



In memoriam

Peter Bailey

1936-2023

Life President of FIBIS

FAMILIES IN BRITISH INDIA SOCIETY

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Submission guidelines can be found on page 48 of the Journal. A number of alterations have been made.

Front cover: Peter Bailey

Back cover: 'The Railway Bridge at Abu Road, January 26th 1888' by Elizabeth Ellen James © the Editor

See inside back cover for membership, subscription and general enquiry details.

THE JOURNAL OF THE FAMILIES IN BRITISH INDIA SOCIETY. NUMBER 49

Spring 2023

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EDITORIAL

It is with much regret that we announce the death of Peter Bailey, the long-standing Life President of FIBIS: you will find his obituary on the following pages. Sadly, as a recent recruit I have not had the privilege of meeting Peter, but I know that most of our readers will have known him well and will join the Trustees in sending their condolences to Peter's family.

Welcome to the 49th edition of the Journal. I must thank the Trustees for putting the Journal in my care and say that the process of preparing the present edition has been thoroughly enjoyable. I shall introduce myself more fully in the next issue.

Thank you also Contributors, many of you with a long and distinguished record of writing for the Journal. Your articles make for an absorbing and informative edition, and you have been a delight to work with.

Please let me know if you would like to contribute to the Journal: if you've not done so before I can offer support.

I have simplified the format for submissions, and I hope that the requirements are now easier to comply with. They can be found at the end of the Journal.

Adam Streatfeild-James



A Tribute to Peter Bailey

30 Mar | [News](#)



With great sadness, FIBIS has been advised of the death of Peter Bailey last week. Peter became President of FIBIS in 2016 after holding the position of chairman for fifteen years and secretary for a short while previously. His offer to become chairman at the time not only saved FIBIS from extinction but ensured that the society grew from a modest initial membership to become one of the leading family history societies in both strength and achievements.

Peter's vision for FIBIS encompassed a number of paths. He forged a strong alliance with the British Library (London), where the India Office records are housed and he encouraged transcriptions to be placed in FIBIS database of these and records held elsewhere that could be of assistance to the family historian. His many insightful lectures were well researched and clearly delivered and he was also genuinely interested in the experiences and stories that others shared with him and was keen to ensure that these were recorded for future generations. It is also satisfying that the

FIBIS India cemetery photography project he had envisaged is now well under way. Always ready to share his own knowledge he was a regular contributor to the encyclopaedic Fibiwiki and also the FIBIS journal – but, in my view, his wonderful FIBIS guides on the armies of India will be his lasting legacy.



I had the privilege of serving as a trustee under Peter for almost nine years and witnessed at first-hand how much he willingly assisted anyone who needed research help as well as being a support for our own team. He was a hugely popular, kind and humble man who genuinely appreciated every aspect of volunteer help FIBIS received – be it large or small. There is no doubt that his character and contagious enthusiasm has contributed to the continuing success of the society he loved. To him FIBIS owes a huge debt of gratitude.

During the period of his chairmanship Peter's wife, Tricia, was often by his side – quietly assisting at family history

fairs and FIBIS meetings – and to her FIBIS also extends a vote of thanks as we offer her and her family our deepest condolences at this time.

Peter's death is a great loss to the world of family history. On a personal note, it was an honour to have known and worked with him and, I hope, we will all continue to fulfil his wish of "Good Hunting"!

Requiescat in Pace!

BEVERLY HALLAM (FIBIS Chairman)

PETER HAD THIS TO SAY IN HIS MEMOIRS ABOUT HIS YEARS WITH FIBIS:

In 1998, I had found a little time in recent years to join and play a part in the newly formed “Families in British India Society”. I accepted the job as honorary membership secretary when the Society was first formed after Tony Fuller was elected Chairman. His friend Jennie was elected Secretary, and Donald Jacques was Treasurer. We had a committee member in Geraldine Charles, whose ancestor had served as a gunner in the Honourable East India Company’s Madras Army in about 1830. We advised everyone interested in the history of British India: ancestors, the East India Company and all related issues. We were basically a genealogy society, and we wrote articles, gave lectures and conducted research for persons concerning any ancestors who may have served in British India.

Our membership was only about sixty persons at the start, but then we started to publicise ourselves by general methods and, in particular, by attending various exhibitions, especially of the Society of Genealogists. Another of the members that we recruited was Cathy Day, who had made a start by instituting a database of the soldiers who joined the HEIC Army (from 1740 until 1860). An earlier genealogist who had attempted to organize something similar in the past was an American gentleman called Ian Poyntz. We had had dealings with him before. Indeed, since he could show that he was a “Poyntz” we could link him into our Poyntz family and trace, as we suspected, that we are related to the White Queen, who was Elizabeth Woodville, (1437 – 1492) wife of King Edward IV and mother of the murdered “Princes in the Tower”. Ian explained to us how we could further trace our ancestors through to King Darius of Persia and other people of note in centuries gone by!

We slowly built up our membership and after a year we had achieved a membership of about 120. After this we continued to build members and expand the committee. We made excellent progress and managed to convince the British Library, where most of the “India Office” records are kept, to allow us to hold our committee meetings in the Reading Room after hours on a Monday evening and also to let us hold our twice-yearly “Open Meetings” in a meeting room on their premises. After a short time, Tony Fuller and Jennie decided that they could not continue controlling the Society and wanted to emigrate to France. This allowed me to take over as Chairman, to control matters thence forward and to be the Chairman for the next 15 years, by which time the membership was approaching 1300 and, if I can say, we were the most influential and powerful family history society in the business. After about three or four years, one of our senior committee members, John Kendall, developed for us a searchable database into which several of us placed much of the data that we collected from the British Library & India directly. Eventually, we accumulated over 2 million records, which was an enormous aid to researchers in British Indian History. This was a huge success and put us streets ahead of other societies which have tried to copy us.

Whilst in Sydney in 2005, we were invited to meet several of our friends in FIBIS, notably Sylvia Murphy and Ron and Ruth Ayo who invited us to dinner. Sylvia had also arranged a formal FIBIS meeting at which I gave a lecture on British India at the prestigious Royal Australian Historical Association headquarters in Sydney. This was well received and up to thirty FIBIS members attended. It was interesting to note that Tricia and I felt very much at home, especially since the members had all brought sandwiches and cakes as refreshments to the meeting.

I was very fortunate in the various committee members that I managed to recruit for FIBIS. In particular, I selected Elaine MacGregor quite soon after we got started and she helped in many of the supporting roles on the committee. Another person to whom I owed a lot of gratitude for her help was Valmay Young, who eventually became our web master when John Kendall eventually left FIBIS since his job pulled him away. It was most interesting to realise that John's ancestors were recorded very shortly before mine in 1843, such that they were entered into the Marriage Registers in the next entry before mine (Edward Evans to Catherine Evers) at St. Thomas Mount, Madras on 8th Feb, 1843).

Tricia and I went to India four times subsequently, twice with FIBIS and twice independently over the years to come (to "celebrate" the 100th anniversary of the Indian Mutiny with FIBIS in 2007 and to follow the Trail in Madras in 2015, plus twice independently in 1998 and 2004). On both occasions when we were there independently, we visited the Church of St. Patrick at St. Thomas Mount where I was able to take pictures of the records to copy them when we got home for the FIBIS database.

We were able to go to the "Who Do You Think You Are?" exhibition at the National Exhibition Centre in Birmingham in the April of 2015 and this was as usual, a great success. However, hindered still by my inability to walk properly, I reluctantly had a word with Pat Scully, who was a trustee of FIBIS and who had had a lot of experience in management. He was quite interested in taking over the job of Chairman from me – and, after much consideration, I agreed. So, after 15 years in the chair, I gave up the job to accept the position of "Life President".

Many thanks to Peter's daughter, Katharine Kemp, for permission to publish this extract.

THE FRENCH IN INDIA – PART 1

Peter Summers

It's complicated. My thoughts are British and I am British. But am I? Certainly I have English, Scottish and Irish ancestors but, being from a family who emigrated back to this country from India after centuries away, I am actually a mongrel. My genes include that of French, Dutch and Indian origins. While I'm proud of the bowmen at Agincourt and Clive at Plassey, should I be proud of Dupleix in India? And who, you might ask, is Dupleix! So I set about discovering what the history behind my French ancestors was, what were the French doing in India and who were their leaders. The story is huge and complex. It has its heroes and adventurers, its politics and intrigues. Mix that with world politics, Indian politics, British politics and you have my simple hodge-podge of the French in India.

A Quick Historical Review

In Europe, during the seventeenth century, power rested mainly with the French under Louis XIV (the Sun King - 1638 to 1715) and the Dutch. In a general sense, France was one of the strongest European nations on land (certainly the most aggressive) while the Dutch were mightiest at sea. The Dutch East India Company (the VOC) was the largest and most influential commercial business in the world - for two hundred years from 1600 on. During this time the VOC's size in men, warships and goods traded exceeded all the other European companies put together.

England was unstable largely due to religious factional disagreements, and this resulted in the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642. Charles II became king after the death of Oliver Cromwell; he and his successor, James II, had French leanings and fought Holland side by side with Louis. However, the English public were against the French and by 1688 James II was overthrown and the crown then held by Mary and William, the latter a Dutch Stadtholder (and Prince of Orange). This meant that future conflicts were between France and a united England and Holland; dominance of world trade shifted towards England (and the United Kingdom after 1707). Dutch power from then on began to fade and by the end of the 18th century, Britain was the leading power.

As you know, India wasn't the India we know today, or even during the later period of the British Raj. It was a maelstrom of little and larger countries ruled over by rajahs, nabobs and so on. Many had armies and conducted their lives via political intrigues and war, paying for this by taxing their people. I should mention that the Mughals (eg Shah Jahan 1592- 1666) were overall rulers of much of the subcontinent and their empire was the world's largest (25% of global GDP, 110 to 150 million people). Into this mix sailed merchant adventurers from Portugal, Holland, Denmark, Britain and Sweden. They competed with each other commercially and involved themselves with local politics either to enhance their position or reduce their competitors' positions.

The Seventeenth Century

France was late into the lucrative commercial situation that pertained in East Asia; the Dutch had launched their trade company in 1602 and the British had established their first outpost in 1611. Fifty years after the Dutch, France's Louis XIV was approached by Jean-Baptiste Colbert,¹ his

¹ Colbert and the Elusive Quest for French Mercantile Power in the Indian Ocean, 1664-1674 ([Glenn Joseph Ames https://www.jstor.org/stable/42952243](https://www.jstor.org/stable/42952243))

Controller of Finances, to improve their country's world image and finances by opening up the east to commerce as had the Dutch and British. A company called 'Compagnie des Indes Orientales' was set up in 1664 and its first major outpost was Mauritius ('Île de France' as it was then called).

Caron, Marcara and De La Haye

A Dutchman (of French origin) called **Francis Caron** had recently resigned from a senior position with the VOC and he was invited to open up trade in India. SP Sen² says that "*Caron was a man of magisterial appearance, severe in looks, implacable in hatred and extremely vindictive*". Despite this description he was an experienced East India man and arrived in Surat in 1668. Surat at the time was a cotton producing area and was also a hub for peppers and spices. Caron understood the ways of Indian rajahs, who required homage and gifts, and was careful always to engage properly with the local authorities. He first visited the King of Persia with a letter from Louis XIV and then, in India, the Mughal ruler Aurangzeb. Another letter from Louis XIV helped seal the position of the French in their trading in India; Aurangzeb gave them a 'Firman' to trade in India.



Aurangzeb reading the Quran

Before moving on, a word about Aurangzeb. This man became famous for his military strength, political treachery and religious zeal. By the time he became Emperor in 1666 he had executed and poisoned his competitors for the throne, including his brother, and been leader of several military campaigns. He went on to rule practically the whole of India but in doing so he virtually bankrupted his empire. He spent a great deal of effort subduing the Deccan, including Golconda (and we will hear of Golconda several times). After his death in 1707 the Mughal Empire went into decline while the Marathas expanded.

The Dutch and British companies, also trading in Surat, were suspicious of the new French entrant but could do little - they were commercial men. Caron sent an Armenian merchant, **Marcara Avanchintz**, to the Coromandel Coast to open a factory there. (I should mention that Caron and Marcara just did not get along!) Marcara approached the King of Golconda with great respect and presents which resulted in permission to open an outpost alongside the British settlement there. This was Masulipatam, a small sea port on the east Coromandel coast. And so, with a busy Caron in charge, French trade with India increased rapidly. Besides Surat, they set up factories at Rajapur, Tanore, Calicut, Tellicherry and Masulipatam. All this by 1671 and if they had behaved as a business orientated team, potentially, they would have successfully taken over from the British. The problem was that Caron was very single minded and the leading French merchants created factions against him. SP Sen believes that the French had three major failings: fickleness (e.g. changing plans without warning), lack of business ability (unlike the British EIC) and internal quarrels. Sen backs this up in his book which may, of course, be biased. In addition to British writers of the time, he uses the diaries of two senior people of the day: **Francois Martin**, a deputy to Caron and, later, a governor of French India, and **Abbé Carré**, a politically minded Catholic priest travelling through India at the time. Carré, in particular, was a politician and worked behind the scenes to improve French interests to the detriment of the other European nations.

² 'The French in India - First Establishment and Struggle' by S P Sen, University of Calcutta, 1947

Complaints sent back to France about Caron's attitude led to other governors being sent out. As a result, work and development of the French trade with Indian merchants and rajahs often got held up while the governors argued about every issue. Caron, despite his haughty character, had many good ideas though he was unable to persuade his countrymen to act as one body. It is purported that Caron asked Marcara to take personal bribes while trading. He was later imprisoned on false charges and sent back to France, where he was acquitted.



Map outline by [Wikimaps Atlas project](#) - Author Yug.
Locations added by Summers

One idea of his will be recounted here, as it led to his eventual end, both politically and physically.

Attempt to Colonise Ceylon

In the course of his many letters to Colbert in France, Caron mentioned that there was an opportunity to create a military and commercial outpost in Ceylon. Now, the Dutch believed that Ceylon was their ground, though there was much of the island untouched by them, particularly the land ruled over by the King of Kandy. So this suggestion had all the hallmarks of potential trouble! Colbert got King Louis's permission to despatch a small naval fleet to India commanded by Admiral **Jacob Blanquet de la Haye**.

The Admiral's fleet consisted of 9 military ships which arrived at Surat in 1671. After a delay in starting the expedition, Caron boarded the flagship and the fleet set sail in January 1672, in a leisurely way, stopping at a number of ports and investigating various inlets and creeks. They visited Portuguese Daman and Goa where they entertained, and were entertained by, the Viceroy. Here both sides made every effort to outdo the other with lavish entertainments and gifts. In doing so, the French used a considerable proportion of their finance for the journey. They also lost many men who, thinking that life was better on the other side of the fence, deserted to the Portuguese. Further on, the fleet visited Tellicherry where a French outpost had been set up and there they were entertained by the Zamorin of Calicut. The Zamorin wanted to be rid of the Dutch and so agreed to place his land under the protection of the French; he also ceded the area of Alicot to Caron.

