entry that I later found showed that Captain D'Eremao an officer in the service of the Marathas and three members of his family were granted a life pension from the British Government in 1803. That of Captain D'Eremao was very large and was in recognition of this gentleman's 'peculiar merits' whilst in the service of Daulat Rao Scindia, Maharaja of Gwalior. This was an important discovery as it meant the family stories were based on fact but what was the underlying tale?

The A2A website yielded the next important clue:-

Appeal of Captain Manuel Deremao, a Jagirdar in the Delhi Territory, against the Magistrate of Delhi, Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe, for arresting two of his servants on a charge of maltreating Ryots. ³

How exciting to be handed a large acid free box from the British library archives containing an enormous (and rather heavy) old volume of bound handwritten documents. (Maybe this had remained unread for over one hundred and fifty years!) The petition comprised a series of letters dated 1827-1829 which I digested eagerly. Captain Manuel D'Eremao had been appointed by Scindia as Commander of the Fort of Hansi in 1803, following its seizure from George Thomas by Scindia's Commander-in-Chief, General Perron.⁴ Thomas had put the fort in excellent order. It was also in a very strategic position and Manuel approached Lord Lake with an offer to deliver it with all its ammunition to the British. This was the time of the second Maratha war and it was an offer not to be refused. As Ochterlony, the British Resident at Delhi himself remarked in a statement dated 1821:

At the moment Captain Manuel Deremao delivered up to us the Fort of Hansi, the importance of the cessation was immense: and I have no hesitation in saying would

¹ Rootsweb mailing list – Index to Personal Records, IOR: O/6/1-20.

³ A2A website. Petition, IOR: F/4/1324/52469.

⁴ As will become clear, there is no doubt that Manuel is the same man as the 'Val' D'Eremao of family tradition. George Thomas, sometimes referred to as the 'Rajah from Tipperary', was an Irish adventurer who had carved out a small principality for himself including the fort at Hansi; General Perron, yet another adventurer, was French.

have been gladly purchased on much higher terms than that which was demanded or expected by Captain Manuel Deremao: not so much for the value of the country, or for any intention to retain it, as that it gave us a strong fortress , and a powerful train of artillery which in other hands would have been highly injurious to our interests, and in ours was of utmost importance: as from thence on suspicion of Holkar's first attempt on Delhi, I drew several guns which were of the greatest use in defence. It was all that remained to Perron in this quarter: and the acquisition gave a formidable blow to the adherents of Daulat Rao, who were traversing the purgunahs, and levying contributions in the name of the Maratha Government, as collections and granting receipts for much larger sums than they received.

That Manuel D'Eremao was not interested in money was confirmed by the fact that as soon as it was known that he was approaching the British with this offer, the Princes of Patiala and Bikaner also approached him offering vast sums of money (Rs.50,000) and villages in their respective districts. However, D'Eremao's sole interest was to extract from the British a promise that his family and heirs were to retain jurisdiction of Altamgha lands that he had inherited and which had been given to the family by the Mogul Emperor himself.

His Excellency [Lord Lake] was pleased expressly to declare with solemnity of an oath...the villages and lands held by your Petitioner, should according to the purport of the Emperor's Firman and the Parwana of the Maratha Government be confirmed and continued to him and his posterity by the British as heretofore.

However, although jurisdiction of the lands had been granted to Captain D'Eremao in 1803, this appeared to have been suspended in 1827 at the time of the petition I was reading. There had been an appeal to the British government by a peasant who had accused the D'Eremaos of inhumane behaviour – having imprisoned and whipped him for non payment of rent. Although this was possibly acceptable under the traditional ways of a *jagirdar*, the British Resident at Delhi suspended D'Eremao's powers whilst the matter was being investigated. This led to pillaging and lawlessness and caused huge problems for the estates. Manuel D'Eremao desperately appealed to the government for help – recalling the promises made.

Eventually, the lands were returned to the elderly *jagirdar*, now in his eighties but, sadly, Manuel died soon after. His only son Domingo D'Eremao (also known as Domingo Val D'Eremao), who inherited the majority of the estates, appears to have then retired to Calcutta, having ceded the greater part of the lands to British control on the understanding that the family would enjoy the income arising.

Manuel had great respect for the British and appointed the British Resident as executor of his will. I discovered that this fact, together with his being a British pensioner, led to a copy of his will being filed amongst British records and a copy survives in the British Library⁵. This bears testament to his considerable wealth – and there are some interesting points:

⁵ IOR: Bengal Wills, L/AG/34/29/1-154.

- He mentions his hereditary lands 'conferred as a royal gift by the Maharajah Buhadar Shah in the name of and on Bebee Juliana, my paternal grandmother' - but, at this stage, I had no idea of the identity of the lady to whom this referred.
- He refers to lands 'adjoining the Catholic burial ground and given by me' – which would tie in with the existence of a D'Eremao Burial ground at Kishanganj, near Delhi.
- As Domingo was an only son and by this stage must have been well into his forties and without male heir, Manuel left a large proportion of the land to his nephew, Anthony, including a *sarai* 'built by Madame Juliana' and this part of Delhi is still known as Juliana Sarai.

Ironically, Domingo was later to have three sons and three daughters through his second marriage in the 1840s – I descend through one of his daughters, Hannah the grandmother of my own grandmother, Vera.

Not knowing what to do next, I searched the India Office Private Papers section of the British Library website – and what a lead that was! This is where I first heard of the D'Eremao cemetery as the archives of the British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia (BACSA) had a file!⁶ I was amazed and couldn't wait for the next day and the opening of the Library.

Initially the file was a big disappointment – as it was only one sheet that took the form of a questionnaire. From this I learned that the cemetery was named after Manuel D'Eremao and that this is where he was buried. Presumably, then, this was the burial ground referred to in his will. The file stated that this cemetery also housed the oldest Christian (Armenian) monuments in the Punjab, which dated back to 1781, but there were no apparent leads as to the descent of my own ancestors – I faithfully copied out every abbreviation and possible reference and sat at home in front of the computer googling away on the various names and phrases. What could they mean?. Two words 'see Bullock' were the keys that unlocked real hidden treasure.

The British Library contains a large number of boxes belonging to the Lady Lloyd Collection⁷ containing papers on European cemeteries in India collected by Lady Violet Mary Lloyd, wife of a member of the Indian Civil Service, including material gathered by an Indian Army officer, Brigadier Humphry Bullock (1899-1959), and what a wealth of information is stored there! Bullock, who was commissioned by the Cemeteries Board, must have transcribed every tombstone and listed every birth, marriage and death he could find. He visited graveyards and also appeared to have conducted genealogical researches on many families - collecting a whole host of miscellaneous correspondence along the way. - quite an amazing collection of bound booklets, scrapbooks, notebooks, letters, newspaper cuttings, random jottings and photographs. I discovered that Bullock had visited the D'Eremao cemetery on at least two occasions and he considered it to be of great archaeological and historical interest. He had written two articles describing his visits and

⁶ BL Website. IOPP: BACSA file, Mss Eur F370/191.

