



Gungait Bridge, Malwa State Railway, 1879

Photograph by C.S. James

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Back cover: The Telegraph Office at Surat, 1885. Photograph by C.S. James © the Editor / FIBIS

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EDITORIAL



I promised in the last issue to introduce myself as the new editor: I am a recently retired teacher of French and German, although the last ten years of my time were dominated by senior management roles and a close involvement with IT systems. I went to Bedford School, did my BA at Exeter College Oxford, my PGCE at Goldsmiths and, as one did in those days, paid £30 for my MA. After two years at Harrogate Rossett High School and four at Marlborough College, I moved to Strathallan School, near Perth, in 1988 and spent the rest of my career there. I now live in the Scottish Borders, just outside Kelso.

I was reminded at interview for this role that I have been a member of FIBIS since 2017. That tallies with my involvement in family history research, which started in earnest a year earlier. My brick wall was in Newgate Street in London rather than in India, in the identity of my 4th great grandfather, Joseph James. Solving that allowed me to say that the James involvement in India started no later than 1786 with the husband of one of my 5th great aunts, one James Chippindall. He did so well selling general merchandise in Calcutta as Purser of the East Indiaman *Walpole* that he 'ran' from the ship rather than continuing with her to China, went back to England and returned to Calcutta two years later on his own account, on the Danish ship *Eliza*, with a varied cargo of European goods. No doubt he expected to make a handsome profit, but sadly he died a few months after his arrival. That in turn caused the bankruptcy in London of my 4th great grandfather and so precipitated the application in 1801 of his son Charles Butler James for a cadetship in the Bombay Army. CBJ retired in 1853 (51 years of service, not just the 40 claimed by Lord North). Three of his sons joined the Bombay Army, one went into the Bengal Artillery, one started as an indigo planter and retired as the District Traffic Controller in Dehra Dun. Most of their sons followed on, my great grandfather in the Telegraph Service rather than the Army. The family involvement ended with my grandfather, who retired from the Royal Indian Navy in 1947, and his three sons who were all born in India but returned to England as schoolboys.

My thanks to the contributors to this edition of the Journal: please do not hold back from joining them for future issues. At the moment I have very little for Issue 51, which is due for May 2024.

There is a busy year ahead for FIBIS - the impending October Open Meeting, the AGM in June next year, the 25th Anniversary Conference in September 2024 as well as plans for an Anniversary Magazine. Please do have a look at the Notices section at the end of this edition! If you receive the Journal by post you will also have to hand the flyer and booking form for the 2024 Conference.

Adam Streatfeild-James

FOR THE LOVE OF GARDENING – LANCASTER AND PERCY-LANCASTER CONTRIBUTIONS TO INDIAN AND AFRICAN HORTICULTURE: PART 2

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. Confusion often 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 actual 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 muddled between these two men. So, if by writing this article I am able to shed just a little clarity on the four horticulturists/botanists in our family, then I have achieved something.

Beautifying New Delhi: Alick PERCY-LANCASTER



Alick PERCY-LANCASTER and an unknown "mali" in Sunder Nursery, Delhi (±1948)

Alick PERCY-LANCASTER was born in Calcutta in 1912 the younger of twins, the older twin being Percy. Alick followed in his father's horticultural footsteps and worked as an apprentice at the Royal Agri-Horticultural Society (RAHS) in Calcutta from 1931 to 1932. At the RAHS he received training in gardening and botany amongst other things. He was then sent to the United Kingdom and received three years of training at the Royal Botanic Gardens in Edinburgh, and at Kew, between 1932 and 1936.

When he returned to India he was appointed as the

Superintendent of the Government House Gardens of Bengal from 1936 to 1938. His work here involved the maintenance of four large gardens in Calcutta, Barrackpore, Darjeeling and Dacca and entailed park maintenance, flower and vegetable production and the interior decoration of the main buildings.

In 1938 he joined the Horticultural Operations of the Central Public Works Department (CPWD) in New Delhi as Assistant Superintendent and was placed in charge of the parks and public gardens. He was in this post until 1943. Horticultural Operations maintained all the horticultural property belonging to the Government of India, municipal and other bodies of New Delhi.