And then, at long last, the fleet headed towards Ceylon and had the luck to pass a Dutch fleet. This was the perfect moment to have a naval battle as the French fleet was superior, but Caron refused to engage and ordered de la Haye to sail on to Ceylon - probably a wise decision in order to preserve the French force for later fleet engagements! However, King Louis had sent a letter ordering de la Haye to attack the Dutch whenever possible, but this letter had been delayed in its transmission to Caron by an unfriendly director in Surat. So Caron and de la Haye sailed on south.

As I mentioned, Ceylon was occupied, in part, by the Dutch; the large, mountainous and forested interior, sometimes stretching to the coast, was controlled by the King of Kandy. The King had not been happy with the Dutch on the island (though earlier he hadn't liked the Portuguese and had invited the Dutch to help him) and as a consequence, when the French fleet arrived at Trincomalee he had his envoys make a treaty with them with the offer of military support. However, the Dutch

could not stand the idea of another European country being anywhere in the region and so sent military units and their strong local fleet to prevent this.

The French ships in Trincomalee were placed under siege for many months, and, though the King of Kandy had promised help, none was quickly forthcoming. With provisions reducing, Caron and de la Haye, now reduced to eight ships, sailed away on 9th July 1672. The Dutch let them go past unhindered although a couple of French merchant vessels, sent ahead earlier on for provisions, were seized. This was the end of one of Caron's ideas. Formally, the next one was not planned to be executed in the short term but was brought forward accidentally! In this, we had the makings of Caron's downfall, though it started well.

St Thomé

It was 1672 and the French fleet had sailed away from Ceylon somewhat hurt in its fortunes. It was re-provisioned at the Dutch settlement of Tranquebar and Portuguese Porto Novo. Porto Novo was in the territory of the King of Bijapur and the king, being favourable towards the French, offered them a site at Tranquebar for settlement. Having accepted this from the king, the fleet moved on to St Thomé, a site that was once Portuguese and which was within a short distance of the British settlement of Madras. (St Thomé is not St Thomas's Mount which is also near Madras). It had been Caron's master plan for France in the East Indies to sail to Banka Island, to the east of Sumatra, where he could engage the Dutch in battle alongside local rulers who wanted rid of that nation. This was not to be.

Golconda now enters the equation. This city was the capital of the Qutb Shahi sultanate; later the capital was moved to nearby Hyderabad. The sultans were wealthy - they mined diamonds, the finest in the world. Cutting, polishing and selling was carried out in Hyderabad.

Caron had, at the start of his mission to India, proposed to the French minister, Colbert, that St Thomé would be an ideal French settlement. By 1672, St Thomé was a Golcondan army establishment, having been captured from the Portuguese; the military governor was suspicious of all Europeans. So, when the French approached him politely to enter the fort, they found themselves refused permission not once but twice. This seriously upset their national pride, and although Caron had not started with the idea of taking St Thomé that year, this pushed him over the brink.

On the 24th July, 300 men and three cannons were landed on the shore visible from the fort. As a result, the town's defenders were aware of the impending attack and sent for help to the Golcondan sultan. Soon though, the fort's walls were scaled using ladders and the commander was taken prisoner. Shortly afterwards, 800 Golcondan cavalry arrived but too late, the town was in French hands.

There was an immediate effect on French relations: Masulipatam, being in the kingdom of Golconda, lost all its trade. The British in Madras suddenly appreciated that there was an aggressive competitor on their doorstep. The Dutch, who believed they owned all trade on the Coromandel Coast (the south east area of India), were furious. The Portuguese considered St Thomé as lawfully theirs and the taking of the town was therefore an insult.



Abdullah Qutb Shah, in white jama with a gold coat and shawl c 1700. Original in colour. He died 1672. His son-in-law, Abdul Hassan Qutb Shah, succeeded him.

The Sultan of Golconda, Abdul-i-Hasan Quth Shah, dispatched his troops to lay siege to the town. Elephants dragged cannons, the largest being 120 pounders, along with the necessary gunpowder and balls. His three best generals led the troops: 6000 infantry and 2000 cavalry plus 40,000 camp followers. These 'civilians' ensured that the troops were living well and happy - it was the way of war then. The generals surrounded St Thomé but left open the coast road to allow the French to retreat if they wished.

Caron and de la Haye soon realised that the taking of St Thomé was one thing, the altogether greater problem of holding it was another. So de la Haye sent for help from Surat and Caron took ship to France for similar reasons, but died when the vessel sank off Lisbon. Caron would not have been received favourably by the King and so, perhaps, his unfortunate death was a better end. We must not forget the Dutch, who were the major European power at that time. They were in contact with Golconda and agreed to help the king throw the French out of St Thomé. Meanwhile, de la Haye attacked and burnt Indian shipping at Masulipatam to put pressure on Golconda to sue for peace. While he was doing this, the Dutch sent

14 war ships to St Thomé and commenced a bombardment.

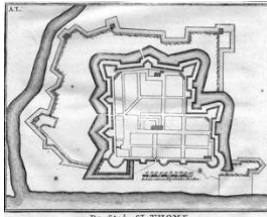
De la Haye was getting nowhere with his 'peace' attempt at Masulipatam and so returned to St Thomé. He had with him two of his original fleet (two others supporting St Thomé) and four captured Golcondan ships. A storm came up and the captured ships escaped. One of his French ships was also lost to him, being captured later by the Dutch. As his remaining ship approached St Thomé, he saw the Dutch fleet there and prepared for battle. He was a resolute man. The Dutch admiral sent 6 ships after him but de la Haye damaged them all by his broadsides. However a squall took his sails, and before the rest of the Dutch fleet reached him he sailed away into the night, reaching Pondicherry the next day. The Dutch, worried about the potential arrival of a British fleet which was then in Bengal, let him go. This was sensible, the Dutch and British fleets met in battle shortly afterwards with loss on both sides. Both parties withdrew to lick their wounds.

The Golcondan siege of St Thomé lasted a long time, with de la Haye now returned to the fort, and this began to have an effect on the French troops over the last months of 1674; their forces in St Thomé had reduced considerably through battle and illness, the men were dispirited and de la Haye was unable to get them to fight any more. Accordingly, he approached the Dutch for a capitulation of the town to them, rather than to Golconda, and an agreement was signed on 6th September 1674.

On that day, the last of the provisions in the fort had been consumed so the Dutch re-provisioned them temporarily while two ships were brought in to take the men back to France. On the 23rd September, de la Haye handed over St Thomé to the Dutch. This was a defeat without humiliation. In France, the king treated de la Haye in a generous way and appointed him a Lieutenant-general. He died in action in 1677. It has to be said that despite his kindness, the Sun King took little notice of what was happening in India and left his people to their fate. However, Caron and de la Haye

had had somewhat grandiose and self-interested attitudes towards others which didn't help matters.

Back at St Thomé, the Dutch split the French armaments equally with the Golcondans and the town was handed back to the Sultan of Golconda. By 1697 the fort had been completely destroyed to ensure it never again gave trouble to Arcot and Hyderabad - by then the responsibility of the Nizam of the Carnatic.



The map on the left is one produced by Francois Valentijn in 1674. I am assuming that the river shown is the River Adya though its shape doesn't accord with that of today's river. For Madras aficionados, this reference³ suggests that the north west corner was on the junction of Bazaar and Devadi Roadsith Kutchery Road running to the sea and the San Thomé Cathedral.

Caron and de la Haye had put in a lot of effort and lost many men, for nothing. However, they had left a strong establishment at Pondicherry and a positive military record in the opinion of the Indian rajahs. You will recall that Sen's view was that the French had little business sense in comparison to their competitors in India. True to this, the 'Compagnie des Indes Orientales' went bankrupt in 1680 and for 30 years the French legal monopoly (that is, the monopoly granted by Louis), was rented out to French merchants.

Hyderabad state now encompassed Golconda and took part, again, in French events (yet to be covered in Part 2). Also, the Mughal empire had spread across north India, and during the latter half of the 17th century it was expanding over south India under the control of the Emperor, Aurangzeb. As the empire increased, the many Indian rulers in the area either acknowledged the emperor as the supreme ruler of India or were conquered if they did not. Aurangzeb took Bijapur in 1686 and Golconda in 1687. The last Sultan died in prison in 1699. Some years after Aurangzeb's death a governor was installed in Hyderabad with the title: 'Nizam' (1714). We will hear of the Nizams again!

Pondicherry

Pondicherry had been developed early in the 17th century by the Danes for cotton manufacture, and on their departure they had left behind a desire by the local inhabitants to find an alternative customer. The governor of the area, Sher Khan Lody, on behalf of the King of Bijapur, approached Francois Martin at Masulipatam to suggest that the French took up trading at Pondicherry. Martin did so and soon had 80 Europeans on site. Martin started the manufacture of dye and cotton cloth there and he also started a farm nearby. Martin was made governor of Pondicherry.

In 1676, local ruler rivalries came to the fore; there was a palace revolution in Bijapur and the new king was a child. Sher Khan Lody was loyal; the Governor of Jinji, Nasir Mohammed, took action against the king. Lody turned for support from the French: specifically, Lody asked Martin to take one of Nasir Mohammed's forts, Valdur, some 20 miles from Pondicherry.

³ <https://sriramv.com/2018/04/17/lost-landmarks-of-chennai-the-san-thome-fort/>

Forty five Frenchmen and 60 Lody troops took the fort. Although this was not a major military engagement, it was the start of French military intervention in Indian politics for the next century. Perhaps I should mention that Lody at this point was at his peak of power in the south but within 5 years had died, the victim of multiple intrigues by Indian rulers of the area⁴

If you look at the references in the footnotes, I think you will find SP Sen's book most interesting. I would also recommend *Privileging Commerce: The Compagnie des Indes and the Politics of Trade in Old Regime France*' (Gregory Mole, University of North Carolina 2016), which looks at French colonisation and trade from a different angle.

FOR THE LOVE OF GARDENING – LANCASTER AND PERCY-LANCASTER CONTRIBUTIONS TO INDIAN AND AFRICAN HORTICULTURE: PART 1

Annabel Percy-Lancaster

The horticultural achievements of my ancestors are overwhelming to say the least. Much has been written about them, whether it is on the internet or in various media. Often confusion arises between Sydney and his son Alick; their location, work and achievements. One such example is the book "*A Sahib's Manual for the Mali – Everyday Gardening in India*". The first edition came out with Sydney as author, but it was in fact Alick who was the author. When I read the first edition, I immediately knew something was amiss and I realised that the editor had confused the two men.

Through much sleuth work I was able to track down an email address for her and sent her enough evidence to convince her to publish a second edition with Alick as author. Even on a recent trip to India in 2019 one of the journalists who interviewed my sister and I got very muddled between these two men. So, if by writing this article I am able to shed just a little bit of clarity on the four horticulturists/botanists in our family, then I have achieved something.

From banker to horticulturist: Percy Joseph LANCASTER

Percy Joseph LANCASTER was born in 1860 in Lucknow, the eldest of nine children to parents David LANCASTER and Lydia Augusta ERETH (nee PARRY). He had three younger sisters and five younger brothers; Mary Elizabeth (1862-1931), Arthur David Parry (1866-1919), Ernest Priestley (1868-1870), Lewis Edward (1871-1926), Henry Thomas (1873-1875), twins Cecil Morgan (1876-1952) and Daisy Esther (1876-unknown) and Ella M (unknown-1899).

He was very young when he was sent to England to be educated, and at the age of 10 was living at 116 South Parade, Huddersfield (Yorkshire) with his uncle, Thomas Henry PRIESTLEY and aunt, Elizabeth (nee LANCASTER). He was enrolled in Fulneck Boys School (Leeds) from approximately 1874 to 1878, after which he was employed in the counting houses at Stansfeld Mills (Huddersfield) from 1878 to 1879.

⁴ The Tragedy of Sher Khan Lody, a Noble of 17th Century Bijapur' by Aniruddha Ray.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/44138618>



Percy Joseph LANCASTER,
Huddersfield (±1879).

Percy returned to India in 1879 and joined the Rohilkund and Kumaon Bank in Bareilly, where he was employed for about five years; firstly as accountant and later as agent of the Bareilly Branch. In 1884 he took up a position at the Provincial Bank, presumably in Delhi. On his resignation the Directors of the Rohilkund and Kumaon Bank sent Percy a letter in August 1884 that has been transcribed below:

At a meeting of the Directors of the Rohilkund and Kumaon Bank held at Naini Tal on the 26th of August 1884 the following resolutions were unanimously adopted to be placed in the Bank's records, Viz:

Whereas Mr P. Lancaster who served this Bank four years and eight months as accountant and for the past seven months as agent of the Bareilly Branch, has now on his own motion resigned his employment for a more desirable and profitable position in another Bank, therefore

1st) Resolved: That the hearty thanks of the Directors and Shareholders of this Bank are due to and are hereby tendered to Mr Lancaster for the faithful and able manner in which he has served the Bank for so many years that the Directors take great pleasure in expressing their entire satisfaction with all his business transactions and with the prompt and assiduous discharge of all his duties: that he has in all respects shown himself to be capable, upright and steady young man, and that it is the unanimous opinion of the Directors that in the near future Mr Lancaster will stand among the most efficient Bank Managers of India.

2nd) Resolved: That in consideration of the efficient and faithful manner in which he has served the Bank, and especially in consideration of the delicate and difficult duties which devolved upon him in the adjustment of the deranged affairs of the Bareilly Branch in consequence of the defalcations of his predecessor, Mr Lancaster, and the extra work he had to do in connection with those defalcations and the able manner in which he adjusted those difficulties the Directors request the Manager to forward to Mr Lancaster a bonus of (Rs 250) two hundred and fifty Rupees as a small token of their appreciation of his faithful services.

Directors: D.W. Thomas (the other 2 names are indistinguishable)

It appears that Percy did not work at the Provincial Bank for very long, probably only about two years. A short article in the Pioneer, dated April the 8th 1886, states that the Provincial Bank was to be liquidated, and another article by an unsourced newspaper notes the bank's collapse was due to "lax management" by Percy's predecessor, who "wrought the mischief".

We are not entirely sure at what point Percy decided to turn his hobby, which was horticulture, into his career, but in 1889 he frequently visited the National Botanic Gardens (NBG) in Lucknow and worked there until 1892. He moved to Calcutta and in 1893 was appointed the Secretary of the Agri-Horticultural Society of India (AHSI) in Alipore. He was particularly interested in hybridisation, his first experiment on cannas and amaryllis taking place in 1890. He maintained his interest in hybridisation and in 1903 managed to cross breed three varieties of *Cooperia* and

*Zephyranthes*⁵, viz. *Rosea* (*Cooperia Drummondii* x *Zephyranthes Carinata*), *Lancastræ* (*Cooperia Oberwettii* x *Zephyranthes Robusta*) and *Sunset* (*Cooperia Drummondii* x *Zephyranthes Andersonii*). These hybrids were unfortunately lost when he died in Calcutta in 1904.