⁷ BL Website. IOPP: Lady Lloyd Collection, Mss Eur F146.

the history of the cemetery as well as transcriptions of some family tombstones in the antiquarian journal *Bengal Past and Present* (offprints of which were in the collection).⁸ Furthermore his interest in the cemetery had led him to write a paper about Manuel D'Eremao for the *Journal of the Panjab University Historical Society*⁹. I am not exaggerating when I tell you that my heart beat so loudly I am surprised that the entire reading room was not looking at me. My hand shook as I read the cemetery articles and, finally, discovered the *JPHS* paper which hinted at the young Manuel having enjoyed a position at the Mogul Court itself and which described in detail the handing over of the fort of Hansi and Manuel's later life in Delhi. I was delighted to find that at the end of this article Bullock acknowledged the assistance of Mrs Pratt, 'great-granddaughter of Captain Manuel Deremao', as I knew her to be the sister of William Elliott (my grandmother's father) and, therefore, a solid link with my past. But the best discovery was yet to come.

Bullock's article made reference to two books both of which were in the Library. One of these was *List of Inscriptions on Christian Tombs or Monuments in the Punjab* by Miles Irving¹⁰. This contained transcriptions and translations of the oldest gravestones in the cemetery and from this I realised that the inscription on Manuel's tomb had been inscribed in the form of a Persian lament – and I have now learnt that Persian was the official language of the Mogul Court until about the 1830s. The second book was *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* by Maclagan.¹¹ The library had a copy but, needless to say – and you will soon see the reason why – I now have my own copy of this book which has pride of place on my shelves. Two chapters were essential in my quest - 'Juliana Dias Da Costa' and 'The Indian Bourbons'.

'The Spanish Grandee' – well, actually, she was Portuguese

Maclagan explained that there is no doubt from the nature of the lands described in Manuel D'Eremao's will that the lady he refers to as his 'paternal grandmother' was Donna Juliana Dias Da Costa (c1660-1734) and she is very much documented. As a young woman she was in the service of Aurangzeb's wife. Aurangzeb was the son of the Mogul Emperor Shah Jahan who built the Taj Mahal for his wife Mumtaz. When Shah Jahan became ill and was unable to govern there was a dispute for ascendancy between Aurangzeb and his older brother Dara, which eventually led to Dara's untimely death. Juliana remained a loyal servant of Aurangzeb and later when his son Bahadur Shah gained the throne in 1707, he showered rewards upon her – villages, money and position – and made her superintendent of his harem. The villages and the house she inherited were formerly the property of Aurangzeb's brother, Dara. Maclagan states 'she had a following of five to six thousand

⁸ *Monumental Inscriptions: Third Series*, pt V pp41-44, and pt VI pp89-92, in *Bengal Past and Present*, vol LIII (1937). Copies in Mss Eur F146/9.

⁹ *JPHS*, vol 1, pt 2, pp155-71, December 1932.

¹⁰ George William De Rhe-Philipe and Miles Irving, *A List of Inscriptions on Christian Tombs or Monuments in the Punjab, North West Frontier Province, Kashmir and Afghanistan*, compiled by Miles Irving (Lahore Government Press, 1910; reprinted as *Soldiers of the Raj* (London, 1989).

¹¹ Sir Edward Maclagan, *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul* (London, 1932).

people and two elephants carrying two standards with white crosses on red ground'. After the death of Bahadur Shah in 1712 Juliana, who was by then about 55 years old, had thought to retire to a convent but she was persuaded to remain at Court and served another three Mogul emperors who followed each other in quick succession. An hereditary office of the Juliana was created in her honour and she was the keeper of the imperial crown and placed it on the head of each new emperor. Unfortunately, she appears to have had no daughters and, after her death, the title was passed to her sister's daughter and then to five great nieces – the last holding the position in the 1770s.



Donna Juliana as shown in Francois Valentijn's, Oud en nieuw Oost-Indien (Dordrecht, Amsterdam, 1724-26), vol 4. Almost certainly an imaginary portrayal rather than an actual likeness. Nonetheless it is significant that she appeared sufficiently important to a Dutch observer to be included alongside similar drawings of Mogul Emperors and other members of their family and entourage.

her patronage did not only extend to Catholic nations as she is also well documented in supporting a Dutch mission in 1711. It is no wonder that her descendants were themselves great benefactors of the Catholic Church - but that is another story.

The Bourbon connection

I know that Juliana and Manuel D'Eremao are linked. His will refers to her as his paternal grandmother and there is no doubt that the land held by the D'Eremao family once belonged to her. Moreover there is some evidence that Juliana had been married and also that she had produced sons. However, who these sons were and which liaison produced Manuel I have yet to determine.

One theory, which forms part of our family's oral history and which is referred to by MacLagan, is that Manuel's father was a grandson of Gaston de Bourbon, Duke of Orleans,

Juliana's influence in the Mogul Court was huge, especially in the matter of her religion. She strongly interposed on behalf of the Christian community and she was instrumental in ensuring that the Mogul emperor exempted the Christians from the taxes to which other religions were subject. Apart from this she also gave enormous sums of money to the Jesuits and even funded Desideri's mission to Tibet in 1714. She was a powerful mediator for other foreign powers, particularly (and not surprisingly) the Portuguese. However,

second son of Henry IV of France. He was supposed to have died in France but the assumption is that he somehow escaped from internment and found his way over to India. This may seem far fetched but having recently read of the Bhowal Sanyasi case, which some older readers may actually recall, it seems that even stranger things are known to have happened.¹²

Besides the D'Eremao family, there are a number of other persons, mostly resident in Bhopal, claiming descent in some way from a junior or illegitimate branch of the Bourbons. They certainly bear the name of Bourbon, but Maclagan indicates that their claim to descend from the French royal family is not entirely proved. He also recounts another tradition that their progenitor was a certain John Bourbon (or Jean de Bourbon) who appeared at Akbar's court but had no connection with the Bourbon kings. That is not in the realms of my research although it does lend some further credence to our family tales. The situation is made all the more difficult by the fact that the name D'Eremao appears to be a corruption of a title originally bestowed on Juliana by the Mogul Emperors and therefore I am not sure what the original surname was.

The Rajput princess

So what of the Rajput princess? Was she Mogul or part of the Bourbon connection or someone else? I have come across one other clue. In his book Maclagan refers to Domingo D'Eremao's wife as 'an Afghan princess who converted to Christianity and took the name Elizabeth'. She is perhaps the most likely person to be the princess of our family tradition even though she was an Afghan not a Rajput. Domingo, it will be recalled, was Manuel's son and the father of my g-g-grandmother Hannah.