He was promoted to Superintendent and was later made the first Director of the Horticulture Division of the CPWD, a position he held from 1943 until the end of 1956 when he resigned.

An article which was published in The Statesman in 1952 and transcribed below sums up Alick's responsibilities:

"BEAUTIFYING THE CAPITAL [LI](#)

Nearly 80,000 trees, 200 miles of hedges and 3,500 acres of park and garden land have transformed what was once desert land into what is now the Garden City of New Delhi. Builders of beauty, 2,000 men of the Horticultural Department of the CPWD are responsible for the pleasing layout and maintenance of verdant lawns and leafy avenues. The city's gardens and lawns use daily 15 million gallons of water.

With winter here, groves of jacaranda trees topped with azure blossoms adorn the front of Parliament House. The southern ridge in March will once again be ablaze with the scarlet and orange dhak (flame of the forest). Even in May, when things begin to dry up, the gul mohar trees in Connaught Place are covered with a brilliant mass of scarlet blossoms. At any time of the year a visitor to Rajghat cannot fail to be impressed with the beautiful lawns. To beautify the Diplomatic Enclave, 3,800 roadside trees have been planted, including Indian coral and jacaranda, and it is hoped to put down another 1,200. Among the Horticultural Department's charges are public parks, bungalow gardens, sports fields, afforested ridges, and a well-planned nursery at Sundar Bagh, near Humayun's Tomb. Also, trees are to be planted in no fewer than 16 D.P. colonies.

Development and expansion of the capital called for the laying down of a nursery to provide thousands of trees and millions of shrubs. Located where the Irwin Hospital stands today, the Delhi Gate Nursery, as it was then called, was opened in 1914 only for the growing of trees and hedges. In area it was only eight acres and it needed but one chowsdury and 12 malis. In this little nursery were planted the seeds of the beautiful specimens of arjun and tamarind trees that today line Queensway and Akbar Road.

MORE CENTRAL

As New Delhi grew, the problem of transporting thousands of plants to various parts of the city necessitated a more central location for the nursery. The then system of transport, it must be remembered, was mainly the slow moving bullock-cart. The nursery thus came to be located where we now have Talkatora Park. Its scope was extended to include the growing of shrubs and cannas for parks and gardens that had begun to spring up in New Delhi. The canna beds in Talkatora Park are a riot of colour when at their best. After an interval of a few years, removal once again took place, presumably because the expanding city required additional sports fields, especially within easy reach of the Secretariat. The nursery then came to be housed in the village of Joor Bagh, where it enjoyed popularity for over a quarter of a century. The jaman grove was a constant haunt of bird-lovers, searching for rare specimens such as the Paradise flycatcher, a visitor from Kashmir. The nursery served not only the needs of Delhi but sent millions of trees, shrubs, creepers, hedges and between 40 and 50 thousand roses a year to all parts of India. It was spread over 70 acres and had 86 men working on it. But its place, too, came to be taken up by new buildings the capital was growing.

The Government Nursery now situated at Sundar Bagh covers 60 acres. Work on it began in 1948. It has plots devoted to the production of cut-flowers, roses, shrubs and hedge plants. There are two fruit sections, one for "mother" plants and the other from which specimens are sold. Within the working area are conveniently situated seed and cutting frames, a glasshouse, garden sheds, the whole being arranged in geometrical patterns. Behind the scheme is the desire for economy and efficiency alongside beauty, and the nursery can justifiably claim to be one of New Delhi's beauty spots.

JUNGLE LAND

In 1936, the Horticultural Department was called upon to lay out a park in six weeks in time for Lady Willingdon to open before Lord Willingdon completed his tenure of office as viceroy. The area (near Lodi Road) was, before its conversion, jungle land, with an undulating surface of mounds and nullahs, variation in the surface level being from 8 to 15 feet. Great quantities of earth had to be moved, 20 acres of lawn laid down, roads and irrigation installed and hundreds of trees and shrubs planted. The Department worked day and night to complete the park, which in time became Sardar Patel's favourite walk [Lodi Garden today].