Percy married Ida Gordon BLUNT in 1885 in Fatehgarh. They had two sons and three daughters; Sydney Percival (1886-1972), Margery Ida (1888-1981), Trevor Priestley (1890-1892), Doris Muriel (1895-1923) and Mona Marguerite (1895-1987).



*The Lancaster Family (from left to right):
Ida, Mona, Margery, Percy, Doris and Sydney*



*Sydney PERCY-LANCASTER with his
hybrid *Cosmos* 'Alipore Beauty'⁶
(1954).*

Horticulture pioneer in India: Sydney Percival LANCASTER

Sydney Percival LANCASTER was born in 1886 in Meerut. As soon as Sydney could sit up, his maternal grandfather (William CRUX) performed an Indian tradition known as "*haathey khori*" or an aptitude test on him. Of all the "*tokens*" Sydney could pick up, he picked up the "*khurpi*" or trowel. Having spent his childhood in both the NBG in Lucknow and the AHSI in Calcutta, Sydney developed a keen interest in plants and hybridised his first *Canna* at the age of 11.

His career with the AHSI began in 1902 where he was first apprenticed and then, when his father passed away in 1904, he was appointed as an Assistant. Unlike many British horticulturists in India who were sent out from England, Sydney was "*home-grown*"⁷. He went on to become the Assistant Secretary of the AHSI in 1910 and then the Secretary in 1914 until his forced retirement in 1953. In 1953 Sydney joined the NBG (now the National Botanic Research Institute (NBRI)) in Lucknow as Senior Technical Assistant and remained there until 1959 when he and his wife Mary joined their son Alick in Salisbury (Southern Rhodesia). But after Mary's death in 1960 and Alick's death in 1961 he returned to the NBRI in Lucknow.

Sydney died in New Delhi in 1972; half his ashes are scattered in the NBRI and the other half in the AHSI as per his instructions. A memorial stone dedicated to Sydney was erected in the gardens of the AHSI and opened by his son Richard. This stone is still present in the AHSI gardens.

⁵ Percy-Lancaster, S. (1912). *Bi-generic hybrids between Cooperia and Zephyranthes produced at the Agri-Horticultural Society's gardens, Alipore, Calcutta*. J. Roy. Hort. Soc. 38. 531-542.

⁶ Raised in 1939, has been renamed *Radiance* and is sold all over the world.

⁷ Gilmour, D. (2018). *The British in India: Three Centuries of Ambition and Experience*. Penguin Random House, London, United Kingdom.



Sydney's memorial stone in the Agri-Horticultural Society of India gardens, Kolkata (2019)

Sydney was probably best known for his horticultural development of *Canna* and this came through perseverance and hard work: He published his first horticultural paper on the crossing of *Canna*, though circumstances at Alipore did not allow proper application of scientific technique. There was no spare land, nor any literature on cross-breeding available, and he was to learn by trial and error, keen observational power and natural instinct.

Over Sydney's illustrious career he can be credited with the hybridisation of many species or cultivars that include *Acalypha*, *Amaryllis*, *Baleria*, *Bauhinia*, *Begonia*, *Bougainvillea*, *Cassia*, *Chrysanthemum*, *Codiaeum*, *Cosmos*, *Crinum*, *Hedychium*, *Hemerocallis*, *Hibiscus*, *Ixora*, *Lagerstroemia*, *Malvaviscus*, *Panax*, *Poinsettia*, *Sansevieria* and *Tecoma*.

In 2019 my eldest sister Elayne and I visited India and on our very first day in New Delhi we stumbled across a cultivar of *Bougainvillea* 'Mary Palmer' a short walk away from our hotel. B. 'Mary Palmer' was the first bi-colour cultivar and was raised and named by Sydney in 1949 in Calcutta:

The evolution of the cultivar B. 'Mary Palmer' was a breakthrough in the floriculture and a landmark in the history of bougainvillea cultivation.

During our visit to the NBRI gardens in Lucknow we planted another Bougainvillea raised and named by Sydney, B. 'Scarlet Queen'

Percy Lancaster, the renowned British horticulturist, has been credited for the development of the first cultivar of Bougainvillea 'Scarlet Queen' in 1920.

On a recent (2021) business trip to the Karoo (South Africa) I was amazed to spot a bi-coloured Bougainvillea on the side of the road near De Rust. Like any Percy-Lancaster would, I stopped and on closer inspection noted that it was indeed B. 'Mary Palmer':



Bougainvillea 'Mary Palmer' photographed in Delhi, India, 2019



Bougainvillea 'Mary Palmer' photographed in De Rust, Klein Karoo, South Africa, 2021

Sydney's contribution to horticulture in India was immense and he received recognition world-wide through the following awards:

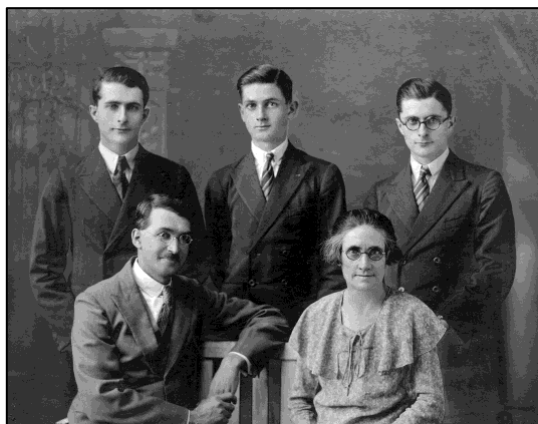
1920	Elected a Fellow of the Linnean Society of London.
1935	Viceroy, the Earl of Willingdon presented Sydney with a medal for his contributions to Indian horticulture.
1937	In recognition of the service rendered by the Agri-Horticultural Society, King George V permitted the prefix of the word "The Royal" to the Society's name.
1939	10 th recipient of the Herbert Medal received from the Amaryllis Society of America for his eminent services in crossbreeding.
Since 1960	Percy-Lancaster Challenge Cup in the Chrysanthemum and Coleus show and Rose and Gladiolus show (NBRI).
1962	Awarded the Carey Medal for long service to horticulture.
1989	The NBRI is the third largest botanic garden in India. Among the plant houses in the NBRI is the Percy-Lancaster House, named after Sydney Percy-Lancaster for his contribution towards the improvement of horticulture in India. It is in the shape of a tunnel and houses potted plants of medicinal and economic importance.
2011	During their Annual Flower Show, the NBRI in Lucknow honoured Sydney by naming the hybrid Gladiolus 'Sydney Percy-Lancaster' after him for his contributions to Indian horticulture particularly in the NBRI Botanic Garden from 1953-1959.



Visit to the NBG in 2019.

L-R: Dr Amrita Das (CEO: ICS & our gracious host), Dr Sharma (was an apprentice under Sydney), my sister Elayne, Prof. Barik (Director: CSIR-NBRI), myself, Dr Tewari (Chief Scientist), Dr Nair (Principal Scientist) and unknown gentleman

Sydney was the author of the gardening manual "*An Amateur in an Indian Garden*" which was first published in 1929. During his career he published in excess of 250 articles on gardening and garden plants in horticultural bulletins, journals, newspapers, magazines and foreign journals. A bulletin was published by the NBRI on "*Gloriosa*" which he wrote with his son Alick. Sydney married Mary Isabel CRUX in 1911 in Calcutta. They had three sons; twins Percy (1912-1940) and Alick (1912-1961) and Richard (1916-1998).



*The Percy-Lancaster Family (from left to right):
Percy, Sydney, Richard, Mary and Alick*

Acknowledgements

A special word of thanks to Noel Gunther (FIBIS Volunteer) who has spent considerable time in the British Library obtaining extracts of information from the New Calcutta and Thackers Bengal Directories. Janet Bedford is thanked for providing the photograph of Percy in Huddersfield. My cousin Tracey is thanked for proofreading this article.

COMMISSIONER BOILARD AND THE 1915 CALCUTTA MUNICIPAL ELECTION Will Barber Taylor.

Regional elections are not often considered to be vastly important to many people. Compared with general elections or the election of a President, local elections often seem to lack the drama that is required to ensure that an audience that isn't highly politically active, is engaged. This was not, however, the case in the past, often because local elections were a right that was fought for.

The right to have elections in which Indians could stand and represent themselves was a long and hard one; whilst Bombay for example instituted municipal elections in 1873, the minimal rate paying amount (50 rupees) to be eligible to vote meant that only 0.6% of the city's population could stand and vote to be elected to represent their part of the city.⁸

Things had changed by 1915 when Calcutta held its municipal elections. Thanks to the Indian Councils Act 1909, average Indians could participate in elections to legislative councils though there were separate electoral systems for Hindus and Muslims. For many Indians, this first step was deemed to be too tentative and not radical enough. With the First World War raging, Britain needed support from its colonial subjects, and it was stated that those nations that helped would gain some form of self-autonomous dominion status. Whilst India would not gain dominion status

⁸ Prashant Kidambi, *The Making of an Indian Metropolis: Colonial Governance and Public Culture in Bombay, 1890-1920*, (Ashgate: United Kingdom, 2007) p 46

immediately, and eventually only became a dominion between 1947 and 1950, the 20th century saw a turn in India's path towards independence from the British Empire.

The 1915 municipal elections in Calcutta are significant for me because of my family's connection to them. Indeed, the election of my cousin Louis Alexander Richard Boilard was a significant moment not only for my family but also for local politics in Calcutta.

Louis Alexander Richard Boilard, my 1st cousin 5 times removed, was born in Dinapore in September 1853. His life was distinctive because of his parentage. The Boilard family of which he and I are descended had originally come to India in the late 18th century in the person of Julian (or Julien) Boilard. Julien Boilard, my 5 times great grandfather was born in Nantes at the mid point of the century and like many young French men of his era had joined Napoleon's Grande Armée, eventually becoming a lieutenant.

Lieutenant Boilard's allegiance to France was perhaps not as great as some others because he decided to move to India sometime at the turn of the century. As his grandson, my three times great grandfather Samuel DaCosta related in his register of his family, Julien Boilard met with the then Governor General of India and elder brother of the Duke of Wellington, Richard Wellesley, to negotiate a deal. Boilard would be given a rather nice salary in exchange for going into Nepal, transporting the bountiful supply of wood from there to India and using it to build houses for the civil service. My 5 times great grandfather readily agreed to this and thus began his latest career change – from soldier to merchant. Boilard was set on the path to establishing the family firmly in respectable society, and thus *Boilard and Company* was born.

Boilard and Co, based in Allahabad and eventually run by Boilard senior's eldest son, also named Julian, would become a great success and the family was not short of money. It is perhaps this financial support that allowed Julian's second youngest son and father of Louis Alexander Richard, John Alexander Boilard, to lead such a rambunctious life.

John Alexander, though he was seemingly a favourite of his father given that he served as executor in his will and was given a good cash inheritance, was not a favourite of the rest of the family. His great nephew referred to him as a heretic, and by the standards of the time it is easy to understand why he felt like that. John had a complicated love life. He was married in 1846 in Patna to Amelia Sarah Macleod, widow of John Linaurker, but theirs was a somewhat unconventional relationship.

Whilst married to Amelia, John Alexander has a relationship with a woman referred to as his "Muslim mistress" Bibbi Manoo Khan. Indeed, so serious was the relationship that John Alexander ordered the construction of a Mosque in her honour at Moradpur, an action that must have certainly scandalised his Catholic family. Yet Bibbi was not the only extra marital affair that John Alexander engaged in.

The details are somewhat obscured, thanks to being recorded via both oral tradition and the somewhat prejudiced account of my own 3 times great grandfather Samuel DaCosta, but what seems to emerge is that John Alexander, a noted gambler, "won" three sisters in a game of cards against their father. Whilst this rather horrific situation seems to come from the pages of an 18th century gothic novel, it did certainly occur. Of the three sisters, John Alexander had children by at least two – Annie Marie and Letitia Mary Ann. It is Letitia Mary Ann who was the mother of Louis Alexander Richard Boilard. The birth of John Alexander's children with the Johnstone sisters does

seems to occur after the death of his wife Amelia in 1851. However, exactly when his relationship with them began, is unclear.

Regardless of his indiscretions, John Alexander did at least lay his wife to rest and was buried with her – though as the Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers notes he did so in an exceedingly unusual fashion. She was buried in the grounds of their home, reclining on a couch: when John Alexander died in 1860, he was buried opposite her similarly reclining on a couch. If his hope was to ensure that the house stayed in his family forever more, he was unlucky – the property now belongs to the Indian government.

Unlike his father, Louis Alexander lived a more much respectable life. He built on the business of Boilard and Co (his uncle Julian having been killed during the Indian Mutiny in 1857, it seems that the main running of the firm transferred to John Alexander's line) and soon became a fairly prominent local landowner and businessman. Like prominent local landowners and businessmen of any age, Louis Alexander was lacking in only one thing – elected political power. And so, like many men of his era and position he decided to stand for election.

The 1915 Calcutta Municipal elections seemed like a perfect time to do so. However, whilst he had avoided controversy for so long, unlike his father, his decision to stand in this set of elections would prove to be a divisive one. Louis Alexander stood for the ward of Hastings in Calcutta. Named after Warren Hastings, the area represented how the British had changed India during the time of empire. Once a Muslim burial ground, it had become gentrified and was now designated as housing for the Ordnance and Commissariat department's employees.

Louis Alexander's single opponent was a local man, Basu Sashi Sekhar Basu. As with most municipal elections during this period, Indians usually stood and were usually elected. Indeed, in the 1915 elections only two "Europeans" (meaning those of predominant European descent) were elected. One would be Boilard, but only after a fight. The election took place on the 23rd of March 1915 with the results being close – Basu Sashi Sekhar Basu seemed to have won with 126 votes whilst Boilard had 124.

However, it soon became apparent, at least to Boilard's camp, that there was some issue with the number of votes that had been ascribed to Basu. Boilard believed that at least four votes had been wrongly ascribed, and that Basu had stolen the election. Taking the case before Calcutta High Court, Boilard argued that the election had been fraudulent and that another needed to take place. Boilard's camp found a man named Harendra Nath Mookerjee who swore under oath that he had been at home and had not voted in the election, despite his vote having been counted for Basu.

Basu claimed that Mookerjee's claims were simply inaccurate, that he had indeed intended to vote for him and that his vote was legitimate as it must have been made by a proxy. The rather bold claim of Basu, to know better as to the intention of how Mookerjee intended to vote than Mookerjee himself, was roundly derided. The presiding judge decided to believe Mookerjee and Boilard and set aside the election meaning, that a new poll had to be taken.



The Municipal Commissioners in 1915. Louis Alexander Boilard is circled.

The next election was held not long afterwards, in June 1915, with both Boilard and Basu standing against one another. Given that this was a special election rather than a general municipal election, turnout was somewhat lower with Boilard winning with 118 votes against Basu's 96. Louis Alexander Richard Boilard would continue serving as a Commissioner on the Calcutta Municipal Corporation for a number of years. He died on the 1st of March 1920 at the age of 66.