Further history and a protected monument of archaeological interest

In the last few months I have experienced another exciting breakthrough on this family line with the discovery, via a BACSA article¹³, that a large dilapidated domed building still stands in the D'Eremao cemetery, although the cemetery itself has been the home of a community of poor Christians since the riots of 1947 and, with the removal of marble tablets and the levelling of the majority of graves, there has been considerable destruction to the greater part of the site. This domed building is the family mausoleum and is built in hybrid mogul style having the external appearance of a mosque but with a cross on top of the dome. Inside there are large incised crosses on the wall – bearing testament to this devout Catholic family's link with the Mogul Court. The building, now serves as a chapel – but regrettably, although the cemetery is supposed to be a protected site under the ASI

^{1 2} A sensational legal case lasting from 1933 to 1946 and involving courts in London, Calcutta and Dhaka. It concerned a disputed inheritance and the identity of the Second Kumar of Bhowal, a wealthy Bengali *zamindar* (landholder) who was declared dead under mysterious circumstances and reportedly came back to life after twelve years.

^{1 3} *Chowkidar*, vol 11, no 1, Spring 2006, p14.

(Archaeological Survey of India), the fact that it has been squatted for so many years means that it is rapidly disintegrating and what remains will soon be lost forever.

Conclusion

I have now reached the point where I have been able to make headway with all the oral leads surrounding this aspect of my family, but there are still so many unanswered questions. I think above all I have learned never to underestimate a family's oral history no matter how fantastic it may seem. I have also learned that there are so many different ways of piecing together a family history especially, in a case like mine, where information cannot be found via the traditional baptism, marriage and burial indexes.

Looking for Gunner Hurley in India^{*}

Malcolm Hurley Mills and Lawrie Butler

[This article like previous ones indicates the usefulness of the India Office Records (IOR) – how one can literally trace the lineage of a staunch Roman Catholic Army family by using RC films, how one can trace a second marriage of a widow, how on the death of parents the Army looked after its dependants by recruiting under-age sons and how one can trace these into the British Army by using the files of HEIC soldiers transferring to the Artillery in the post-Mutiny reorganisation.]

In Nov 2005, Malcolm Mills, a new Member, wrote to FIBIS requesting assistance in finding specific information about his:

great grandfather William Hurley (Snr) who served in India between 1871 and 1888. William was born 22 Oct 1843 (family records) and as a Sergeant in the Royal Horse



William Hurley, Jnr, June 1926

Artillery (RHA) he married Mary Agnes Lennox on 12 Feb 1870 in Billericay, Essex. William's father is named as Daniel Hurley, a Gunner in the RA (see later) while William Snr's son, William Jnr, was born on 18 Dec 1870 in the Sheffield Hallam RHA Barracks.

In earlier research at the IOR, Malcolm had found in the *India List*¹ that William Snr had been appointed Sub-Conductor in Madras on 21 May 1879 and by Jan 1887 was Conductor and Honorary Lieutenant in Ordnance at Bellary. By October 1887, he was serving at Rangoon where he died on 10 Apr 1888 and was buried in the RC Cemetery. Malcolm and his family were interested in finding out whether William Snr's first wife, Mary Agnes, died in India, whether he remarried and whether there were any children of later marriages. Research in the IOR Madras N/2 records had proved

abortive. Although Malcolm had searched 1851-1901 censuses for any sign of William Snr

^{*} Readers should read this article in conjunction with the Family Tree supplied on a separate sheet. Note also that 'Conductor' and 'Sub-Conductor' were warrant officer ranks in the East India Company's Armies. An article on the rank by Lawrie Butler will appear in the next issue.

¹ *India List*, Jan 1880, Madras Army section, p389.

being in the UK at the relevant times and had checked the GRO records for a UK birth, he had not found any record of value. He had found a Daniel Hurley born in Cork, whose family was shown with up to four children in the 1861-81 censuses, but there was no conclusive connection since he had not found a William among them.

Malcolm was therefore interested in finding answers to the family's three queries mentioned above. As usual in these researches, I (Lawrie Butler) rechecked some of Malcolm's work and in particular the Madras N/2 baptisms. Between 1870 and 1888 there were nine Hurley baptisms but not one appeared to be relevant. I then looked for Burials of a M A Hurley and thought I had found one but while the index showed M A Hurley, the microfilm record showed a Mary Jane Hurley:

*Died 10 Apr 1878, cause Hepatitis, Mary Jane Hurley, 18 years, wife of Gunner Sergeant William Hurley R.H.A., buried at Bangalore, 11 Apr 1878.*²

The age indicated that Mary Jane could only be a second wife, so I looked for Madras Marriages and found one at Bangalore: -

*13 Feb 1878, William Hurley, 32 years, widower, Regt Instructor of Bangalore, father Daniel Hurley; and Mary Jane McCanley, 18 years, spinster, by banns.*³

So we have located William Snr's second wife and her death. Having previously 'dismissed' the nine Madras baptisms, I checked them again and found one at Secunderabad to be relevant:

*Bapt 28 Dec 1881, born 25 Nov 1881, Michael Bernard, son of William and Catherine Hurley, Sub-Conductor of Ordnance Dept.*⁴

This indicated a third marriage, found as below, probably at Palaveram: -

*20 Oct 1880, William Hurley, 37 years, widower, Sub-Conductor of Ordnance Dept., Secunderabad and Catherine Keough, 16 years, spinster, by banns.*⁵

At this stage, we still do not know what had happened to William Snr's first wife, Mary Agnes. If she had lived until 1878, one would have expected more children; if she had died on the voyage out one would have expected William Snr to have remarried earlier than 1878. Malcolm was now interested in the fate of Michael Bernard, child of William Snr's third marriage, and with no death in Madras 1881-88, I could only say he had survived infancy. Though Malcolm had located a Mary A (Alice) Hurley⁶ born in 1885, he also found

² Madras Burials, N/2/59/163. All references are to India Office Records (IOR) unless otherwise stated.

³ Madras Marriages, N/2/59/52.

⁴ Madras Baptisms, N/2/62/341.

⁵ Madras Marriages, N/2/61/312.

⁶ Family Records Centre (FRC), GRO Army Births, Baptisms & Marriages Register, 1885.

Note for users of GRO Overseas BMD information at FRC or elsewhere: 'It is not unusual to have four separate indexes relating to the same birth since a fresh entry was created each time the father either changed rank, moved regiment or even moved to a different battalion within the same regiment.' Mary A Hurley appeared at least four times in births in Hyderabad

a Mary Agnes Hurley aged seventeen, daughter of William and Catherine, born in Hyderabad, Deccan in 1885 and married⁷ in 1903 in Hyderabad, Sind. These events were not recorded in the IOR indexes and this once more highlights the importance of checking the General Register Office (GRO) Overseas Army Birth and Baptisms/Marriages Returns, not available at the IOR but which can be seen at the Family Records Centre (FRC), Islington or at the National Archives at Kew (TNA). Whilst at TNA I had also located an Edward J Hurley⁸ in the same records, born in Aldershot in 1872 but Malcolm had already checked this out, saying that this Edward (Jnr) was the son of Edward Hurley (Snr), a Trumpeter in the RHA. The latter's marriage details⁹ showed that Edward (Snr) was the son of Daniel Hurley, 'a soldier'. Hence it appears that William Snr and Edward Snr were both sons of Daniel Hurley, so far untraced.