On the melancholy occasion of Gandhiji's assassination, a sudden demand was placed upon the nursery's resources. Working throughout that sad night by torch and lantern light, the men produced 65 wreaths and a floral "carpet" in time for the funeral the next morning.

With the attainment of freedom and with the influx of thousands of displaced persons, New Delhi has grown apace; and the task of Horticultural Department grows too. Whenever the city's ramifications extend, the Department's job will be to clothe them in a verdant mantle of lawns, shrubbery and trees".

This article alludes to the fact that the Horticultural Department was also responsible for the landscaping of Raj Ghat, the area around Mahatma Gandhi's cremation spot.



Avenues in New Delhi (2019)



Present day Sunder Nursery, New Delhi (2019)



Present day Raj Ghat, New Delhi (2019)

Alick, unlike his father Sydney and grandfather Percy¹, was not known for his hybridisation and cross-breeding but he did raise or introduce two varieties of *Bougainvillea* which can still be found today, viz. *Bougainvillea* 'Alick Lancaster' and *Bougainvillea* 'Enid Lancaster'.

He was a prolific writer and contributed to numerous dailies and magazines. He published "Garden Chat", a monthly bulletin for three years and remained a regular speaker on the All India Radio. For several years he was the Gardening Correspondent of The Statesman².

He wrote in excess of 208 articles and broadcasts that the author is aware of from 1944 through to 1957.

The Indian novelist, journalist and editor, Anuradha Roy³ uses Alick as one of the characters⁴ in her book "*All The Lives We Never Lived*"⁵ which was published in 2018 and won the Tata Book of the Year Award for Fiction⁶ in the same year:

'Roy's attention to the period setting and the detail with which she draws real people from history is admirable. There are at least five actual people making cameos in this novel: Spies, de Zoete, Tagore, the singer Begum Akhtar, and the horticulturist Alick Percy-Lancaster'



The Percy-Lancaster Family (from left to right): Deryk, Mary (Alick's mother), Alick, Trevor, Enid and Alan

In 1957 he left India for Africa and joined his wife and children in East London, South Africa, where his younger brother Richard (an orthopaedic surgeon) and his family lived. The family would make the journey by road to Salisbury in Southern Rhodesia where they settled. His parents Sydney and Mary joined them there. Sadly his mother Mary passed away in 1960 and he passed away in 1961. His father Sydney returned to the NBRI in Lucknow.

¹ Percy-Lancaster, S. (1959). *Bougainvillea*. National Botanic Gardens, Lucknow, India. Bulletin No. 41. 34p.

² Brook, E.B. (1951). *Letter from E.B. Brook of The Statesman, New Delhi*. [letter]. Private Collection. Centurion.

³ Roy, A. (2019). *Email from Anuradha Roy about Alick Percy-Lancaster*. [email]. Private Collection. Centurion.

⁴ Shekhar, H.S. (2018). *The Hindu: 'All The Lives We Never Lived' review: an ode to memories and separations*. Viewed 13 June 2021. <https://www.thehindu.com/books/an-ode-to-memories-and-separations-all-the-lives-we-never-lived-by-anuradha-roy/article23987134.ece>.

⁵ Makhijani, V. (2020). *India New England News: Anuradha Roy finds solitude in the Kumaon Himalayas*. Viewed 16 June 2021. <https://indianewengland.com/2020/09/anuradha-roy-finds-solitude-in-the-kumaon-himalayas/>.