What this election represents is how India was changing radically as the twentieth century progressed. Although Louis Alexander Richard Boilard was not the ultimate epitome of the colonial establishment, he was among one of the last generations that could hold the status as a landowner, merchant and politician in an India that was rapidly moving towards independence. That the vast majority of those who participated and were elected in the municipal elections in Calcutta were of Indian stock, demonstrates the clear and burning desire for greater influence in public affairs and an ending of government by colonial masters.

Whilst it would take another twenty odd years after Louis' death for them to achieve that aim, it was one that they would eventually do, truly spelling the end not only of the Empire on which the sun never set but also of European domination of the sub-continent.

ARTHUR MOORE, EDITOR OF *THE STATESMAN*, CALCUTTA

Keith Haines

Now forgotten and buried in a pauper's grave, (William) Arthur Moore (1880-1962) was regarded, even by his fellow professionals, as one of the outstanding journalists of the first half of the twentieth century. He alienated many about whom he wrote and others with whom he came in contact, a circumstance which eventually cost him his career, but even his opponents were prepared to acknowledge his professional talent and achievement.⁹

Born in Glenavy, Co Antrim, on 21 December 1880, Arthur was raised primarily in Newry where his father was a rector. When it opened in 1894 Arthur was sent to Campbell College in Belfast, a school which was to pride itself on providing good citizens to serve in the Empire. By the Second World War it had sent five percent of its 3000 pupils to India; over half served in the Army, but

⁹ There is an unpublished copy of the biography of Arthur Moore in the British Library (Mss.Eur.C838).

some won places in the Indian Civil Service and others served in such as the police, the railways, banking and the tea industry.¹⁰



Of all his fellow pupils, Arthur Moore was to have the biggest impact on the sub-continent, but his encouragement of a greater role for the indigenous population and his ultimate support for Indian independence antagonised many Britons in India – in particular, Linlithgow, the Viceroy (1936-1944), who organised Arthur's dismissal as Editor of *The Statesman*, the most influential British newspaper in India.

The Times

He had been appointed Assistant Editor in 1924. His exceptional CV made him the obvious candidate. After leaving Oxford University in 1904, having been elected President of the Union, he served for four years as Secretary of the Balkan Committee, an influential group concerned about Christians under the Ottomans, and he travelled widely in the Balkans gathering intelligence.¹¹

In July 1908 the Committee despatched him to cover the events resulting from the Young Turk Revolution and, the following month, he was permitted to venture into uncharted territory, later claiming to be 'the first west European to penetrate central Albania'. Astonishingly, no other western journalists had attended these events and the reports he sent to the British press encouraged a consortium of newspapers to employ him in 1909 to cover the rearguard action of constitutionalists against the Shah in Persia. He became trapped in the siege of Tabriz, joined their cause and led the final sortie against the royalist forces until Russian relief arrived.

In late 1909 he was appointed Special Correspondent in the prestigious foreign department of *The Times*, which he liked to describe as 'the most influential newspaper in the world'. It was a relationship which lasted until 1922. Based in Teheran, unafraid of antagonising anyone, he became critical of all parties, including the constitutionalists and, in particular, the exploitative role of the British Government. It proved to be useful training for his later defence of the demeaned and abused populace of India.

He departed Persia following a horseback ride across the country, having camped on the ruins of Persepolis, and in 1913 was despatched by *The Times* to Saint Petersburg to report on military developments. Arthur clashed with the resident Russian reporter and in early 1914 he was directed to the Iberian Peninsula. His contract was due to end, but with his innate talent for a scoop he headed on his own initiative to Albania, where he became trapped in the siege of Durazzo (now Durrës), and Printing House Square continued to print his reports.

On the outbreak of war he sailed from Durazzo and joined other Northcliffe reporters in Paris. On 28 August 1914, against military instructions, he headed towards the front lines and discovered

¹⁰ Keith Haines, 'Days so good in themselves: Campbell College and the lure of Empire', in David Dickson *et al*, *Irish Classrooms and British Empire*, (Dublin, 2012), pp.134-143.

¹¹ Moore's own account of his travels is to be found in W A Moore, *The Orient Express*, (London, 1914) and in his unpublished memoir in private hands.

that the British Expeditionary Force, contrary to official reports, was in retreat. His so-called Amiens Despatch, published in *The Times* on 30 August, caused a furore but it remains the first honest and only relatively uncensored appraisal of military action during the First World War. At the end of the War, following his voluntary enlistment, Arthur was re-engaged in 1919 by *The Times* as its Middle Eastern Correspondent, based in Teheran, but with a wider brief. He continued to report in his own inimitable style but, in November 1921, retrenchment in the foreign department resulted in the effective termination of his contract.

In February 1922, Arthur unexpectedly acquired his first taste of India when Northcliffe over-ruled his Editor, Henry Wickham Steed, and insisted that the Ulsterman be sent to India on a six-month contract. This period provided him with an early appreciation of the accumulating problems and unrest on the sub-continent. Whilst tending to echo the stance of London on Indian matters, his reports offer an early insight into his sentiment that the native population deserved a better hearing.

Assistant Editor

Arthur, his wife Eileen (whom he had met in Russia) and their son Antony, set out for Calcutta early in 1924 to take up his post on *The Statesman*. Eileen had acquired some reporting experience with her husband in Persia and worked briefly on *The Englishman* in Calcutta, but by the close of 1925 she began to find the demands of the city uncongenial and returned home to Chelsea with her son. During subsequent years she made a living as a writer under the pseudonym 'Eve Adam'. Inevitably, in subsequent years she and Arthur rarely saw one another.

During his nine years as Assistant Editor of *The Statesman* (1924-1933) the paper was generally committed to conformity with the opinions of the British expatriate community, and the indications are that Arthur broadly adopted a traditional pro-imperial stance on most subjects. This was the case with regard to Gandhi's *satyagraha* (civil disobedience) movement. By the 1940s Arthur was well-acquainted with Gandhi, indeed he describes the relationship as 'intimate'. Whilst he never accepted the rationale or philosophy of Gandhi's outlook, his admiration for the Mahatma was indicated by the fact that he joined him in the last week of the latter's final fast (13 to 18 January 1948), shortly before Gandhi's assassination. Arthur, however, always argued that civil disobedience was a contradictory, counter-productive approach, a serious obstacle to political and constitutional progress.¹²

By the late 1920s the centre of political power had migrated from Calcutta to New Delhi and the Editor, Sir Alfred Watson, felt that it would be advantageous to have his assistant editor closer to such affairs. Between January 1927 and March 1933 Arthur was elected a Member (for the Bengal European Constituency) of the Indian Legislative Assembly based in New Delhi. He was throughout those years a member of the Standing Finance Committee as well as serving intermittently on other committees, and there were occasional hints of sympathy for the aspirations of the indigenous population. In 1928 Arthur overtly criticised the fact that the Government of India raised large revenues from Calcutta, the wealthiest city in India, yet offered no reciprocation in the form of reinvestment in, or amelioration of, its problems.¹³

¹² Indian Legislative Assembly Debates (ILAD), 1931, p.657. See also *The Statesman*, 27 October 1931, 8 December 1941, and Arthur's Second World War memoir: *This Our War*, (Calcutta, 1942), pp.126-127.

¹³ ILAD, 1928, pp.1121-1122, 1354-1355.

He also used the Assembly forum and his newspaper columns to argue for better education for the working classes, an end to cruel and antiquated customs, and better provision for the less fortunate elements of society. Above all, he was concerned for the dignity of the individual: *'Let us not have people who are outside human charity ... [The untouchable] can only be lifted by recognising his human rights; he can only be lifted up when we are conscious of him as a human being'*.¹⁴ Such opinions were to be intensified with his elevation as Editor in 1933.

Managing Editor

Arthur was appointed Managing Editor in 1933 following two unsuccessful attempts on Watson's life. He was permitted considerable latitude; there was little restraint exercised on his management and editorial policy. He proved assiduous in the role, living in the grandiose offices in Chowringhee, and establishing joint publication in New Delhi. *The Statesman* was printed seven times a day, seven days a week, almost every day of the year, and his individual style resulted in one hostile country editor describing it as 'Old Moore's Almanac'.

Arthur's successor as Editor, Ian Stephens, conceded that, during the 1930s, Moore faced many burdens – recession, political turbulence and approaching war – and discharged them with considerable skill through a combination of discerning management and intuitive, if forthright, journalism. He reflected that Arthur made *'The Statesman pre-eminent amongst newspapers of the Commonwealth (outside Britain itself) in its forecasts of what was coming'*, especially with regard to German and Japanese ambitions.¹⁵

There was no evident clash of views until the onset of the Second World War. He proved complimentary about the Government of India Act (1935) which he believed could satisfy the aspirations of all the sub-continent's *'diversity of peoples'*.¹⁶ Arthur also established a good relationship with the Viceroys, Lords Irwin and Willingdon, occasionally visiting the latter when he was in London.¹⁷ Through the columns of *The Statesman*, Arthur approved of and welcomed the appointment of the new Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, in early 1936. Unfortunately, the bonhomie did not survive.

As early as 1934 Arthur had proved prescient about Hitler's European aspirations and proved so vitriolic towards the German Chancellor after the Night of the Long Knives (30 June 1934) that the latter even asked the British authorities to muzzle him. Following Chamberlain's policy of appeasement in 1938 the editor became exceptionally censorious of the British Government's foreign policy, publishing three editorials in early October which generated an official response in New Delhi, describing them as *'totally poisonous'* and castigating Arthur as *'most unbalanced'*.¹⁸

Federation

One of the aspirations of the Government of India Act had been the federation of all India, incorporating those parts of India which had been already subjugated plus the multiplicity of autonomous, anachronistic Princely States. Linlithgow's son, Lord Glendevon, later claimed that even his father had been determined 'to bring in provincial autonomy at the earliest possible moment and to follow up with Federation'. For several reasons it was totally impracticable in the

¹⁴ ILAD, 1928, p.699.

¹⁵ Ian Stephens, *Monsoon Morning*, (London, 1966), pp.6-7, 14-16.

¹⁶ *The Statesman*, 4 August 1935.

¹⁷ *The Statesman*, 17 & 18 April 1931, 16 April 1936. *This Our War*, p.19.

¹⁸ India Office Records (IOR), British Library: L/PJ/7/3803: 5, 17, 20 & 21 October, 6 December 1938.

politically variegated sub-continent. Nevertheless, as the prospect of war escalated during 1939, Arthur became even more convinced that federation was a necessity, and endeavoured to persuade the leading figures (Bose, Nehru and Jinnah) to sink their differences, thus helping to create a federal government of India which could run its own external affairs, which would place it on the same footing as other self-governing Dominions.

In addition to Arthur's alienation of fellow Europeans in Calcutta and New Delhi, the British Government and Vice-regal authorities were apoplectic at an individual who appeared, single-handedly, to be creating British foreign policy. Zetland, Secretary of State for India and Burma (1937-1940), penned his fears: *'I am becoming increasingly alarmed at the thought of the harm which may come of (Moore's) unbalanced judgement, his tactlessness and his lack of discretion'*.¹⁹ As the prospect of war grew imminent, however, Arthur regarded it as a catalyst for Indian independence and Dominion Status, and began to campaign passionately and vocally, and in 1941 even flew to England to disseminate his opinions.

Ian Stephens was later to write that *'during (Arthur's) editorship the paper contained articles of exceptional strength and brilliance'*, and even Linlithgow understood the influence of the publication under Arthur's control. The Viceroy wrote to Leo Amery, Zetland's successor, in August 1942 that *'The Statesman still carries so much weight and The Statesman is still regarded to such a large extent as an organ of official opinion'* and, although he questioned Arthur's editorial standards, he appended a note that *'Moore is a good journalist'*.²⁰

The ultimate irony was that retrospective analysis reveals that the private opinions of Linlithgow and Amery were often in accordance of those of their *bête noire* – they were simply not in a position to propound or agree with them. In January 1944 Amery wrote to the new Viceroy, Lord Wavell that: *'I have sometimes wondered whether the real solution of the Indian problem might not be to declare India a Dominion in every respect under her present constitution and then see what happens! This is indeed what that wild man Arthur Moore ... has always urged'*.²¹

Dismissal

As early as October 1939, Linlithgow had manifested a recognition that independence and Dominion Status might well prove inevitable – but this would have to wait until after the global conflict. Linlithgow was most embarrassed and disturbed by the editor's promotion of the slogan "Home Rule for the Viceroy", which he described as *'a sort of specious slogan that goes down well with unthinking people and with those who have a prejudice against authority'*.

Genuinely believing that India's industrial base had a great deal to contribute to the war effort, and despite the pressure on newsprint at the time, Arthur published a massive 36 page supplement promoting "Indian Industry", the exploitation of which he argued would justify the acceleration of the progress towards independence and Dominion Status. Arthur proved remarkably prescient about the Japanese threat in the East and many parties came to feel that the engagement of Indian industry would be critical for the outcome of the war. Arthur was also

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 9, 1-17 May 1939.

²⁰ N Mansergh (ed), *Constitutional Relations between Britain and India: the Transfer of Power 1942-1947 (TOP)*, (London, 1970-1976), Vol.II, 89, 578. See also British Library: Mss.Eur.F125/10, p.395.

²¹ *TOP*, Vol.IV, 676.

prepared to support the complaint of indigenous India that, whilst it came to be called upon to defend liberty and freedom abroad, its domestic plea fell on deaf ears.

During 1942 the relationship between the government and the fourth estate proved variable as Arthur occasionally accepted the hint from his employers to be more diplomatic. At one time there was an attempt to employ 'dirty tricks' against him, but it was felt that this would prove counterproductive.²²

Matters reached an impasse on 10 August 1942. The Government of India was angered that the Congress Party passed a "Quit India" resolution which demanded '*the immediate ending of British rule in India [as] an urgent necessity*'. It was, however, incandescent that Arthur printed a leader suggesting that the arrest of the leaders could prove a mistake. Even Arthur's employers reacted unexpectedly firmly to this. At a meeting on 10 August, during which Arthur said practically nothing, and which Stephens described as short, perplexed and embarrassing, it was made clear to the editor that '*it was the wish of proprietors that Mr Moore should cease active work as soon as can be conveniently arranged ... taking leave preparatory to retirement*'.²³

Everyone accepted that Arthur Moore's heart was in the right place and that he was a very talented journalist, but he had become a victim of his impetuosity, a lack of diplomacy and a poor sense of timing. Desmond Young wrote that this acrimonious conclusion to a distinguished career cost Arthur the knighthood '*which should have been his by seniority alone*'.²⁴

Final years

If anyone expected Arthur to return to England, they were to be sadly disillusioned. Ian Stephens explained: '*He had nothing in particular to do there, passages were hard to get [and] he had India's interest at heart*'. Stephens found his presence awkward and embarrassing, but gave him the courtesy of regular column space, which Arthur used primarily to challenge the notion of Partition. He drove an ambulance during the horrendous Bengal Famine in 1943 and, in 1944, became a public relations adviser with Mountbatten at SACSEA. In 1945 he was transferred in a similar role to Allied Land Forces Command at Barrackpore.