Meanwhile, Malcolm's enthusiasm was undiminished. Where was William Snr born? Where did his wife Mary Agnes die? Did she have any more children? What are the details of William Snr's father, Daniel?

Bearing in mind that Malcolm, in his initial letter had quoted Daniel Hurley as a Gunner in the RA, I now checked the on-line records of TNA, specifically WO97¹⁰ for details of Daniel Hurleys being discharged 1800-1855. The screen showed three, with dates of service 1831-33, 1846-52 and 1800-13, none of whom was in the Royal Artillery. I now thought, maybe Daniel was not in the RA but a gunner in one of the Presidency Regiments? I looked at the Bengal Alphabetical List of European Soldiers, 1840-1850. This showed the following:

*Daniel Hurley, Gunner, 1st Troop, 3rd Brigade (later 1st Brigade) (Bengal) Artillery; laborer (sic) from Cork; Attested Cork 28 May 1841; Arrived via "Duke of Argyll" 1841. Died at Landour 15 Apr 1849.*¹¹

The Casualty Roll of 1849¹² shows that Rs.67.As.12 [roughly £6.15s] were paid to the widow, and the Embarkation List (1840-1847) confirmed that:

*Daniel Hurley (Regt No 11183) enlisted at the age of 20 years (i.e. d.o.b. 1821) and landed in Bengal on 30 Dec 1841 along with his wife Jane.*¹³ [One advantage of these Embarkation records is that they sometimes give family details].

His death in 1849 very conveniently would allow for the births of William (Snr) 1843 and Edward (Snr) 1847(?). I emailed these details to Malcolm, saying there was only one flaw in this scenario and that was his information in his first email to me when he said Daniel was a

and a separate fee was required for each request, even though the information proved to be in respect of the same individual, Mary Alice, who was of no interest to us.

⁷ *Ibid*, 1903, p.292.

⁸ *Ibid*, Vol 385 p.113.

⁹ GRO, Vol 2a, p161.

¹⁰ ⁰ www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/catalogue

¹ ¹ L/MIL/10/124.

¹ ² Casualty Roll, L/MIL/10/170.

¹ ³ L/MIL/9/101.

'gunner in the RA'. Malcolm was quick to confirm that in fact the marriage certificate of William (Snr) just showed his father Daniel as 'Gunner' and agreed we now appeared to have the correct Daniel Hurley.

It was time to consolidate. While checking the burial record for Daniel (Snr), I had come across two burial records of interest:

Buried at Jullundur, 11 May 1849, Daniel Hurley (Jnr) , 8 mths 8 days, child of Daniel and Jane Hurly [sic].¹⁴

Buried 15 Apr 1849 Daniel Hurley (Snr) 28 years, Horse Artillery; (parents names) unknown. Buried at Landour.¹⁵

The N/1/RC films 1-5 are of specific registers showing only Roman Catholic events which were compiled at a time when the Government required Catholic priests, whose activities were to some extent subsidised by the Government, to submit copies of all baptisms, marriages and burials to Government.¹⁶ The volume RC1 for instance, labelled Bengal Baptisms, Marriages and Burials, Roman Catholic, 1842 -1844, is filmed on a separate reel but the reel is in the same filing cabinet as the general series. Its contents are listed in the Index volumes as the final entries under each letter in each year within the Indexes. The last file of these for Bengal is RC5 (1854-56). With a family like the Hurleys said to be strict Roman Catholics, it is possible to follow their progress in the indexes by looking at the last entries within each alphabetical grouping, usually RC ones. It is therefore most likely that the baptism entries for William Snr, Edward Snr and Daniel Jnr were performed in RC churches where the records were not forwarded to Calcutta and may indeed still be held by the local church.

It was a very laudable feature of the Army overseas whether HM or HEIC that when husbands were killed in action or otherwise died, remarriages for the widows were arranged often within the same Regiment - and of course it fulfilled a need of wives for those soldiers as yet unmarried. BUT the marriage indexes are compiled on a male entry basis and hence to locate a marriage of a widow entails the checking of **all alphabetical male** entries for a particular time span to check on the name of the widow within the spouses' column. I have only done this once before, and was unsuccessful. However the time span for an Army remarriage is usually very short since a widow found it increasingly hard to maintain herself and children. Hence I decided to check all alphabetical entries in the marriages for the year 1849 only. Just when I thought I was going to be unsuccessful I found the following (in the Ws!):

Marriage at Jullundur

17 July 1849, James Waters Sgt, bach, European and Jane Hurly widow, European of Jullundur; Revd J McDonnell by banns; witnesses George Norman and Mrs Adams.¹⁷

¹ ⁴ Bengal Burials, N/1/RC/5/146.

¹ ⁵ *Ibid*, N/1/RC/5/149.

¹ ⁶ 'Those British India RC BMD Records', P Bailey, *FIBIS Journal* No 5, p.23.

¹ ⁷ Bengal Marriages, N/1/RC/3/182.

I then looked at the Alphabetical Long Roll of the Regt of Bengal Artillery for 1848/1849 dated 1 Sep 1849:

Regt No 4188 James Waters Sergt 1st Troop, 1st Brigade [same as Gunner Hurley], 26 yrs, 6' 0 and 1/8", fair hair, fresh complexion, prev. labourer [sic], from Ireland, Lisdeen(?) County Clare; attested O'Briens Bridge 3 May 1844, arrived via the 'Simon Taylor' 6 Nov 1844.¹⁸

Having established the year of entry, I looked at the Alphabetical Index of European Soldiers 1840-1850¹⁹ and found his listing. This showed he was in the 1st Troop, 2nd Brigade of the Artillery (initially), came from Kilkee, County Clare, but importantly was a Sergeant **who died at Meerut 11 July 1856**, dying intestate and leaving Rs.81.As.8.Ps9 [roughly £8.3s]. (Usually there is an indication to whom this money was paid but there is no mention here). The Casualty Roll of 1856²⁰ showed that Sgt Waters died of cholera and the burial record is as follows:

Burial at Meerut

Died 11th July 1856. Cholera; James Waters 32 yrs 1st Brigade Horse Artillery; buried 11th July by Revd Fr E Varalle.²¹

Pursuing the Waters family, it appears that there was a child.

Bapt 15 Mar 1855, born 21 Jan 1855; Anne, female, father James Waters of Peshawar, Sergt of 3rd Troop 1st Brigade.²² [No mother is mentioned].

So at this stage the 'known' Waters/Hurley family comprises Mrs Jane Waters (see below), William Hurley, Edward Hurley and Anne Waters (see below). The indications are that Mrs Jane Waters perhaps died during childbirth since there is no mother mentioned on the baptism record and she is not named as the beneficiary on the Casualty Roll. It is possible that Anne did not survive infancy or she was adopted. One might assume that the family would return to UK but Malcolm confirmed that neither William Snr nor Edward Snr appears on the 1861 census, but Edward Snr appears on the 1871 Census as a Trumpeter.