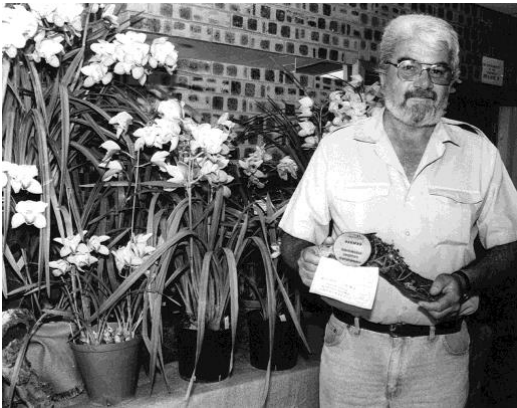
Alick married Enid Dulcie Violet DURANT in 1939 in New Delhi. They had four sons; David - stillborn (1940-1940), Deryk (1942-1966), Alan (1944-1995) and Trevor (1946-1992).

Field naturalist: Alan PERCY-LANCASTER

Alan PERCY-LANCASTER was born in 1944 in New Delhi. He immigrated to Southern Rhodesia in the 1950s with his family. On leaving school he joined the British South African Police (BSAP) until his discharge in 1965. Alan had an interest in *Amaryllis* and indigenous orchids and in 1965 he received a letter from his grandfather Sydney in which he writes⁶:

"Your news Alan that you are carrying on the traditions of the Percy-Lancaster's & doing your bit in horticulture was a Christmas present much appreciated".

He went on to give Alan advice regarding the *Gloriosa* plants at Mansfield Road (the family home in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia) and had hoped that Alan would show some interest and advance his and Alick's research in this regard. Sydney advised Alan not to pursue an interest in amaryllis since this avenue of cross-breeding was fairly saturated by the Americans.



Alan PERCY-LANCASTER received an award for an indigenous orchid he entered in an Orchid Show (± 1990)

Following his discharge from the BSAP he then spent the next nine years working for the Rhodesian Government at different stations throughout Rhodesia but mostly in the Eastern Highlands. In 1970 Alan was awarded the Rhodesia General Service Medal for his services as a BSAP reservist.

It was during this time that Alan's love for aloes and succulents grew and when he would leave his mark in Southern Africa. He was responsible for creating the aloe garden and surrounding parks in the Sir Malcolm Barrow Park in Chipinga (Rhodesia) in 1974 prior to emigrating to

South Africa with his family. In South Africa he was employed in the mining and bus industry. He undertook numerous field trips across Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia) and northern South Africa and discovered new localities of already known succulent species. Some of these trips led to the discovery of new species of *Brachystelma* (*B. Gemmeum*), *Ceropegia* L, *Raphionacme* Harv. and *Euphorbia lydenbergensis*⁷.

He published eight articles in the Aloe, Cactus and Succulent Society of Zimbabwe journal and also lectured at congresses on his vast knowledge of succulents from Zimbabwe and northern South Africa⁸. Alan married Anna Aleida MENAGE in Salisbury (Southern Rhodesia). They had three daughters; Elayne, Liesl and Annabel. Alan died in 1995 in Pietersburg (South Africa).

⁶ Percy-Lancaster, S. (±1965). Letter to Alan and Anna Percy-Lancaster. [letter]. Private Collection. Pretoria.

⁷ Glen, H.F. and Germishuizen, G. (2010). Botanical Exploration of Southern Africa, Edition 2. Strelitzia 26. South African National Biodiversity Institute, 336-337pp.

⁸ Ibid.

Commemorated in

The Percy-Lancasters are commemorated in the species and/or cultivars^{9,10} listed below. Sadly due to poor conservation some of these have already been lost:

Sydney

- *Acalypha* lancasteri
- *Antigonon* lancasteri
- *Bougainvillea* ‘Mrs. Lancaster’
- *Canna* ‘Percy-Lancaster’
- *Cassia* × lancasteri
- *Crinum* lancasteri
- *Hibiscus* ‘Percy-Lancaster’
- *Lagerstroemia* ‘Lancasteri
- *Panax* lancasteri
- *Sansevieria* trifas ciata lancasteri
- *Zephyranthes* lancasteri

Alick

- *Bougainvillea* ‘Alick Lancaster’
- *Bougainvillea* ‘Enid Lancaster’

Alan

- *Brachystelma* lancasteri
- *Pachycymbium* lancasteri

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. My cousin, Tracey is thanked for proofreading this article.