With considerable irony, Arthur was later to establish a good relationship with the India Office, where his knowledge and insight came to be appreciated. One official regarded him as visionary, and his ideas were often taken seriously. Alec Joyce conceded generously that:²⁵ '*In some respects Moore is a bit of a crank, but he has been a shrewd prophet of the major events in Indian (and international) affairs in past years, and he probably has more influence in practical matters with Gandhi, Nehru and Jinnah than any other non-official European.*'

He was employed for a short period as a reporter with the Dalmia Corporation and spent his seventieth birthday, 21 December 1950, reporting on the Korean War. His work also took him to Peking (Beijing), Siam, Indo-China, Nepal and even Iran.

²² IOR: L/I/I/1466, pp.58-59.

²³ TOP, Vol.II, 698-699. Stephens, pp.3, 16, 34, 62.

²⁴ Desmond Young, *Try Anything Twice*, (London, 1963), p.250.

²⁵ IOR: L/I/I/1466, p.20.

Eventually, an inadequate income forced him to return to his home at Oakley Gardens in Chelsea. He eked out a precarious living submitting occasional material to *The Statesman* and *Thought* and taking on jobs such as running a scout group and Hoovering carpets at The Savoy. Eileen died on 3 August 1957. Arthur passed away on 24 July 1962. A generous and lengthy obituary appeared in *The Times* and, whilst this reflected his prickly personality, there were other gracious tributes. *Thought*, which Arthur had founded in 1948, offered the opinion that, for Arthur, ‘*cause was bigger than career*’:²⁶

‘In Mr Moore’s death ... the world of journalism has lost another link between the age of dedication and of our own, of journalism as a mere profession ... Mr Moore will long be remembered for his intellect as well as his physical intrepidity, dedication and faith in the oneness of mankind.



Arthur had been captivated by the development of powered flight and his frequent promotion of it encapsulated his adventurous, pioneering and visionary spirit which translated to other aspects of his career. The earliest days of British engagement in India provided a multitude of Irishmen with employment, and many were to return in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries with colossal fortunes. Times inexorably changed, however, and for all the influence he exerted in a score and more years on the sub-continent, Arthur Moore returned in poverty. He was buried in an unmarked pauper’s grave. In recent years a headstone has endeavoured to bring some recognition to a man who loved India and its people.

LIFE AND DEATH IN INDIA IN THE 1820s

Stephen Lally

Until two years ago I never knew my family had a connection with India. Suddenly discovering this led to my lockdown being filled with research into new and exciting areas. It has led to the publication of my second book on my family in Ireland and their emigration, but this one extends to India and Western Australia too. And it’s a success story.

The book is about Thomas and Eliza Little (née Lally), husband and wife. Eliza was my 3rd great aunt. In 1823 Thomas enlisted in Ireland as a gunner in the East India Company Artillery along with three of his brothers. My analysis of recruitment registers shows that between about 1822 and 1824, 59% of recruits were from Ireland because many Irish were hungry and homeless. My family sailed together to Bengal.

Research has taken me eight times to the British Library and its mass of records on British India, to FIBIS and Findmypast online research and to a lot of wider reading to investigate the personal

²⁶ *Thought*, Vol.XIV (1962), 30 n.3.

side of their lives. The soldiers' personal lives fascinate most, beyond the basics that can be found in records like the Muster Rolls. I wanted my book to be a personal biography, not only a military history. Facts that struck me as the core of their personal lives were the lack of women, such early deaths, the widows and remarriages and what happened to the orphans. This created family structures completely new to me.

What follows may seem distressing today but I feel that these facts are important if you are to understand the lives of your Indian ancestors, particularly ordinary soldiers. Every culture has different customs and our ancestors in India had to adapt to their situation. For example, re-marriage to be able to look after children was common in India, but so it was in Britain too, as single parents could not survive otherwise. Cries of agony from military hospitals were described as terrible but never scandalous because there was nothing to be done about it. Do not judge the past by modern standards.

Wives were a rarity

Men outnumbered women by about ten to one, so for many an ordinary soldier his family was his battalion. He was fed well, clothed, had a roof and a bed and a load of good mates – more than most had known at home. What more could he want? A wife perhaps? But wives were discouraged because they distracted a man from single minded concentration on his military duties. Only about 6% or 8% of recruits were allowed to take a wife with them and ordinary soldiers were rarely allowed to marry at this time, it was a perk of a junior officer. A wife got an allowance which was a cost to the Army, and she took up space in the barracks, so she had to work for it. But there was little work a British wife could do that could not be done much cheaper by a native woman.

Particularly in the barracks in Dublin and Chatham and on the voyage to India, the wives were treated disgracefully, even by the standards of the time. They were herded into cramped quarters with no separation from the men. Diaries point out the degradation of being cheek by jowl with bawdy men with their foul antics and nudity and that many women were greatly distressed by the indelicacy of their situation. A Royal Commission of 1857 described the women's situation as *degrading in the extreme and a national disgrace*, not made better by the attitude of most Sergeant Majors that the army was no place for a woman and any indignities they suffered were their own fault for being there. It was commented that every Company soldier was given a Bible, yet their ungodly situation must lead to depravity and demoralisation. Even male and female convicts were separated on board ship, yet in troop ships they were all together.

Death was commonplace

Of the four brothers who enlisted together, only one would see his thirtieth birthday. This was normal. When the recruiting sergeant praised the generous pension after 18 years' service, and it was a fortune to an Irishman, he somehow failed to explain that fewer than 10% of men would live to receive it. I needed to check this and found that all the statistics support it.

A George Carter kept a record of deaths in the 2nd Bengal European regiment from 1840 to 1850. In these ten years the average strength of the Regiment was 732 men of whom 616 died – 84%.

There was a total of 55 wives of whom 51 died, seven in childbirth – a worse percentage than the men.

The Hon. Company's agents, Dodwell & Miles, published a list of the Company's Officers from 1760 to 1830 showing that only about 10% lived the 18 years to draw their pension. This is backed up by my own study of 207 deaths from 1830 to 1835, taken from the records around the deaths of the three brothers and two other relatives. Only 8% of these deaths were of people over 40 years old. 14% were children under a year old and another 14% were aged 1 – 5. This 28% is much in line with the generally accepted figure of European infant mortality in India of between 30% and 40% before their sixth birthday. Infant mortality in India was twice as high as in Britain.

Between 1800 and 1850 British mortality in India ran at 69 per thousand per annum, in other words, 690 per thousand over ten years. What chance of surviving 18 years? Wives fared better at 44 per thousand per annum, but their children died at a rate of 84 per thousand.

Contemporary reports and books show an attitude to death which is so very different to attitudes today. When in port in Calcutta, the ship that brought my family to India suffered seven deaths among the crew. They picked up a disease on shore or drank bad water. It was just one of those things. Another of those accepted things was that, of the 200 recruits on that ship, it was assumed that up to ten would die within a month of arrival from some disease they couldn't tolerate. Deaths on the march were commonplace. If a soldier expired from the heat or drinking bad water while his battalion was marching to a new posting, he would be buried by the side of the road, his friends would say a few prayers and catch up with the rest who had marched on.

There seemed to be a fatalistic indifference to death and an acceptance of the fragility of life and death's inevitability. Why should this not be the case when so little could be done to help a wounded or sick person. In our modern existence every death is to be avoided at all cost, because it is the termination of all existence, and every premature death is a scandal. In India in those days, when religious belief was such a fundamental part of thinking, particularly among the Irish, most believed that death was part of life, a moving on to a new phase. Deaths were still a tragedy for parents, widows and orphans and the frequency of death affected every aspect of family life and the whole structure of society. And, of course, it was a reason for continuous recruitment in Britain.

What did the British die of? None of my family members died in battle. Deaths, even on a winning British side, were often as high as 50% because even a mild wound could be fatal. Little was done because little could be done. At this time, the 1820s, the discovery of ether in 1846 and chloroform in 1847 were still years away and it wasn't until the work of Pasteur and Lister in the 1860s that the value of extreme cleanliness became known. So many entered field hospitals but few came out, as disease quickly spread from bed to bed.

So many diseases were unique or uniquely potent in India. Cholera could wipe out half a battalion in a few days, and with typhoid and malaria it made up the most common killers. Add to these beriberi, black water fever, bouton de Baghdad and other diseases to which the British had no resistance. Tetanus was caught from a simple infected cut. There were no cures for skin lesions, boils or ulcers brought on by the bites of sandflies and these could be debilitating and bring on death from other causes. Among this frightening list were the killers of my family members.

One must add the heat to the list of killers. Drills and parades were often held very early in the morning and marches usually avoided the hottest part of the day, yet so many men died of heat stroke. It seems extraordinary now that alcohol was supplied in seemingly copious quantities to soldiers in the belief that it mitigated heat stroke. Modern thinking must suggest that it made matters worse and that the more you drank, the greater stupor you were in as you cooked to death in your thick woollen uniform.

I have said that, to many soldiers, their battalion was family but that was often not enough. There was an underlying problem of boredom, reduced by drinking, gambling and loose women. Very little was done officially to fill men’s spare time, and with food, clothing and accommodation provided how were the men to use their pay? Native brothels were cheap but also dangerous and more than a quarter of soldiers suffered from syphilis in the 1820s. This number increased to over half in the 1850s when the army was prevented from carrying out medical checks on the women of the brothels by a puritanical campaign in Britain that said such checks showed an official approval of these houses of sin. Boredom can lead to a lack of purpose in life and the high rate of suicide in India was often caused by despair, loneliness, incurable debilitating pain from what would be minor ailments today. Did anybody care?

It is interesting that the rate of death was much lower among married soldiers. *On The Population and Mortality in India* (1844) quotes an insurance fund’s actuarial assessment of the likelihood of death by any means among single and married soldiers. Single European soldiers were more likely to die, by the following percentages.

Senior Officers	10%	more likely to die if single.
Junior Officers	63%	“ “ “
All Ranks	38%	“ “ “

Was this because a married man drank, gambled, fought and visited brothels less? He had someone who cared and to care for. It seems contradictory that the well known ‘Fishing Fleet’ brought eligible, marriageable ladies to India but they were destined for officers and civil servants and not the common soldier. My story of Thomas and Eliza goes on to their success in Western Australia where, as in all the colonies, whole ship loads of young girls were brought in to marry and calm the predominantly male population and give them a sense of purpose. Yet marriage for a soldier in India was actively discouraged.

So many widows and orphans

Thomas was one of the small minority of recruits allowed to take a wife with him – Eliza. Was this a reason why he survived India and went on to success in Western Australia? It would certainly have been a motivation to get promoted out of the barracks quickly in order to have their own private quarters, no matter how small. And Thomas was promoted within a year of arrival which was very quick. Their three brothers who went out at the same time all married in due course. This was unusual, so was there a common factor in this or was it just coincidence? Did they see the benefits enjoyed by Thomas and Eliza? All three were married at about the same time as they gained promotion. Did they get promoted so looked for a wife or did they wish to marry so fought to get promoted? No amount of research can answer such questions.

So many deaths led to so many widows and orphans. Mary the wife of Robert, one of the brothers, had five husbands. Robert was the third, for six years until he died. She married him when she

was 24. Mary brought at least two children from a previous marriage and went on to have at least seven children with the five husbands. It is not known whether previous husbands brought children with them too. The children were lucky, as Mary looked after them all. If she had died, would the last husband have been pleased to look after all these stepchildren? Could he have looked after them if he was a military man and subject to postings far away? To have five spouses was not uncommon, and there are frequent reports of eight.

If you were the widow of a soldier, your military allowance and that for his children, ended six months after his death. So there was an urgency to re-marry. If the widow was popular among her late husband's friends they would decide, or argue, among themselves, as a matter of honour, who would take her on to look after her and any children and, of course, have all the benefits of married life. If a man was a widower and with children, he would urgently need a new wife to look after them, and it was not uncommon for a widow to receive a proposal of marriage on the way back from her previous husband's funeral. A father had to act quickly.

I made a small study of fifty marriages at about the same time and in the same places as the marriages of the three brothers. About 70% of the fifty brides were widows, while 30% of grooms were widowers. Of the spinsters, about 35% were 14 years old, many marrying men old enough to be their fathers. 30% were 15 or 16 years old and the remainder were 17 or 18 years old. Only one spinster was 19 and there were none in the sample over 19 years of age. Many widows were in their teens.

The marriage of John Lally, who was not related to me, was investigated. At the age of 21, he married a 15 year old orphan girl - the pages in this marriage register are full of 14 and 15 year old orphan girls and the witnesses to every marriage were the Master and Mistress of the Allipore Orphan School. Every large town had an orphanage, or orphan school as they were called. The Company paid for their upkeep until their fourteenth birthday so the orphanages would then be keen to pass on the girls in marriage. The boys went into the army. They even held dances for these newly eligible girls so that suitors could sum them up. Or a man who was keen and permitted to get married could have a word with the Master to see who was available. This block of marriages was not included in the sample of fifty in the previous paragraph as it would have distorted the results.

"The past is a foreign country; they do things differently there"

THE INDIAN MEDICAL DEPARTMENT

Allan Stanistreet

Note: The term “Anglo-Indian” was originally used to denote British people who lived and worked in India. However, in the early 20th century, its meaning had changed to a person of mixed race with the father being British. Thus, the majority had British surnames. However, latterly the term “Anglo-Indian” came to mean anyone of mixed race, whether they were of British, Dutch, Portuguese, French or even German descent.

The Indian Medical Service (IMS) was set up in 1858, although doctors had, of course, been employed in India since the earliest days of the 17th century albeit without centralised organisation. It comprised mainly British doctors – surgeons and physicians – and much later a few native Indians with British medical training and degrees. Its rank structure was based on the contemporary British army practice and it treated principally British officers, soldiers and their families.

With the vast majority of the army in India being native born Indians, both under the Honourable East India Company and later the British government, there was a requirement for the less important or urgent medical tasks to be performed and this resulted in the creation of the Indian Subordinate Medical Department (ISMD) as it was then called. Like the IMS, it evolved over a long period of time, with the different Presidencies (Bengal, Madras and Bombay) creating their own subordinate medical services at different times. They had always had personnel who gave succour to the wounded, but they were all brought together in the early 19th century and their personnel appeared in their respective army lists from 1819, 1829 and 1832.

Like several government departments such as postal and telegraph and the railways, Anglo-Indians were favoured for vacancies in these employments as well as the ISMD. Indeed, it is difficult to see how the British could have ruled over India without the help of these loyal individuals. They were, however, regarded as very much second-class citizens, on a par with the *Dalits* (the untouchables) and the lowly British soldier but without their loyalty the British would have struggled.

The members of the ISMD were variously described as hospital apprentices, compounders and dressers and apothecaries, and held the rank of warrant officer. Later on they were to be described as assistant surgeons and were trained in India to minister to the needs of the Indian soldiers. It is said that they were forbidden to treat Europeans, though if one were *in extremis*, one suspects that one would not mind too much from where assistance came and it is quite possible that this edict was sometimes, if not frequently, honoured in the breach. Although, as stated, they were all trained in India, their training and qualifications, such as they were, were regarded as much inferior to British qualifications - but eventually some managed to obtain British medical qualifications in addition, as will be seen.