As I have said, the Army looks after its own. An orphanage is possible but the more practical solution would be to enlist the boys within the Regiment. I decided to look at the last Musters before the Mutiny, specifically to find young soldiers of British stock born in India:

Alphabetical List of European Soldiers in Bengal, 1850-1857 A-K²³

Joined 1856, Edward Hurly, ½ pay bugler, Regt No 8721, born Dum Dum (outside Calcutta), attested Meerut 26 Jul 1856; enlisted in India for a contract period of 20 years; as ½ pay trumpeter (in 1861) in 2nd Troop 1st Brigade, volunteered in 1861 for RA. [In

¹ ⁸ Muster 1849, L/MIL/10/170.

¹ ⁹ L/MIL/10/125.

² ⁰ L/MIL/10/177.

² ¹ Bengal Burials, N/1/RC/5/142.

² ² Bengal Baptisms, N/1/RC/5/60.

² ³ L/MIL/10/126

the reorganisation after the Mutiny, Company soldiers were given the options of discharge to England, transfer to British Regiments or continuation within an Indian Unit].

Joined 1856, James Hurley, Gunner, Reg No 8725 4 Company, 3rd Battalion Artillery; born Dum Dum, attested Meerut, 1 Oct 1856 and enlisted for a period of 15 years 5 months. Volunteered in 1861 for Royal Artillery. [This James is a possible member of our present Hurley family. Baptism records indicate a James Hurly, born 21 Jan 1844 and baptised at Meerut 22 Feb 1844, son of Daniel and Mary Ann Hurly, a **private** of 2nd Eur. Regt. who married in Jul 1842. This Daniel from Bandon, Cork died in Sept 1846. However, records below indicate a James born in Mar 1842 and this event would fit within the family history].

Alphabetical List of European Soldiers in Bengal 1858-1860 A-K:

Joined 1858, William Hurley 2nd class Trumpeter; Regt No 9082; no previous occ., 4th Troop, 1st Brigade Horse Artillery. Born Umballa, East Indies. Attested Meerut 18 Mar 1858 and enlisted in India for a period of 15 years 5 months. Volunteered in 1861 for RA.²⁴

Those HEIC soldiers who volunteered for transfer to the British Army are listed as follows:

Bengal Artillery, List of Volunteers for General Service in 1861.²⁵

- 1 Nominal Return of NCOs and Men belonging to 2nd troop, 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery – late Indian Artillery, Saugor 18 Sep 1861. Now in B Battery, 2 Horse Brigade.

Regt No 8721 Edward Hurley; enlisted 26 Jul 1856, shown as ½ pay Trumpeter.

- 2 Nominal Roll of NCOs and Men belonging to 4th Co., 3rd Battalion, late Indian Artillery, Dinapore, 18 Sep 1861.

Regt No 8725 James Hurley; enlisted 1 Oct 1856; now, in 1861, shown as Gunner.

- 3 Nominal Roll of NCOs and Men belonging to 4th Troop, 1st Brigade, Horse Artillery-late Indian Artillery, Meerut, 12 Sep 1861. Now in D Battery, 2 H. Bde.

Regt No 9082 William Hurley (Snr), enlisted 18 Mar 1858, shown in 1861 as 2nd class Trumpeter.

I now looked at one of the last musters, Alphabetical Long Roll of Regt of Bengal Artillery for the year 1858/59 taken at Meerut Sep 1859²⁶ which shows:

Edward Hurly (Snr) Regt No 8721, ½ pay trumpeter, 2nd troop, 1st Brigade, Age 13yrs 1mth, i.e birth Aug 1846, ht 4' 3", born Dum Dum.

James Hurly, Regt No 8725, ½ pay bugler; Artillery Regt Band, Age 17yrs 6mths i.e birth Mar 1842, ht 5' 0", born Dum Dum.

William Hurley (Snr) Regt No 9082, ½ pay Trumpeter, 3rd Troop, 1st Brigade, Age 15yrs 11mt, i.e. birth Oct 1843, ht 4' 6", born Umballa.

² ⁴ L/MIL/10/128.

² ⁵ L/MIL/10/325.

² ⁶ L/MIL/10/182.

So now we have a possible four Hurley children but probably three (Daniel having died as an infant):

James(?) - possibly conceived before the voyage out and born Mar 1842(?)

William – born Oct 1843

Edward – born Aug 1846

Daniel – born Sep 1848, died 11 May 1849.

Since the Hurley 'boys' were in India during the time of the Mutiny, Malcolm suggested a search of the Medal Roll²⁷. This revealed that:

William Hurley No 9082, Half pay Trumpeter, [still only fifteen years old] was awarded the Mutiny medal without clasp for his service in Trans-Gogra, Oude with the C-in-C Force from Dec 1858 and with Capt Cleveland's Force later.

Of the three boys, nothing has been traced of James in more recent years, but both William and Edward have been located in England during the 1870s. Perusing some of the more unusual files, I looked at one listing 'British Troops Embarked for India 1871-74' (covering all units of the British Army):

Nominal Roll of Men embarked in HM Indian Troopship 'Malabar' 19 Dec 1873.

*Sgt William Hurley, age 31, completed 12yrs 3mths. Of very good character, on Married Establishment; D Brigade R.A.*²⁸ [He was the only Sergeant and the only married man].

Since he was registered on the Married Establishment, it can be assumed that William Snr went out to India with his wife Mary Agnes and his first son William Jnr at the end of Dec 1873. But 'long term' he must have travelled to Madras via Bengal because a further study of Bengal BMBs reveals:

*Bapt 25 Dec 1874, born 26 Nov 1874, Edward John, male, William and Mary Hurley of Mhow; Sergeant RHA.*²⁹

*Burial of Mary Agnes Hurley 26 yrs 29 Dec 1875 at Mhow.*³⁰

There is no note of the cause of death of Mary Agnes, William's first wife, but it is perhaps indicative of his love for her that with the birth of his first female child during his third marriage, he named her Mary Agnes.

Tying up 'loose ends', details of a marriage via Free BMD³¹ revealed that Michael Bernard Hurley (via William Snr's third marriage) married Amelia Millicent Figg of York on 28 Aug 1906. We have already noted that William Snr's only daughter, Mary Agnes married in Hyderabad, Sind in 1903. She married a Sgt George H King of the Royal Field Artillery, known to have been based at Karachi, Bombay (for Hyderabad) Sind.³²

² ⁷ L/MIL/5/79.

² ⁸ L/MIL/15/42.

² ⁹ Bengal Baptisms, N/1/150/268.

³ ⁰ Bengal Burials, N/1/154/331.

³ ¹ www.images.freebmd.org.uk/cgi/choose.pl

³ ² TNA, WO 73/66.

We have not yet traced when Michael Bernard Hurley and perhaps his mother, Catherine, returned to UK nor have we found whether Catherine remarried. But Michael served as a Colour Sergeant and Company Sergeant-Major in World War One. A more recent discovery by Malcolm was that Edward J Hurley, Jnr (known as 'Jumbo') served as a Bombardier in the Royal Garrison Artillery in World War One in France.