INDIAN TEXTILE TRADE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN

Sue Paul

Indian textile trade with Borneo

Despite their importance in human life for protection and comfort in most societies, textiles, (the production of which is relegated to “women’s work” in many cultures), are accredited little value except in the form of religious vestments. It is rare for a society to invest them with value as a measure of wealth, as opposed to being a visible symbol of wealth, as they have been for centuries in the Dayak communities of Borneo where they are known as the “warp and weft of life.” Virtually every known patterning technique from elsewhere has been adopted in the region and these are the principal means of artistic expression. Regardless of indigenous textile production, significantly greater value was assigned to trade cloths produced in India, especially the ikats¹¹ that were used for everyday and ceremonial dress, religious and theatrical purposes, and even currency. The greatest value was assigned to patolas¹² woven in Gujarat.¹³ The simpler designs of ikat produced in Odisha are also believed to have been imported into Borneo. Although large numbers of these

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Roy, R.K. and Singh, S. (2014). *Percy-Lancaster’s – the Last Three Generations of British Horticulturists: the Renaissance of Indian Horticulture*. Chronica Horticulture, 54 (1). 18-23pp.

¹¹ Ikat, from the Malay *mengikat* meaning “to bind or tie.” Unwoven yarn is bound before resist dying producing a weft or warp yarn with a tie-dyed effect in such a way as to produce a patterned fabric when woven.

¹² *Patola*, long silk double-ikat, woven from resist dyed waft and warp threads, prized as a luxury item.

¹³ Wikipedia <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ikat> gives a good overview with illustrations – Ed.

valued Indian trade cloths were believed to be imported, few have survived as heirlooms. Despite the tradition of storing the cloths in the rafters of the village clan-houses, the position and smoke fumes protecting them from vermin, no ikats are known to survive from before the nineteenth century. There is little information available about this commerce. Other Indian fabrics, including chintzes, were also widely traded throughout the archipelago. What was the involvement of the East India Company (EIC) and independent English in the Indian textile trade in the region and further afield?

The East India Company's involvement

Spices may have been the primary reason for the creation of the EIC but its first profitable business was in exotic cloth. The serious rivalry in the spice trade with the Dutch and Portuguese, as well as the risk of piracy, resulted in each voyage requiring a minimum number of ships in order to enable the fleet to defend itself. The first Company voyage returned with so much pepper the market was flooded, with a detrimental effect on prices. On subsequent voyages only sufficient spices were purchased to fill just one ship. Other trade goods were required to fill the others and the Company began importing both painted and printed cotton fabric into England as early as 1620 when they brought fifty thousand pieces back from India. A piece was about a yard wide and between ten and twenty yards long. Even as late as the mid-eighteenth century, Indian textiles provided sixty percent of the Company's profits. The muslins and hand block-printed fabrics of Masulipatnam were an important part of this trade in textiles.

This was the opposite of what the Government had wanted when the EIC was established. At the time, England's main manufactured product was high-quality, heavy woollen broadcloth and the East Indies was seen as a huge new market for this. Otherwise, all the country had to trade with was silver. The Company's charter obliged them to include a substantial proportion of broadcloth in its exports. The papers of Thomas Bowrey at the British Library include two sheets with woollen fabric samples showing the colours considered suitable for export. This objective had one huge flaw; heavy woollen broadcloth was unsuitable for the Asian climate. The result was that rather than supporting English industry, the Company damaged it by importing Indian fabrics into England.

The climate was not the only impediment to selling English broadcloth. The centuries-old Indian textile industry was sophisticated. They produced products in great demand throughout the Malay Archipelago. These cloths were an important element of the established trade routes of the Indian Ocean long before the arrival of the Europeans. Indian production ranged from plain, functional, hand-woven, cotton cloth and garments to exquisite, luxury, hand-printed or embroidered silks and the finest, sheer muslins. They were experts in dyeing cloth. Chintz and *kalamkari*, for example, went through a complex, multi-stage, multi-colour dyeing process that remains valued today. Alongside the broadcloth samples, the British Library holds a textile colour chart resembling a modern paint chart, showing the range of colours that could be obtained.¹⁴ The printed fabrics from western India which were among the first imported into England were of inferior quality, and the Company very quickly switched to the Gujarat cottons embroidered in coloured silks. These textiles were a luxury fashion item. Wealthy customers were looking for exclusivity and novelty. The earliest imports were in the styles made for local use in Asia, but soon European designs were