In the 1890s, the members of the ISMD petitioned for their service to have the term “Subordinate” dropped from the title, as it was felt to be demeaning. This request was granted, although some medals awarded to them were still named with the letters ISMD right up to the Great War. They were known to British troops, somewhat disparagingly, as “black pots” or “darkie docs”. They were graded upon joining the Department as Assistant Surgeon 4th Class (Sub-Conductor), being

advanced after five years' service to 3rd Class (Sub-Conductor) and after a further five years to 2nd Class (Conductor) with a promotion to 1st Class (Conductor) after a total of twenty years' service. Their retirement age was 55. They served just about everywhere the Indian army served, including Abyssinia, Afghanistan, China, South Africa, Egypt and of course, in both world wars. It may not be generally appreciated that they were involved in France and Flanders right from the beginning of the Great War in 1914.

During World War One members of the Department served with great distinction, earning many decorations for gallantry and meritorious service, including the Indian Order of Merit (13), the Military Cross (12), the Indian Distinguished Service Medal (13) and the MBE (2), the latter for distinguished service as prisoners-of-war and both, interestingly, as the only Senior Assistant Surgeons to be honoured, the rest being Assistant Surgeons. Some of these awards went to native born Indians, as the war meant many more doctors were required by the IMD.

Early in the 20th century it was decided to create the appointment of Senior Assistant Surgeon by commissioning certain eligible warrant officers. The system was somewhat akin to the British quartermaster commission, i.e. commissioning suitable warrant officers from the ranks, initially as Lieutenants. They could be advanced to Captain and Major in due course but no higher. However, none of them, even the rare ones holding British medical degrees, might aspire to join the elite IMS. The *status quo* had to be maintained and the most senior Major (Senior Assistant Surgeon) with perhaps thirty years or more of service was subordinate to the most junior British doctor in the IMS!

The duties of members of the IMD were quite varied apart from accompanying the native units on campaigns and treating their sickness and injuries, but there were so many members that it was impossible to limit their employment solely to this aspect of their service and not a few spent almost their entire careers serving in civil hospitals, as attested to in the various Army Lists. Many of them seem to have been employed as supervisors in pharmacies and X-ray departments. Consequently, the only medal a man might receive was the Long Service and Good Conduct Medal, whereas others might accumulate a chest full of awards.

The Indian Medical Department endured until 1943 when, in the middle of World War Two, its members were given emergency commissions into the Indian Army Medical Corps and thus they became on a par with their European colleagues. Presumably, in 1947, like so many in the government service, many members of the IMD found themselves out of a job overnight. Some had already seen the writing on the wall and promptly emigrated, mainly to the UK, Australia and New Zealand. Australia was favoured since the climate was more congenial than a cold, damp UK, with its lingering wartime austerity, and it must have been a severe culture shock after a fairly comfortable life in India with its cheap and plentiful labour and warm climate to come and live in the United Kingdom.

The medals illustrated here give some idea as to how widely the IMD served during its existence. The first example, which pre-dates the IMD but was earned by a member of its forerunner, is the Indian Mutiny Medal 1857-1858 with clasp *Defence of Lucknow* to an original defender: E. Overitt, who is described as an Apothecary in Lutz's roll. Doubtless he was kept extremely busy tending the wounded and sick during the siege.





Next we have the India General Service Medal 1849-1895 with clasp *Hazara 1888* (often referred to as the Black Mountain Expedition) and the China Medal 1900 awarded to Assistant Surgeon Arthur George Bowder, I.S.M.D. Bowder was born on January 28, 1859 and joined the ISMD on February 19, 1881. He was promoted Conductor on February 19, 1900 and was commissioned as a Lieutenant (Senior Assistant Surgeon) on April 1, 1905. Promoted Captain on November 16, 1907, he retired as a Captain on January 28, 1914. All members of the IMD were awarded the Long Service and Good Conduct Medal if they served for eighteen years but this medal is not with his pair.

Our next subject is Assistant Surgeon George Harold King IMD. Born on February 28, 1875, Mr King joined the IMD as a 4th Class Assistant Surgeon on December 3, 1897. It was not long before he found himself on the North West Frontier earning the India Medal 1895-1908 with clasp *Punjab Frontier 1897-98*. He is listed as being stationed at Peshawar at that time. He became an Assistant Surgeon 3rd Class on April 1, 1902, then being stationed at No 5 Co(y), ABC (Army Bearer Corps), Mhow. He was promoted Assistant Surgeon 2nd Class on April 15, 1912, while attached to the 9th Division and it was in this rank that he went to France on October 14, 1914, thus qualifying him for the 1914 Star. He was stationed in the Waziristan District in April 1926, having been promoted Assistant Surgeon 1st Class on April 15, 1917. It was in this rank that he was awarded the LS & GC Medal in 1917. He was commissioned as a Senior Assistant Surgeon on April 8 1926 and was promoted Captain on April 11 1929. Presumably he would have retired in that rank on February 28, 1930, having reached the age of 55.





The penultimate illustration is the Long Service and Good Conduct Medal awarded to Assistant Surgeon Christopher Francis Henry Quick IMD. I acquired it some years ago, as I remembered that he had been mentioned in a book "A Tug on the Thread" by his great-niece, the actress Diana Quick. I wrote to her to see if she could assist with any biographical details and she very kindly sent me a ream of information, including a photograph of Mr Quick and his wife. He was born on July 28, 1887, the son of a former Bombardier in the Royal Artillery, Christopher George Quick and his wife, Margaret Johnstone Kerr. Educated in India, he joined the Indian Medical Department on March 4, 1908. He was noted as speaking basic Pushtu.

In March 1910 he was at the Divisional Laboratory, Rawalpindi, while in 1912 he was at the Walker Hospital, Simla, which must have been quite a pleasant posting. In 1914 he was in the X-ray Department of Ripon Hospital, Simla. He seems to have spent quite a lot of his time in X-ray departments but then, as noted, this was a typical posting for members of the IMD. He is noted in *Thacker* as being in Europe at Mons between 1915 and 1918, so he must have qualified for the 1914-15 trio but I do not have these. He was promoted Assistant Surgeon 3rd Class (Sub-Conductor) on March 4, 1915. In October, 1918 he was in Dalhousie attached to 16th Division and in July 1919 went to the X-ray Institute at Dehra Dun. January 1920 saw him at Meerut and on March 4th, 1920 he was promoted Assistant Surgeon 2nd Class (Conductor) and appointed Deputy Medical Superintendent in the X-ray Department at Delhi.

In January 1923 he was at the civil hospital in Amritsar and in March 1925 moved to the X-ray Department in the Medical Hospital in Lahore. From 1925 to 1930, he was among the select few of the IMD to study for British medical qualifications and attended St Mary's Hospital in Paddington, living at Mansfield House, 24b Clifton Gardens, Maida Vale in north-west London. He qualified as a Licentiate of Medicine and Surgery of the Society of Apothecaries (LMSSA) on July 18, 1929. He was also registered as a Member of the Royal College of Surgeons (MRCS) and these were the minimum qualifications needed to register as a doctor in the UK. He returned to India in January, 1931, having been promoted to Assistant Surgeon 1st Class (Conductor) on March 4, 1925, probably just before he went to the UK. In April, 1933 he was appointed as Assistant to the Civil Surgeon at Lahore.

Mr Quick was commissioned as a Lieutenant (Senior Assistant Surgeon) on November 10, 1939, promoted to Captain on April 8, 1941 and Major on December 8, retiring in that rank, having reached the age limit, on July 28 1942. Presumably, having served during the war, he must have been entitled to at least the War Medal 1939-45 and the India Service Medal but I do not have these either. After retirement from the IMD he practised at Naini Tal and started a clinic for the local native population. He was generally considered to have been a very decent and humane man. He is thought to have remained in practice until at least 1952 and it is not known when he died.

Thirteen years ago I made my first (and so far only) visit to the Yate medal fair and there I acquired an India General Service Medal 1908 clasp *Afghanistan N.W.F 1919* named to Assistant Surgeon R.L.W. Beveridge I.M.D. On the face of it, there was nothing particularly unusual about this medal. However, I recalled reading an article on the OMRS Journal of Spring 2000 by Stephen Durant concerning awards of the Naval General Service Medal 1915 with clasp *Persian Gulf 1909-1914* to the IMD and there, lo and behold, is the name of R.L.W. Beveridge. He is listed as having served

aboard RIMS *Minto*, along with thirteen others. Six Assistant Surgeons served aboard RIMS *Lawrence* and also a few on RIMS *Palinarus*, so the award is rather scarce to the IMD.

A few years ago I received an email from a lady drawing my attention to the fact that a medal dealer was advertising a “rare” (they are not) Long Service and Good Conduct medal to Assistant Surgeon R.L.W. Beveridge and I naturally made all haste to acquire this piece. Further research revealed that Mr Beveridge was also entitled to the British War and Victory medals and may also have been entitled to as many as four medals for his service in World War Two.

Robert Laird Wilson Beveridge (surely of Scottish ancestry) was born on March 24, 1888. He joined the IMD on April 18, 1910 as an Assistant Surgeon 4th Class, ranking as a Sub-Conductor. He was promoted to Assistant Surgeon 3rd Class on April 18, 1917. His date of promotion to 2nd Class is not known but he was promoted to Assistant Surgeon 1st Class on April 4, 1927. *The London Gazette* of 14 November, 1941, announced that Assistant Surgeon 1st Class Robert Laird Wilson Beveridge was to be a Lieutenant (Senior Assistant Surgeon) with effect from 16 July 1941. He was given the service number M/22043 and was posted to the British Military Hospital, Mingaladon in Burma (now Myanmar).



Robert Beveridge's Long Service and Good Conduct medal (left) and India General Service Medal 1908 with Afghanistan Clasp

Robert Beveridge unfortunately did not have long to enjoy his new-found status, as he died while serving, on June 6, 1942, aged only 54, although the cause of death is unclear. He left a widow, Violet Gladys, and two adult sons. He is commemorated on the Delhi/Karachi 1939-45 War Memorials. Among the papers in the old India Office library are those relating to a Committee of Adjustment held to determine the deceased's estate, as he died intestate. The committee consisted of a President and two members, all British army officers. Their purpose was to secure all assets of the deceased for the widow and to provide for any preferential charges that may be outstanding against the estate (in the event there was none). Mrs Beveridge's

address was given as 16 Clive Road, Allahabad. The sum total of the deceased's assets amounted to just over 2517 rupees, probably a not inconsiderable sum in 1942. Ironically, Mr Beveridge would only have served for a further twelve months before he would have been retired having reached the age limit.

Thus, we sadly have yet another broken group, since Mr Beveridge must have been entitled to the 1939-45 and Burma Stars, the War Medal 1939-45 and the India Service Medal to add to his already impressive group. I was told that his NGS and WWI medals were sold on e-bay some years ago and I have tried to trace them but so far with no success. I would dearly love to reunite this interesting group.

One member of the IMD was to be awarded the Empire Gallantry Medal. George David Rodriques, Assistant Surgeon 3rd Class (Sub-Conductor) was involved in the Moplah rebellion in Malabar in 1921-22 and during that campaign he performed an act of gallantry which resulted in the award, the exact details of which are unclear. His name appeared in the same *London Gazette* as four members of 2nd Battalion, The Dorset Regiment, though it is highly unlikely that he was actually serving with them. There were a number of units of the Indian Army present and he was more

likely attached to one of them. Mr Rodriques was one of the many 3rd and 4th Class Assistant Surgeons who were made redundant in the mid-1920s, when a review of those serving took place and he retired from the IMD in 1925 to form a civilian practice. He survived to exchange his EGM for the George Cross in 1940 and died in Bangalore in 1962, aged 70. He was also awarded the British War and Victory Medals (MiD), the IGS 1908 clasp *Malabar 1921-22* and the Coronation Medal 1953.

It is quite easy to follow the careers of those in the IMD by reference to their contemporary Indian Army List and *The London Gazette* as opposed to the majority of their comrades in the Indian Army. *Thacker's Directory* also contains some references. I am always pleased to assist (if I can) with queries from members on this subject and I welcome any approach from those who may be descended from recipients of medals in my collection.

Sources:

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Acknowledgement: Miss Diana Quick

THE BANDMASTER OF SANAWAR: WARRANT OFFICER ALBERT SWANN

Douglas Edwards



WO2 Albert Swann in 1922

In Malcolm Bradbury's excellent article on The Lawrence Royal Military School in Journal 48 and his ancestors' journey through it, he draws attention to the importance the school band had as a focal point in the daily life of the school's pupils, including those of his father and uncle. Central to the band, and the catalyst around all musical related matters in the school was the Bandmaster, who had a role as a leader, teacher and mentor to the pupils. My own interests and investigations have uncovered one in particular, Warrant Officer Albert Swann, who held the position from 1916 to 1925 and stands out as an inspirational character and teacher. This is his story.

In 1916 the Principal of The Lawrence Royal Military School, Dr Rev G O Barne, appointed Bandmaster Albert Swann as the school's new bandmaster, a role which he was to retain for the next ten years. He was already accomplished, having recently transferred from His Excellency's The Governor of Bombay's Band in which he had held the position as Sergeant Bandmaster.

Albert Swann's own journey to L.M.R.S. Sanawar was a boy's own adventure, having come from humble origins from his home in Chipping Norton, Oxfordshire. There his father, Charles, was a machine stocking knitter. Albert, born in 1877 was introduced to the trade aged 10, but despite his father later establishing and running the town's main hosiery shop he had no intention of

following in his father's footsteps. Having had a spell in the local rifle volunteer unit and enjoying the military side, Albert sought adventure and joined the 1st Battalion of Durham Light Infantry as a Private on 15.09.1893, still only 16, but on his enlistment claiming he was 17. He signed up for 7 years, spending 7 years in 'the Colours' and 5 in the Reserves.

This move opened up his world and led to him serving in Ireland, South Africa and subsequently India, with an active engagement in Mesopotamia during the Great War before joining LMRS Sanawar. He would later return to England and become the Mayor of Chipping Norton, on three separate occasions, as well as being instrumental in forming three musical bands whilst a resident of Chipping Norton.

He was initially posted to Dublin on 02.10.1893 and 4 years later he was appointed a Bandsman in September 1897. He served almost 5 years in Ireland before the 1st Battalion returned to Aldershot, but they weren't there for long as the Battalion was dispatched to South Africa to take part in the Second Anglo-Boer war. They arrived in November 1899, and found themselves in the thick of it, after local forces had been besieged in Mafeking and the British forces stationed there had been surrounded in Ladysmith. The Battalion was involved in General Redvers Buller's unsuccessful attempts to approach Ladysmith across the Tugela river and performed a supporting role for the relief of Ladysmith and the offensive ended with the annexation of the Transvaal in September 1900. The Battalion was deployed guarding a section of the railway line in the Transvaal and Swann received special mention in General Redvers Buller's despatches of March 1900 for bravery at the Battle of Pieters.