Finally in an emotional trip for the present Hurley family, Malcolm recently visited the birthplace of his great grandmother Mary Agnes Hurley on Rutland Island off the coast of Donegal where she was born in 1849. In such a short life, Mary Agnes could never have imagined that it would end in Mhow, Central India some 26 years later.

Civilian Gallantry Awards to Members of the Anglo-Indian Community: a plea for information

By Allan Stanistreet

One of my great passions for over fifty years has been the collecting and research of war medals and, in particular, the research of details of recipients of civilian awards for gallantry, principally the George Cross and the medals that have been absorbed into it: the Albert, Edward, and Empire Gallantry Medals.

Almost inevitably, India, being our greatest former colony, has figured strongly among recipients of these awards: not so much the George Cross itself but certainly the Albert and Edward Medals and Anglo-Indians have featured prominently in these rolls of honour. Two, possibly three, have received the Albert Medal, one of these being a very rare award to a lady; five men have been the recipients of the Edward Medal (four of them railway employees) and five, possibly six, have received the Empire Gallantry Medal. Seven of the recipients overall survived to become holders of the George Cross.

Although I do not strictly have an interest in these people's family history, I do have an interest in discovering details of the recipients themselves. I have written to the Indian Railway Museum in New Delhi but with no response. Perhaps the Indians are like the Irish, good at talking but not so good at writing letters! How does one discover where railway records are held (if they have not been destroyed)? Are they still in India or have they been shipped back here to the UK? If they are in India, where are they? Are emails more likely to produce results than letters? Any help that can be given will be much appreciated. Those in whom I am interested are listed below.

Recipients of the Albert Medal

James Carney. Railwayman, East India Railway. Saved the life of a shunting porter at Dinapur Station, Bihar, 10 July 1881.

Frederick William Timme. Saved three lives in a landslip at Darjeeling, Bengal, during a cyclone, 24 September 1899.

Mrs Florence Amy Emmett. The wife of the station master at Peshawar, NWFP. Assisted in arrest of armed fanatic who had attacked her son, although she herself was stabbed, 7 December 1919.

Recipients of the Edward Medal

James Johnston. Overseer, Mohpani Colliery, Great Indian Peninsula Railway. Saved a man after a roof fall in the mine, 7 January 1925 (GC).

James Kipling. Under-Manager, Mohpani Colliery, Great Indian Peninsula Railway. With James Johnston (see above).

Joseph John d'Santos. Chargeman, Workshops, East India Railway. Attempted to save the life of a labourer who had fallen into a cupola of melting pig iron at Jamalpur, Bengal, 23 September 1924.

Albert Edward Stroud. Guard, Bukhtiapur Station, East India Railway. Saved an elderly woman from in front of a train at Bukhtiapur, Bihar, 11 July 1912.

Cecil Herbert Whiffen. Miner, Gorangdih Colliery. With five other miners rescued two men after the roof of the colliery collapsed, 3 March 1917. Whiffen received the Edward in Silver for this incident.

Recipients of the Empire Gallantry Medal

George John Adamson. Inspector, River Traffic Police, Calcutta.

Cecil Francis Kelly. Assistant River Surveyor, Port Commissioners, Calcutta.

These two men rendered safe a barge being towed up the Hooghly River when the barge began to sink and the contents, dynamite, became unstable, 6 May 1936.

Arnold Barraclough. Sergeant, Assam-Bengal Railway Battalion, Auxiliary Force India. Fought off armed raiders attacking the armouries and telephone exchange at Chittagong, Bengal 18/19 April 1930.

Albert Lienzi de Livera. Inspector, Ceylon Police, Mount Lavinia Police Station. Arrested an armed criminal after a struggle, 1934.

George David Rodrigues. Assistant Surgeon, Indian Medical Department. For gallantry during Malabar operations, 24 September 1921.

Baptista Joseph d'Souza. Excise Constable, Sholapur District. Protected his unconscious sub-inspector during riots in Sholapur, Bombay, 27 May 1930.

[Note: All the above EGMs became GCs in 1940 with the exception of Inspector de Livera.]

Dr Graham's Homes: a Century of Service

By Douglas Evans

In the year 2000, in fact the year that the Queen Mother, the last Queen Empress of India, celebrated her 100th birthday, another institution passed its 100 year milestone. This was 'Dr Graham's Homes'. The event went largely unnoticed except by its pupils past and present. Dr Graham was a man whose concern and compassion for deserted and destitute Anglo-Indian children brought and continues to bring comfort, shelter and education to thousands of deprived children. Arguably, in his day, Dr Graham was as important to the poor Anglo-Indian community of that part of India as Mother Teresa was in more recent times to the poor and destitute of Calcutta. Who were and who are these children and who was the remarkable man who gave his name and a lifetime of dedicated service to better their lives and prospects?

The children were, and indeed still are, Anglo-Indians. They are the descendants of the mixed race liaisons and marriages encouraged by the East India Company from the early 18th Century. Later, as more British men went to India to work in the tea gardens, the jute mills and so on, those expatriates sought comfort with local ladies. When their tours of duty finished many of them returned to the UK leaving behind their 'wives' and children to an uncertain and impoverished future. A few did make some provision for those they left behind, but that was more an exception than the rule.

The man was Dr John Anderson Graham. He was a Church of Scotland missionary who was sent to 'spread the word' in the Darjeeling and Assam area of what is now known as West Bengal. He was appalled at the plight of the poor Anglo-Indian children who had been fathered by British managers of the tea gardens and simply dumped when their fathers returned to Britain or contracted an 'acceptable' marriage to a European lady. At his Mission in Kalimpong Dr Graham opened a cottage and took in about half a dozen of those children. From that very small beginning in September 1900 has grown the Dr Graham's Homes of today.

The Homes currently has about 1100 boarders and is co-educational. The children now are drawn from a wide range of backgrounds both ethnically and financially. Although the Homes takes fee-paying children, the vast majority of the Anglo-Indian children come from extremely poor backgrounds. If possible their parents make a small contribution, otherwise their children are funded by a Charitable Foundation and/or sponsors. I personally sponsor two boys and find it an extremely rewarding experience. We exchange letters and I receive copies of their school reports.

From its humble beginnings the Homes has grown into a campus of several cottages and school buildings. It is situated on a plateau in the foothills of the Himalayas. On a bright sunny day Kanchenjunga in all its snow capped glory can be seen from the playing field. The cottages are widely spaced out and all of them have splendid open views. I visit once a year usually in May to attend the May fair. It is a heart warming experience to see all

those happy smiling faces taking part in a variety of activities; and especially to see the two boys I sponsor. That first photograph of one of them showed a frightened-looking little boy. At our first meeting he hardly spoke a word. Now he is a happy well groomed boy and considering his poor background is doing quite well in his studies. He enjoys football and basketball and has a new found confidence, and I feel a sense of well being that my small contribution has given these two boys a chance of a secure and happy future.



The campus at Dr Graham's Homes



One of the 'cottages': something of a misnomer as they are all quite large, usually two or three dormitories segregated as to age but crowded with beds head to toe, with very little gangway in between and no provision for fire escape. UK Health and Safety regulations would be an unaffordable luxury.