¹⁴ <https://blogs.bl.uk/untoldlives/2017/06/thomas-bowreys-cloth-samples.html>

copied. In addition, the Company very quickly learned that to obtain the spices they desired, they would need to become involved in the Indian Ocean textile trade.

The “country trade” of the Indian Ocean.

EIC ships in the East Indies at the beginning of the seventeenth century sailed from port to port, picking up cargos before returning home. They would unload their outward cargo at Surat and then call at one port for fine textiles, another for the best pepper and so on, picking up goods close to where they were produced. In this, they were following long established Asian trading routes. It was a slow process, however. Navigation in the region was restricted by the seasons. Sailing from India to the Red Sea or Persian Gulf was only possible between November and March. Voyages to Malacca from India were not able to start until March. A voyage from the Philippines to Surat required two changes of wind and ships often had to take shelter in the Straits of Malacca when winds were unfavourable. The Company captains also lacked the long-term relationships with the merchant communities that the local traders had.

Very quickly, this system gave way to the country trade by which smaller ships carried out regional trade in Asia and ferried goods to one of the major factories for transshipment to England. Although some of these country ships were operated by, or contracted to, the Company, most were privately owned and outside their supervision. In 1661, the Company decided to withdraw from the intra-Asian trade completely and, from the mid-seventeenth century, there was a growing community of Englishmen settled in the ports of the East Indies willing to take employment wherever offered. Some of these might have been licenced by the Company but many were not. It was possible for the successful country ship's captain to amass a large personal fortune. Elihu Yale, governor of Fort St George, later free merchant and benefactor of Yale University in America, retired with a fortune estimated to have been £200,000, or nearly US\$34 million at today's values.

The arrival of the European country trade stimulated and changed the patterns of trade in the region. Textiles from India were taken to the Indonesian Archipelago to pay for pepper and spices, to Persia for raw silk and to the Red Sea for silver. In addition to supplying the EIC ships returning to England, the free merchants dealt in certain types of goods to ship home on their own account, provided they could find a ship to carry them. These were, most commonly, precious stones; the valuable waxy substance excreted by sperm whales and used in perfume production, called ambergris; certain spices, carpets and textiles incorporating gold or silver threads.

Captain Thomas Bowrey was an independent mariner working in the country trade of the Indian Ocean from 1669 to 1688. He left behind a vast archive of his business papers both from his time in the East Indies and following his return home. Can Bowrey's papers add anything to our knowledge of the trade in Indian textiles in the Indian Ocean? At the beginning of September 1682, we have the first direct evidence of Bowrey trading with Borneo. James Wheeler, Bowrey's business partner and governor of the EIC's factory at Pettipolee, had written from Madapollam with instructions for his voyage to Bengal. These instructions demonstrate the complex nature of the country trade. Bowrey was to go first to Vizagapatam (Visakhapatnam, India) with some goods for a Mr. Ramsden who might have had some textiles suitable for sale in Borneo. From there he was to go to Hugli in Bengal where he should dispose of lead and salt and purchase silk and long pepper. On his return, Bowrey should call in at Madapollam so Wheeler could advise him how to dispose of his cargo at either Porto Novo or Fort St. George. At the end of November the EIC at Fort St. George issued a pass to Bowrey to trade.

Before the end of the year, Bowrey had loaded a cargo of textiles at Fort St. George destined for Borneo and Java, where both pepper and copper could be purchased. The textiles included in this first cargo ranged from plain longcloth and other plain cottons through gingham, ¹⁵ chambrays of silk, chintz ¹⁶ or gold stuff; and betilles; ¹⁷ to various completed garments. What stands out is that the consignment included neither ikats nor patolas, the greatly prized textiles of the region.