Swann left South Africa on 13.06.1900 and returned to serve in Dublin, where he married Lydia Morris on 18.11.1901. Seven weeks later he re-joined the 1st Battalion in South Africa on 11.01.1902, having been promoted to corporal. Shortly afterwards he was hospitalised for a month in March suffering from enteric fever. After the end of the Second Boer war the Battalion left South Africa for India on the SS Assaye at the end of October 1902, to be based at Wellington, Madras Presidency, and Albert Swann went with them. A year later on 18.10.1903, Swann, now promoted to Sergeant, was seconded to join the Band of His Excellency, The Governor of Bombay. Some 15 months later, in January 1905 he re-engaged in the British Army, to complete 21 years' service.

The Governor's band was made up of seconded regular army musicians who had joined the Indian Army's unattached list, all of whom held the rank of Sergeant. The band was c 30 – 35 strong and was utilised by the appointed Governor to provide musical entertainment to the many civic and formal military occasions. Swann served under three Governors, during his 11 years as a band member, and was promoted to Sergeant Bandmaster in October 1904. His George V, Army Long Service and Good Conduct medal is named to *Sergt A Swann, H.E. The Govrs Band Bo.*

During the Great War Swann served with the Volunteer Artillery Battery in Mesopotamia and was discharged in India, at his own request, on 16.11.1915 after 22 years' service with the British Army. However, he carried on under the Indian Army establishment, returning from war service to take up a position as Band Instructor and Bandmaster at the Lawrence Military School in March 1916 at the age of nearly 39. Swann was joined by his family, his wife Lydia, son Charles Richard and two daughters Marion Emily & Amy Lydia from Colaba, Bombay, and they were accommodated in Staff Quarter 27 (The Bandmaster's Quarters). A month later Swann's wife Lydia was appointed Assistant (Temporary) Matron of the Preparatory Department at the Lawrence Royal Military School Asylum. In the same month all three of Swann's children were admitted to LMA Sanawar

as full-time boarders. Charles, aged 12, to Lawrence House Boy's Department, Marion, aged 10, to Lawrence House Girl's Department & Amy, aged 6, to the Preparatory Department.

Bandmaster Swann's school life was to be focussed on developing and enhancing the school band following the impact of the Great War on the school. He led a strong revival in the standard & quality of music played by the band, leading them in learning new music, both military and pastoral, as well as enhancing their musical proficiencies. He established the choral society, which grew to become a mainstay of the school. Swann could be found participating in many wider school activities, including acting as umpire at various cricket matches. He was to participate in the first ever Boys' Department Annual Summer Camp in 1916 and was involved in their organisation over the following years, The camp was located at Dagroo, near Dharampur, and he participated as Supervisory Staff - responsible for erecting & managing the encampment as well as supervising activities.



WO2 Swann with the Sanawar Band in 1922

In August 1918, Staff Sergeant Swann & Mrs Swann were no longer on the LMA Rolls and they left Sanawar for reasons not stated, though the children remained at school at their father's request. In parallel with his school responsibilities, Swann became a volunteer member of The Simla Rifles. LMRS's Principal, Major the Rev G D Barne, was second in command of the regiment and Rifleman A Swann was a member of B Company, The Simla Rifles, as well as an instructor of the Cadre of the LRMS Sanawar Contingent of the 4th Simla (Volunteer) Rifles. Through his involvement he earned his volunteer long service medal, and his Army Meritorious Service Medal was to have the unique inscription of B.Inst A Swann, Lawrence RM School.

Just less than a year on from their departure Staff Sergeant Swann and his wife returned to Sanawar in May 1919 and were taken back on the strength of the LMA's staff. Mrs Swann took on the role of Assistant Mistress of Domestic Science in the Girls Department, a position she held for the following 5 years.

The following year, Swann was promoted Warrant Officer, Class 2, and later in the year participated in the celebrations when the school was granted Royal patronage and renamed the 'Lawrence Royal Military School, Sanawar'. Some two years later, Bandmaster Swann was present at the occasion when the then Prince of Wales, later Edward VIII, presented new Colours to the school²⁷ at the Royal Indian Military College, Dehra Dun.

On 16th March 1925, Bandmaster Swann resigned his appointment as Bandmaster with effect from 25 March 1925 and travelled back to the United Kingdom. At Bandmaster Swann's request as a parting present, the boys at LMRS were granted a half-day holiday. Close on a year later, Mrs Swann retired after 5.5 years' service on the Domestic staff of the LRMS. Her daughter Marion Emily had left the previous September as a probationary nurse for further medical training away from Sanawar. The Swann's youngest daughter Amy Lydia also withdrew from school and the family left Sanawar and India to return to the UK in the February 1926. Over subsequent years Swann & his wife didn't lose contact completely with Sanawar, as they attended Old Sanawarian (OS) Reunions held at London & Scottish Regt HQ in Horseferry Road, London on various occasions between 1948 – 1953.



Albert Swann, Mayor of Chipping Norton 1934, 1944 & 1945

Albert Swann returned to his hometown of Chipping Norton in 1926, taking on the role of manager of the Masonic Hall and becoming a supply music teacher at the local college as well as Mayor of Chipping Norton on three separate occasions in 1934, 1944 and 1945. He was also instrumental in the creation of several local Bands including the Chipping Norton Borough Band.

References:

Derek Boddington - *The Lawrence Royal Military School website –including illustrations 2, 4,5,6,7 & research assistance.*

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THE EARLY YEARS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S MADRAS PRESIDENCY ARTILLERY CORPS: PART 1

Jane Keyes

Establishment of the Madras Presidency Artillery

Until the 1740s the East India Company's forts and garrisons were manned by a motley assortment of gunners and *matrosses*, or gunners' mates, recruited from ships' crews. Few received any education or formal professional training; rather they learned their trade by "exercising the great guns" during long sea voyages and by taking part in what were often formidable artillery battles at sea. By the time they ended up in the Company's garrisons in India, many were invalids or past their prime. As Randall Fowke, a former member of the gunroom crew at Fort St. George, Madras

²⁷ 13th March 1922 (Civil and Military Gazette, Lahore, Saturday 1st April 1922 page 2)

described it, the gunroom was originally '*lookt [sic] upon as a lodging work-house to relieve poor seamen, and at the same time be of use to the garrison.*'

While marginally capable of protecting the Company's possessions in southern India in early times, when the main threats to its factories came from occasional incursions by country powers, the Madras Presidency Council feared that its gunners at Fort St. George, Madras, the East India Company's principal settlement in southern India, would not be able to withstand a major assault by the French. In 1744, following the outbreak of war between England and France in 1740, the Council applied to Bombay for a trained artillery officer to help prepare the settlement against possible French attack. Joseph Smith was accordingly transferred to Madras that September. Designated a "Bombardier and Engineer," he appears to have been the first professional artillery officer to serve at the Madras Presidency, but was unable to prevent Fort St. George falling to the French in 1746.

Alarmed by this turn of events, authorities in England turned their attention to strengthening the Company's forces in India. In February 1747 Major Stringer Lawrence was shipped out as Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Presidency's forces, and shortly afterwards Captain Alexander Delavaux was sent there as its first "*Chief Engineer of all our settlements, and Captain of the train of artillery*" Twelve infantry companies and one artillery company followed in July 1748 under Admiral Boscawen. This infusion of troops, sent from England to "stiffen" the East India Company's armies in India, reflected the first glimmering of an emerging sense in Britain that the East India Company's settlements in India were the concern not only of the Company but of the British nation as a whole.

Along with the arrival of troops from England, the East India Company's Court of Directors sent instructions that represent its first efforts to systematize and professionalize its armies in India. In April 1747 selected items from the Articles of War then in force in England were declared applicable to the Company's forces in India, and on 17 June 1748 the Court of Directors signed into effect two lengthy documents, the first entitled *Regulations for the Forming, Disciplining, and Governing a Company of Artillery at Fort St. David* (a factory some 100 miles south of Madras which became the East India Company's chief settlement in southern India following the fall of Fort St. George), and the second a similar set of rules pertaining to the Company's European infantry. Through this, the first gunners' existing positions at Madras were replaced by those of a professional company of artillery.²⁸

Given that the East India Company at that time was still a commercial organization operating a few small factories along the coast of India, the early date and amount of detail contained in these regulations is extraordinary. The document relating to the artillery covers not only the replacement of the gun room crew by a body of professional artillery officers and men, but also deals with questions of recruitment, duties, gradations of rank - even clothing style. Fear that foreigners and Catholics, especially those of mixed Portuguese and Indian descent living at Fort St. George, had aided and abetted the French and thus been partly responsible for its loss, also produced a specific ruling forbidding Indians, those of mixed descent and Catholics from acquiring knowledge of or training in artillery skills.

²⁸ For full text see W.J.Wilson (comp.), *History of the Madras Army*, Madras, Government Press, 1882, vol. I, pp. 39-45.

Infusions of Royal artillerymen, some of whom had been trained at the Royal Academy at Woolwich, into the Madras artillery between 1748 and the end of the Seven Years War in 1763 injected a much-needed element of professionalism into the fledgling Madras Presidency artillery. Although most who survived the two wars returned to England afterwards, some transferred permanently from the King's to the Company's service, contributing to the pool of expertise gradually being acquired by Coast [Madras Presidency] artillery officers and men.

East India Company Directors also paid close attention to the calibre of those it sent to command the nascent Coast artillery. Although the first man to fill the position, Captain Delavaux, proved a disappointment, the second, Benjamin Robins, who served at Fort St. David as the Madras Presidency's "Chief Engineer and Captain of the Train" from July 1750 until his untimely death a year later, was a distinguished mathematician and Fellow of the Royal Society. He had studied civil engineering, fortification and gunnery, edited an account of Anson's voyages, written a standard text entitled *New Principles of Gunnery*, and invented the ballistic pendulum. His successor, Colonel Caroline Scott of H.M. 29th Foot, in keeping with royal interest in the artillery corps, was a former A.D.C. to the Duke of Cumberland.

Coast artillery officers also benefitted from the growing number of textbooks and technical manuals on gunnery and engineering that were now beginning to be published. When the Royal Military Academy first opened at Woolwich in 1741 textbooks on gunnery did not exist, but by the end of the 18th century numerous works on artillery and engineering were in circulation. They included not only older classics such as Vauban's *Mémoires*, or Benjamin Robins' 1748 *New Principles of Gunnery*, but newer works like the Woolwich teacher John Muller's *Elements of Fortification* and *Attack on Fortified Places* published in the 1760s, or James Glenie's *History of Gunnery* printed in Edinburgh in 1776.

While it is impossible to gauge how widely these and other technical works were actually studied by Coast artillery officers, we know at least that they were available at Madras because an increasing number of artillery officers and engineers began leaving such books in their Wills. Benjamin Robins, at his death at Fort St. David in 1751, left "two thirds of all [his] books of fortification" to one colleague and the remaining third to another. A few years later Captain Lewis d'Illens, then head of the First Artillery Company at Fort St. George, left numerous books on military subjects in his Will. Others who did so included Isaac Manoury, who served for several years as Deputy Military Commissary in Madras, and the much-loved Jonathan Moorhouse whose early death at the siege of Bangalore in 1791 - a subject commemorated in a famous painting by Robert Home - was so widely lamented.

These books were all the more valuable given the absence of any official manuals for the training of artillerymen. While the British army had official drill-books for both infantry and cavalrymen by the 1790's, the Ordnance Department left its troops to learn on the job. That this loose arrangement, adopted at Madras as well as in Britain, worked so well reflects remarkably on the high quality of many of the artillery officers and engineers of the time. Fortescue attributes their high calibre to the fact that Royal Artillery officers, like those of the East India Company, did not obtain their commissions by purchase like officers in the British infantry and cavalry, and hence did not rise to command without knowledge of their work.²⁹

²⁹ J.W.Fortescue, *A History of the British Army*, (London, Macmillan, 1899), II, 588.

Recruitment and Career Prospects of Madras Artillery Officers

During the first years of the Coast artillery's existence some of its officers were raised from the ranks, as was reportedly the case with Colonel Joseph Moorhouse. Others transferred from the Royal Artillery or were seconded from local East India Company infantry units. There were also young men who came out as cadets "*gentlemen by birth ... but not artillerists by education.*" In attempting to explain how such Madras artillery officers, "*so confessedly deficient in theoretical knowledge, should have obtained ... such a high character for practical efficiency and steadiness*" Major P.J. Begbie, in his *History of the Services of the Madras Artillery*, puts it down to the fact that artillery officers studied their profession in the battlefield, where constant practice enabled them to correct their errors and improve their knowledge.³⁰

Despite their skills, however, career prospects for Coast artillery officers were not good, in part because the artillery was seen as a technical rather than a strictly military profession and artillery officers were regarded as being unsuited to field command. In 1766 Brigadier-General John Caillaud, then Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army, noted the injustice of such views, which automatically precluded artillery officers from sharing in the higher salaries and special privileges that went with field appointments. It took until 1775, however, before the first Coast artillery officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Edward James, a former Royal Artillery officer, was raised to a field position and it was finally ruled that artillery officers should in future be considered in the same manner as other officers of the army in regard to field appointments.

Even then there were only four senior appointments in the Madras artillery corps to which an 18th century officer could aspire. They were those of Commandant or head of the entire artillery corps, head of the First or Second battalions, or Commissary in Charge of the Arsenal at Fort St. George. For those below the rank of field officer there were a few lesser staff appointments. They included short-term positions as quartermasters, barrackmasters, conductors in charge of magazines or commissaries in charge of stores at outlying stations. Given the limited opportunities available to officers for enhancing their salaries through staff appointments many, like those throughout the East India Company's service, also conducted trading ventures on the side. Even those opportunities disappeared by the end of the 18th century, however, once Lord Cornwallis forbade all forms of private trading in exchange for increased salaries and pensions.

Coast Artillery officers, like those throughout the East India Company's armies, rose within their corps by seniority based on the date they had initially joined the Company's service. Each time an officer dropped out of the upward race through retirement or death, a position opened up that provided an officer on the rung below the chance to move up a notch professionally and thereby acquire a higher level of salary and perquisites, or so-called "emoluments." While the rate of attrition due to disease and to death in battle provided greater upward job mobility than might have been expected, overwork and poor prospects made the recruitment of officers difficult. A 1767 Minute in Council notes that, given how inadequate the advantages and prospects of artillery officers were when compared with those of the rest of the military establishment, no cadets wanted to go into the artillery corps. Indeed, it was feared that unless something was done to remedy the situation the Company could not hope to retain "scientific officers."

³⁰ Major P.J. Begbie, *History of the Services of the Madras Artillery* (Madras, Franck & Co., 1858), I, 236.