Reviews

***Researching Ancestors in the East India Company's Armies* (FIBIS Research Guide No.1), by Peter Bailey (Families in British India Society, 2006), pp vi, 106.
ISBN 0-9547-116-1-0**

Obtainable from Elaine MacGregor, 14 Gableson Avenue, Brighton, BN1 5FG, price £6.95, or £4.50 to FIBIS members, plus £1.50 for post and packing.

Anybody who has ever worked in or used the India Office Records can tell you that the collection contains a wealth of information for genealogists looking up their ancestors. However, despite the increasing prominence of genealogical research in archival institutions, such individuals have initially faced numerous obstacles. Such records were created in the conduct of business and were not intended to be used by people who were external to the originating institution, which can make them difficult to interpret. Furthermore as the archivists' past focus was on supporting 'academic' research, such finding aids, where they exist, are constructed in a way that is of limited use to genealogists.

In recent years many institutions, most prominently The National Archives at Kew, have started to redress this imbalance, but there is still much to be done. To date any first time genealogist using the India Office Records has had a number of useful publications to consult, which contain general information on records of value to family historians, but they can be brief in detail and require a degree of lateral thinking and assistance from reading room staff. For these reasons Peter Bailey's new book *Researching Ancestors in the East India Company Armies* is a timely, welcome and much needed guide (written by an experienced genealogist for genealogists) to a dispersed and complex body of records.

The guide itself is divided into 22 sections. Sections 1-2 provide an explanation of the various guides and reference numbers which an individual will require to make headway in locating and ordering up records; whilst sections 3-5 provide a very brief but essential historical and administrative background of the Company and its armies. In sections 6-22 Bailey takes a practical approach to the records which I like very much. Each section relates to a specific point in the career of an officer or soldier from their entry into service right through to their discharge or death. At the same time there are clear descriptions and explanations of how and why the records change over time. In doing this Bailey provides a clear understanding of what the records mean and gives plenty of practical examples of the type of information they contain. One of the things which is also very useful is the concordance between the India Office Records reference with the microfilm number of the Latter Day Saints copy. Another wonderful thing about the guide is that it does not only focus on the officers and soldiers who were in India, it also provides information on the wives and children who were with them and what records will contain information on their lives. The final sections of the book refer to different collections inside the British Library and elsewhere, which may also have relevant records. The tables, lists and glossaries are very helpful and will no doubt be continually referred to by all who use the book.

As a member of staff who does occasional work in the reading room, I have had the opportunity to put this new guide to the test and am pleased to report it was easy to use and follow, which is the ultimate endorsement to a book of this type. But I would like to say that in producing this book, Bailey has done much more than just present a guide for people interested only in the East India Company armies, it contains information of interest and importance to anyone looking up their family past. I hope to see more guides of this nature published by FIBIS in the near future.

Richard Scott Morel

Archivist, Pre-1858 India Office Records

***In Their Own Words: British Women Writers and India 1740-1857*, by Rosemary Raza (Oxford University Press, 2006), pp xxxi, 289.**

ISBN 13: 978-0-19-567708-9 or 10: 0-19-567708-0. £19.99 from Amazon; Rs. 595.00.

In this engaging and informative book, Rosemary Raza uses the published work of women writers to illuminate the domestic experience of the British in India, the society they inhabited and their relationship with the country and its people. Her book is intended for the general reader, but she has also extended the boundaries of research by producing for the first time an overview and a bibliography of the published works of women writing about the period 1740-1857. The author's narrative, which provides excellent contextual information about the British in India and the 'home country', is deftly interwoven with excerpts from the writings of her chosen authors, whose publications include both factual and fictional works. Most of the writers she includes had first-hand experience of India, but some metropolitan authors also appear if their work was particularly important, high quality, or was especially influential on public opinion. The authors quoted in this book include women from the higher echelons of society, wives of army officers and civil servants, those involved in missionary work and some spirited independent travellers. Unsurprisingly there are no authors from the very poorest parts of society, but they are not forgotten as other women, particularly those involved in missionary work, wrote with considerable sympathy about their lot.

The book is well-organised into chapters dealing with domestic life, the ways in which women shaped society, the outward show of food, furnishings and dress, women's occupations, engagement with Indian society, depictions of India and attitudes to the British presence there. This book shows that women wrote about much more than their own experiences of life in India. They gave insights into missionary work, provided advice for newcomers and were involved in creating memorials for husbands, translations from Indian languages, writing history, children's literature, novels, plays, poetry and articles for newspapers and periodicals. Some of them wrote about Indian domestic life and customs, as with persistence they could gain opportunities to mix socially that were denied to British men. Their writing did not just reflect the experience of life in India but helped to shape attitudes towards it.

The author shows how the reputation of the memsahibs of the later 19th century has been projected backwards to give a misleading picture of women's attitudes before the Indian uprising of 1857-58. She suggests that our view of women's experience of and attitudes to Indian society needs revision, particularly with regard to their approach to relationships between British men and Indian women. The women writers showed little antagonism towards regular unions, and their criticism of irregular ones was often based upon the unfortunate circumstances of the progeny of such relationships. Until about the 1820s, many of the women writers took a wide-ranging and intelligent interest in India. Rosemary Raza shows how the later waning of enthusiasm for investigating India was due to a number of external factors, and should not be interpreted as simply the narrow-mindedness of the memsahibs. She refutes the view that women bore much responsibility for creating the conditions in which the Indian uprising of 1857-58 could occur, arguing that they were just one of many contributory factors, and that the more perceptive female authors warned that British arrogance towards Indians would have serious consequences.

I would recommend this book to anyone wishing to know more about the way of life that might have been experienced by their ancestors. It is lively and readable, and the author's wise decision to range widely across her subject rather than to work within the confines of a particular theoretical perspective means that one gains insights into the whole spectrum of life in India between 1740 and 1857.

Penny Brook

Head of India Office Records

***Children of the Raj*, by Vyvyan Brendon (Phoenix paperback, 2006), pp368. £8.99
ISBN 0 7538-2082-X (First published in hardback by Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 2005)**

This book is about generations of nineteenth and twentieth century children virtually exiled from familiar childhood surroundings, and separated from their parents during their most formative years. From a great quantity of diverse archive material (family letters, diaries, drawings and photos, etc.) as well as face-to-face interviews with survivors of the Raj, the author has constructed a smoothly consecutive narrative of compelling interest. It is a luminous portrayal of a way of life and social attitudes long gone. Like all good books it makes the reader feel, and it leaves the reader thinking.

In the days of sailing ships, to send your child home from India to school in England entailed a journey of several months, sometimes dangerous, and a painful separation for years. Even with the arrival of steamships the journey could still take some weeks. The background to, and reasons for, what seems to us an extraordinary custom, are here discussed. Why did the Victorians (and their twentieth century successors) do it? Lady Honoria Lawrence did it to prevent her son being 'animalised' in a heathen country. In that tropical climate, not only did many dread diseases flourish, ready to kill the young, but the sensual environment, it was believed, would weaken the moral fibre of a growing child, would make him listless and lazy and pleasure loving, whereas the bracing breezes of the English countryside would make him run about to keep warm, so developing his muscles

and his willpower.