Bowrey kept a set of accounts from which further details of the voyage can be reconstructed. The first destination was Passir, followed by Banjar (Banjarmasin, Kalimantan). Here he sold the cargo of textiles. At Banjar, according to his orders, Bowrey purchased pepper, lead, copper, and salt. Bowrey's account book is not sufficiently clear, however, to be able to decipher the quantities purchased and the prices paid. His trading accounts are interwoven with the expenditure on fitting out his ship, *Adventure*, the expenses of the voyage as well as the accounts relating to the goods carried on behalf of others. When this is combined with different currencies and systems of weights and measures used in the different parts of the East Indies, no conclusions can be formed on the profitability of the voyage.

By May, *Adventure* had reached Batavia where the ketch was refitted and provisioned ready for the return voyage. Two months later, Bowrey had returned to Fort St. George and already set sail again for Madapollam where he sold half his share of *Adventure* to release funds for his next vessel, *Borneo Merchant*.

Meanwhile, Bowrey proceeded to Hugli (on the Hooghly river in Bengal) where a cargo of silk and long pepper ¹⁸ was purchased with the proceeds of selling the Borneo lead, copper, and salt. Here, Bowrey took on board goods consigned for Borneo on behalf of third-party customers. *Borneo Merchant*, in which both Bowrey and Wheeler had a half share, was delivered by Christmas Day when Bowrey loaded a cargo of textiles in readiness for a voyage to Borneo. At the end of January, Wheeler wrote to Bowrey from Madapollam. After *Borneo Merchant* had departed, he had managed to persuade Mr. Freeman to let Bowrey have his dog, Tiger. In return, Freeman wished Bowrey to bring him an 'orum mutan.' Wheeler added he thought that he meant the kind of monkey he had brought previously.

Bowrey was next heard of at Banjar where he was trading by March 1684. Bowrey arrived back at Fort St. George on 14 August with a cargo of Borneo pepper which he hoped to sell to the EIC if they could agree a mutually acceptable price. The monsoon hampered Bowrey's plans for some time, and on 19 September, he wrote to the Reverend John Evans ¹⁹ at Hugli apologizing for not being able to reach Bengal that year. Evans' textiles had been sold in Borneo for a good price except for the longcloth, which had been brought back. A month later, not having been offered an acceptable price for his pepper by the EIC at Fort St. George, Bowrey had hoped to sell it more profitably in Bengal. Now the Company took advantage of his misfortune and bought it at fifteen percent less than they originally offered.

¹⁵ Originally a striped cloth of mixed cotton and Bengal silk rather than today's check-patterned fabric.

¹⁶ Woodblock printed, painted, stained or glazed calico, originating from Golconda.

¹⁷ Muslins.

¹⁸ Long pepper was not for human consumption but used for medicines in India and to feed elephants in Siam.

¹⁹ The future Bishop of Bangor and Meath.

Bowrey's papers, despite their volume, provide far from a complete picture of his activities in the country trade and little is known of his next, and last, trading voyage to Borneo. The only survivor is one short draft of a letter dated Banjar 24 July 1686 saying that he was leaving for Fort St. George that day. He arrived at the Fort, where he sold pepper seven weeks later. The EIC complained they had to negotiate hard for the pepper and, in consequence, forced Bowrey to wait almost a month for payment. Shortly after this, as he prepared to return home, a new commander was found for *Borneo Merchant*. It was to be a short command. On 4 October 1687, the little ship was caught up in a storm at Fort St. George, driven ashore and broken up.

It might not have been possible to calculate from his surviving papers the profit Bowrey made during his three voyages to Borneo as an independent trader, but it has been possible to estimate the size of the fortune he repatriated to England following his return home.²⁰ The calculated total of £2,038 was probably an underestimate as some of the goods might have been sold for a good profit, but it was to be more than a decade before Bowrey realised everything. For the time, a fortune of over £2,000 was considered well-off but not wealthy. It was worth the approximate equivalent US\$450,000 today and sufficient to enable him to become an East Indies merchant.