Despite such warnings the Coast artillery continued to be severely undermanned throughout the 18th century, and the number of its officers remained extremely small. In 1768, twenty years after the initial establishment of the corps, there were only ten Madras artillery officers ranking higher than lieutenant. Even by the end of the century, while the overall size of the corps grew from two companies in 1748 to two battalions in 1796 its officers above the level of lieutenant only numbered 26. Not until the establishment of the Military Seminary at Addiscombe in 1809 as a college for the instruction of artillery and engineering cadets was the shortage of officers fully addressed, and the Madras artillery corps finally provided with a regular supply of scientifically trained artillery officers.

Despite their small size the Madras Presidency's artillery officers shouldered enormous responsibilities. As well as training and leading their men and ensuring that ordnance and equipment were kept in serviceable condition at all times, they were responsible for protecting the East India Company's numerous outlying garrisons and munitions depots. In time of war their skills were essential to successful field actions. They not only sited, manned and fired the guns but, along with the tiny cadre of engineers, conducted siege operations. Between 1748 and the end of the eighteenth century the Madras Presidency took part in no less than three Carnatic and four Mysore wars; all included battles that involved varying levels of siege warfare.

In addition, the artillery corps was responsible for protecting Fort St. George, the very nerve center of the Madras Presidency. Completely re-designed following the French siege of the fort in 1758, by 1780 the Fort was protected by no less than 424 pieces of ordnance that included not only mortars and howitzers, but canons that ranged from comparatively light-weight 3-pounders all the way up to the immensely heavy 42-pound iron siege guns, so unwieldy that they had to be fixed to the walls. The Fort was, moreover, where the Presidency's Grand Arsenal was housed. Following the pattern adhered to in the British army at that time, where the department of the Master General of the Ordnance not only had oversight of the artillery but in effect served as a ministry for the supply of armaments, artillery officers at the Madras Presidency's Grand Arsenal presided over the storage and dispensing of weapons and ammunition for the entire Presidency army.

The Fort St. George arsenal further housed a laboratory where different forms of ammunition were manufactured, ranging from round shot or simple iron ball to case shot or canister, which produced a swathe of bullets over the whole frontage of the gun position, together with grapeshot, shells and cartridges. By order of directives laid down in 1786, all artillery officers and men were obliged to travel in small parties at regular intervals from St. Thomas' Mount to the laboratory at Fort St. George approximately eight miles away to be trained in making ammunition, in order to ensure that the entire European component of the corps had knowledge of the preparation and safety precautions to be used in handling the different forms of military "fireworks" then in use at the Presidency.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

PETER SUMMERS - Peter Summers was born in Naini Tal, the fifth generation of that surname to live in India. He boarded at Sherwood College, Naini Tal, in that beautiful area of the Himalayas, a time cut short in 1955 when the family returned to the UK. He joined the RAF as an engineer working on Lightning, Phantom and Buccaneer aircraft before leaving and settling in Derbyshire with his wife, Pam. There he spent 24 years with Rolls-Royce on various gas turbine project teams finishing as Head of Engine Health Monitoring on the Trent 1000 in 2010. Pam and Peter are happily retired having three sons and four grandchildren in the local area.

ANNABEL PERCY-LANCASTER – Annabel lives in South Africa, was born in Salisbury, Rhodesia to a Dutch mother born in Beira, Mozambique and an English father who was born in New Delhi, India. She has been researching her family history for more than 25 years. Annabel holds a BCom in Business Management and specialises in quality management in a geoscience environment.

WILL BARBER TAYLOR – Will Barber Taylor is a History MA graduate of the University of Warwick. He is the Digital Campaigns and Media Officer for Generation Rent and hosts the UK politics podcast the Debated Podcast.

KEITH HAINES - For almost forty years, I was Head of History and Archivist at Campbell College, Belfast. Before and since retirement I have taken an interest in former pupils and local characters, many of whom found employment in India in a wide range of capacities, the most notable of whom was Arthur Moore.

STEPHEN LALLY - The second of Stephen Lally's stories of Irish emigrants is just published and nearly half of its 182 pages describe their life in Bengal. Thomas & Eliza Little – Irish Pioneers in India and Western Australia, is available on Amazon. His first book, The Leaving of Loughrea – An Irish Family in the Great Famine, describes the lives of his family in Ireland and their emigration to England, America and Australia.

ALLAN STANISTREET - Allan collects and researches military and civilian medals and decorations.

DOUGLAS EDWARDS - Douglas Edwards lives and works in Germany, as an advisor within the European real estate sector. He was trained as a historical and social geographer, specialising in the Indian sub-continent. Having been brought up in a military family, serving himself in the British territorial forces, he has combined his interests, and passions, by establishing a collection of Volunteer medals and decorations with a particular focus on the Indian Volunteers. He enjoys researching and writing articles about the medals' recipients, seeking to place them within their social and historical context.

BOOK REVIEWS:

Empire Building: The construction of British India 1690-1860, by Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, pub. Hurst 2023, pp239, ISBN:9781787388048

The reader's first impression of this hardback must surely be the overwhelming breadth and scope of its subject matter. The author has undertaken a detailed analysis of how the component parts of a successful empire have supported each other and led, in turn, to the development of new and exciting inventions which further increased the prosperity of the whole. It's all about connections.

It begins with a study of pre-colonial Calcutta and moves swiftly on to the building of a fort there, so vital to the security of trade and expansion. The physical impact on the industrial landscape was followed by a marked psychological effect on the local populace, as swamps were drained, roads improved, and trade increased. No-one could fail to notice who was firmly in charge and calling the shots though – and who was providing the labour. The author begins a study of the roles of early architects and the architecture, which was at first quintessentially English in design and ignored common-sense, but which was soon adapted to take account of the climate and to learn from traditional Indian styles. The residency in Lucknow was a case in point. The building boom led to the need for a Land Registry. Indian builders were multi-skilled, but used to working from models, rather than plans. Similarly, traditional maps were simple diagrams, using landmarks to guide the traveller and boundary lines were fuzzy. Clearly, there was a need to train and employ surveyors, cartographers, draughtsmen and other trades. They were employed primarily to meet the needs of the H.E.I.C. but they were also instrumental in holding the fabric of new thinking and development together, to make them work effectively.

Industry was progressing also. By the 1700s, gunpowder was being produced and silk manufactured using imported Italian machinery to improve the quality of material. More roads were built to move goods more efficiently and by the late seventeenth century, Bombay had its own mint, to produce the coinage necessary for increasing trade. Thus began an Age of Enlightenment: hot air balloons by the 1780s and a rise in curiosity in all fields, which sparked interest generally. A famous judge at the Supreme Court of Calcutta, Sir William Jones, influenced thinking and research by his sheer scholarship. He was a linguist, a great classical scholar and orientalist, with interests in music, astronomy and geography besides. He also realised the need to collect and catalogue botanic specimens and sent seeds to other parts of the globe, transferring the spicy forests of Asia to the Caribbean. His crowning glory was establishing the *Asiatick Society*, to study man and nature in Asia.

The Swedish botanist, Carl Linnaeus, categorised the natural world of plants, animals, vegetables and minerals. When one of his students visited Tranquebar in 1744, a Pandora's box opened in India. Local artists were commissioned to paint plants as they were classified. Herbalists advised on their medicinal values - so that by 1786, a botanical garden was proposed for Calcutta. Plant breeding, to improve food and commercial crops - such as cotton, tobacco, coffee and tea- helped to guard against famine and pestilence. The dots were being joined, each branch of science helping another.

By 1780, Calcutta had the first Indian newspaper, with a circulation of 400. In 1792, Madras had an astronomical observatory. New public buildings appeared: hospitals, asylums, orphanages,

colleges, libraries and museums - mostly funded by the H.E.I.C. Money and influence went hand-in-hand, of course, and amidst this new ethos of enlightenment, Freemasonry established a foothold. Hot on the heels of all these changes, good communications were key. Travel by water was augmented by better road travel but the invention of steam was the game-changer. As steamships were introduced, so the need for coal grew. Most of it had to be imported as coalmining in India was expensive, so wood was often the fuel of choice. But the coming of the railways in 1853, helped by the practical use of electricity in sending telegraph messages, meant that these two systems developed in tandem, at a cracking pace, and brought changes which were "profound and irreversible". Cantonments and hill stations sprouted next.

Margaret Murray

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We hope to see you at the **AGM and Open Meeting on 24th June at the Union Jack Club in London**. If you are unable to join us in person, you are welcome to attend virtually, as the event will be recorded and transmitted via ZOOM. Please check the website for regular updates. There will be a chat-box for any questions you may have, and these can also be submitted in advance by email to the chairman (chairman@fibis.org)

THREE CHEERS FOR A GREAT TEAM

Most members are aware of the great job done by our regular departments which keep FIBIS in the public eye. However, a huge debt of thanks is also due to the many who beaver away behind the scenes, in the UK and overseas. We'd like to give a special mention to Sandra Seager in USA and the team who tackle transcriptions together, including Andrew Cumine in the UK who tracks down and photographs suitable projects for the team to get their teeth into. It is largely due to their efforts that our database, a source of great pride and joy, as well as fascinating information, continues to grow steadily and is the envy of family history societies the world over. Months of dedicated graft go into every single addition and there have been some real treasures lately. Check out the most recent of these in the database. To Sandra, Andrew and the whole team, three cheers and a big pat on the back from all trustees

and very grateful members. You are doing sterling work which will help researchers today and for many decades to come.

Thank you all!

GETTING INVOLVED

A reminder, also, that all you need to help as a volunteer are enthusiasm, a computer and some spare time. Full training and support are given and there is no need to travel to London or to attend meetings in person. Please get in touch with the co-ordinator, tc@fibis.org, if you would like to learn more.

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- Quotations should be typed in italics and separated from the text by a one-line space. References must be used sparingly and given as footnotes, *not endnotes*, using the 'insert footnote' function.
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- If you are happy to receive response from readers, please add your email at the end of your article. Please include a short biopic. UK-based authors may request a complimentary copy of the journal upon publication, therefore please include your postal address. Overseas authors may request a PDF copy.

THE GREATEST STORY EVER TOLD

Open Meets are a key part of FIBIS membership. They allow members to extend their knowledge, share information and enjoy time with like-minded people. Interesting and knowledgeable speakers are essential to these meetings' success.

Talks might cover an aspect of genealogy, an historical subject, an industry or sector (tea, jute etc.), an activity (e.g. railways), organisations, communities or a theme such as race, gender or class.

Can you provide a presentation of 20 to 45 minutes, or do you know anybody who could? If so, please contact Mike Tickner on mike.tickner@fibis.org

SOCIETY INFORMATION

GENERAL ENQUIRIES:

Enquiries, by post or email, should initially be sent to the Membership Secretary: Libby Rice, 71 Manor Lane, Sunbury on Thames, Middlesex, TW16 6JE. Email: membership@fibis.org.

ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP SUBSCRIPTION:

The cost of membership is £15 for the UK, £16 for Europe, £18 for elsewhere abroad or £12 for worldwide paperless membership. Cheques (in Sterling) should be made out to 'FIBIS' and sent to the Membership Secretary (address above). Subscriptions can be paid/renewed online with a debit or credit card or by PayPal at <http://www.new.fibis.org/store>. For special arrangements for payment by Australian members: see below.

AUSTRALIA:

For liaison with FIBIS members and with India-related family history activities in Australia contact: Mary Anne Gourley - aus@fibis.org. Members may pay subscriptions in Australian dollars (A\$35). Cheques should be made payable to 'Families in British India Society' and sent to PO Box 397, Doncaster, Victoria 3108, Australia; or can be paid direct to FIBIS Westpac Account No.15-0975 BSB 032-636; quoting your surname as the Reference; or by PayPal via the FIBIS website.

WEBSITE:

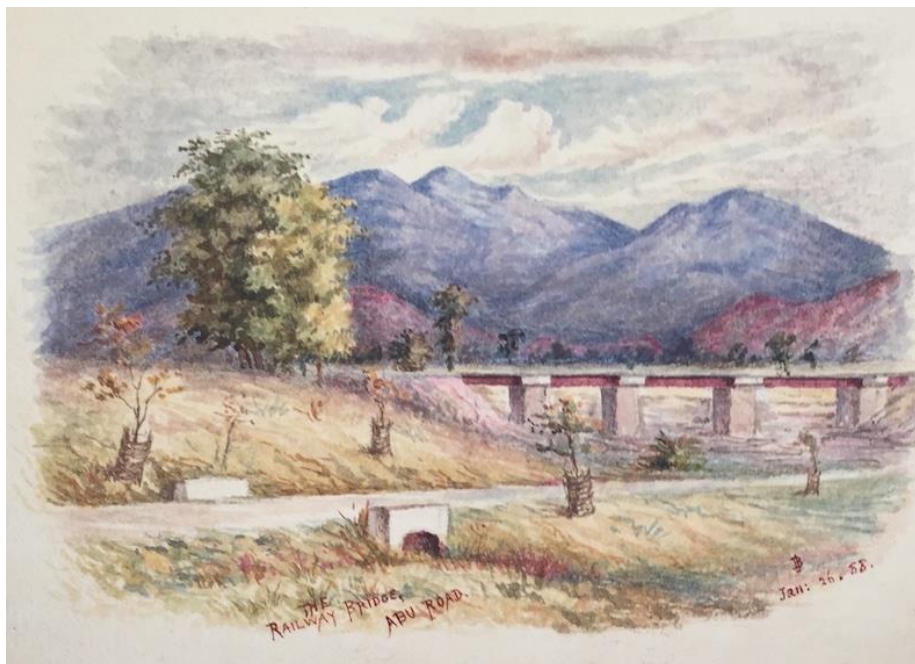
The FIBIS website www.fibis.org includes nearly 2 million entries of Europeans or Anglo-Indians who lived or saw civil or military service in India. Many of these names were collected thanks to transcriptions undertaken by FIBIS volunteers (see below), and many have been incorporated from the website of Cathy Day, to whom we are greatly indebted. The FIBIS website also includes an area for members' own material: for example, the results of their own researches or interesting documents or photos in their possession. Contact the Website and Social Media Manager, Valmay Young (valmay@fibis.org), if you would like to contribute.

RESEARCH FOR MEMBERS:

Members are encouraged to place enquiries in the members' area of the FIBIS website and the FIBIS Facebook group 'British India Family History' as well as using online searchable databases. There are also facilities for accessing LDS films via local Family History Centres. Alternatively, members should use the India Office Records, to which the best introduction is Baxter's Guide: Biographical Sources in the India Office Records (3rd edition, FIBIS, 2004). Members requiring further assistance should contact our Research Coordinator, Beverly Hallam, 32 Broughton Road, London, W13 8QW (email: research@fibis.org). FIBIS members seeking research assistance should quote their membership number.

TRANSCRIPTION PROJECTS:

Thanks to the cooperation of the British Library, and many individual contributors, large quantities of biographical data and photographs of memorials from the India Office Records and other sources have been transcribed and uploaded to the FIBIS website. These projects are ongoing. If you would like to volunteer as a transcriber, please contact the Transcriptions Coordinator: Sandra Seager (email: transcriptions@fibis.org).



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The Railway Bridge at Abu Road
Watercolour by Elizabeth Ellen James, January 1888