But the final consideration was one of class. A boy, particularly a clever boy, needed a good demanding education, and the English public schools provided the best. In them he would meet other boys from the right families; and in the holidays his sisters would meet them too. So it was hoped. In an era when success and promotion were dependent on patronage and the old-boy-network, it was useful to know the right people. It was even more essential to speak with the correct accent. Any trace of *chi-chi* speech that a child might acquire in a school in India from Indians, or worse still Eurasian, pupils would spell disaster. So separation of children from parents during school years was regarded as a necessary part of growing-up. Of course the children suffered, but suffering was inevitable, and good for the soul. The Thornhill papers reveal Henrietta, a Mutiny orphan, being reprimanded by her grandmother for 'romping', and later told that it was 'wicked to expect much happiness'. Poor Henrietta was undergoing in England 'the Victorian moral training thought to be unobtainable in India'.

Of course parents suffered the separation too. Some of the children's letters suggest that their mothers suffered more than they did; but this I rather doubt. An Indian historian, A Dutta, is quoted as writing in 1995 that 'the Anglo-Indian mother's craze for socialising kept her away from her children, who usually lacked proper care'. This is probably an unjust generalisation, based perhaps on such cases as that of Sir George and Lady Barlow. They had fifteen children, whom they sent home in batches to the care of his brother William who had a childless and no doubt long-suffering wife. After a separation of six-seven years (1801-1807) Lady Elizabeth sailed home to her children; but stayed with them less than a year before returning to her social life in India, and to her love affair with her husband's cousin and *aide-de-camp*. Some years later she was divorced, when, under the laws of that era, all her children were taken from her care.

Most mothers in the nineteenth century produced ten or more children. Of these three might die, five might be at home in England, where schoolmasters, all armed with the rod and often cruel too, and housekeepers, often harsh and unloving, would be able to cope with the troublesome adolescent years. A mother, aware of being pregnant again, even as she waved goodbye to a tearful older child (sailing perhaps with strangers), still had a couple of babies to love in India.

Children were not exactly scarce. They were famously to be seen and not heard: decorative but not invaluable. They were, after all, replaceable. The author points out, significantly, that the RSPCA was founded in 1824, the NSPCC not until 1884. Children were less important in the nineteenth century, perhaps because there were so many of them. It is worth remembering that the birthrate in England rose steadily throughout the century till it reached a peak in 1870, after which it slowly declined, with no accompanying drop in infant mortality, till 1914-15, and then fell rapidly till 1930. It is no accident that this period of population decline saw widespread and growing concern for the health and happiness of children throughout Europe. In 1953 Dr John Bowlby published his observations on the development of children, notably on the damaging effects on young

children of deprivation of maternal love: *Child Care and the Growth of Love*. In 1850 who could have imagined that a hundred years later there would be added to the UN Declaration of Human Rights a clause stating that 'a child of tender years shall not, save in exceptional circumstances, be separated from its mother'?

It is interesting to note how many of these Children of the Raj became writers in adult life. They certainly had to practise the craft in all those weekly letters written to parents; and perhaps the loneliness and longing hidden between the lines of these sad little missives actually stimulated their imaginative life. Here is Thackeray, whose cheerful letter to his 'dearest of all dear Mamas', telling her how much he'd grown and what lovely cakes he'd had, does not reveal what he later confessed: that he could 'never bear the sight of people parting from their children'. Then there are Saki and P G Wodehouse weaving their memories into a monstrous 'infant world of aunts', Lytton Strachey who decidedly repudiates Victorians, and John Masters, George Orwell, MM Kaye and Rumer Godden, who all suffered heartache but also remember 'the large warm embrace of India'. They all seem to feel particularly keenly the loss of an Eden. Rudyard Kipling, whose verse the author quotes, says it all:

*It's Oh to see the morn ablaze
Above the mango-tope,
When homeward through the dewy cane
The little jackals lope,
And half Bengal heaves into view
New washed...with sunlight soap.*

We can believe, as well as hope, that the joy he felt in India compensated for all the misery he suffered during his horrible English childhood years. This wonderfully evocative book is a poignant reminder of a nearly forgotten passage in our national history.

Nora Naish

(Nora Naish is herself a child of the raj. Her book Passage from the Raj: story of a family 1770-1939 (Champak Press, 2005) was reviewed in FIBIS Journal 14.)

***'Just My Bill': Wilfrid Sworder 1894-1930*, by John Sworder (Blackmore, Longmead, Shaftesbury, Dorset, SP7 8PX; 2006), pp128. £7.50**

This is a work of filial piety by a son in search of a father whom he never knew, the father having been killed in a riding accident when the son was only 23 days old. The book contains a great deal of Sworder family history and also some information on Wilfrid ('Bill') Sworder's mother's family, the Phillips's. She was the youngest daughter of Brig-Gen George Robert Phillips (1824-91), Madras Cavalry, who, not content with fathering nine children by his wife (all born in India), left her for his mistress by whom he sired three more. Thus the Sworders, a farming family in east Hertfordshire who hitherto had had no connections with India, were linked by marriage to the Phillips's who had many, illustrating once again how the tentacles of British India penetrated everywhere into British life. Thus when Bill was posted there in 1927, there was 'no shortage of relatives to pass on experiences and give advice to Bill on India'.

Bill joined the Royal Artillery in 1914 almost directly after leaving school. He served on the western front throughout the war, won two MCs, and achieved the acting rank of Major. After the war he had to revert to his substantive rank of Lieutenant. He briefly retired from the army in 1927, but on receiving belated notification of promotion to the substantive rank of Captain rejoined, and served in India for the last four years of his life except for a period of sick leave in England in 1928 during which he married. Chapters 8-10 offer glimpses of military life in India and deal with the fateful race meeting which led to his death. His horse bolted off course and threw him against a tree, he was knocked unconscious and died very soon after. Interestingly, his C.O. reported that Bill received his injuries 'while on military duty'. The Divisional Commander felt unable to go that far, but still considered that his death was 'attributable to military services'. The point was that if the death was not due to military services, his widow would receive no pension, and it is good to note that Bill's military superiors had the humanity to stretch a point so that she and her two infant children would not be left destitute. Even so, the pension was meagre: £50p.a. plus £16p.a. for each child, equivalent to about £2,260 and £724 in today's money; but even the War Office proved benevolent and the pension was uprated though by how much is not known.

Taken as a whole, the book is a sometimes poignant illustration of the consolation which family history research can bring to those who never knew a parent.

David Blake

***General Guide to the India Office Records*, by Martin Moir (British Library, 2007)
ISBN 0 7123 0629 3. £25.00**

The BL is reprinting this authoritative Guide to the India Office Records written by their former head, Martin Moir, and first published in 1988. It remains the only work to give a general overview of the entire India Office Records – an invaluable guide for anyone wishing to understand the structure and provenance of the holdings, and the administrative history of the various bodies that produced them.

David Blake