Conclusion

When the English country trade with Banjar and, possibly, Pasir Panjang, developed to serve the EIC with pepper from Borneo, it was in competition with pre-existing Intra-Asia commerce. European goods were not wanted by the inhabitants and the English were forced either to use precious silver Spanish dollars or compete in the market for textiles from India. The huge demand for pepper in a market dominated by the Dutch, and the bonus of the opportunity to obtain diamonds, which were excluded from the EIC's monopoly, ensured that this competition was worthwhile to the independent merchant-mariner. Despite not participating in the market for the most prized textiles from Gujarat, extracts from Bowrey's accounts demonstrate that this trade was profitable both in the sale of cloth in Borneo and, subsequently, in the sale to the EIC of pepper and other goods purchased in Borneo from the proceeds.

ESCAPE FROM A MASSACRE – THE MUTINY AT INDORE, 1857

Colin Evans

Just after 8am on July 1, 1857, William Shakespear, aide to the British Resident of Indore in Central India, was sat at his desk writing a confidential letter when a chuprassy (a special messenger) burst into his bungalow, shouting that there was a 'row' in the bazaar, the market area which lay between the main city and the British HQ. Shakespear, determined to appear unconcerned, finished a sentence before getting up. He put on his hat, gripped his walking cane and strolled down the road to see what was happening – and then it hit him. The Indian Mutiny had come to Indore. Rebellious troops were on the rampage. Europeans were being slaughtered, their screams merging with the murderous shouts of the Prince Holkar's cavalry and the civilian mob which followed them. Shakespear raced back to his bungalow, extricated his wife Fanny and baby son

²⁰ *Jeopardy of Every Wind: The Biography of Captain Thomas Bowrey*, Sue Paul, Dollarbird, Melton Mowbray, 2020, page 114

Toodles – placing his hat on the youngster’s head and grabbing another for himself - and escorted them to relative safety in the Residency building. Others were not so lucky.

Many were scythed down by sabres or shot. The number of casualties, men, women and children, varies in reports from 25 to 39 but, whichever figure you accept, it was a morning of terror and brutality. Mr Beauvais, the postmaster saw his wife and child shot dead as they tried to flee; a group of Britons made a partial escape to the hospital where they put up a fight but were blown away by a cannon loaded with grapeshot; the severed head of Mr Brookes, who tried to get away on horseback, was thrown into the dust at the gates of Holkar’s palace. The Telegraph Dept staff were the first victims, the office being close to the bazaar and the telegraph generally viewed as an instrument of evil by many native Indians.

‘Killed by mutineers’. So it said in the list of casualties in many journals recording the Indore massacre and other similar incidents during the revolt. Topping the Indore list, drawn up alphabetically, was ‘Mr Avery, Supt. Telegraph Office, and wife’. One hundred and fifty-five years later, my wife and I searched the grounds of the still standing Residency building, hoping to find their grave. There was none. But, in Delhi, we located a memorial of sorts, a 30 feet high granite obelisk inscribed with the names of all Telegraph Dept staff who died in the conflict 1857-58. When erected half a century after the mutiny it was an imposing symbol of Imperial power, standing tall and proud on an island in the middle of the road not far from the Kashmir Gate. But it had since fallen from grace, mounds of rubbish surrounding its base. The neglect was disappointing, but why should India celebrate Britain’s fallen heroes when Britain has summarily dismissed theirs? It is a question I would like to return to later. We went down on our knees to decipher the fading inscriptions and there it was - ‘Avery’, the brother of my gx2 grandmother, except they had made a mistake with his initial, scratching a ‘W’ instead of an ‘E’. A sad epitaph.

On at least one family history site, he is named as William Avery: this is incorrect, although there is not nearly enough space here to demonstrate my evidence. He was, in fact, Edmund Avery, whose childhood was spent in a Madras orphanage, and had made something of a life for himself in mid-19th century India. He married Mary McLeay, his sister’s best friend, in 1847 after four years of studying to qualify as an assistant apothecary (the final exam was considered by some to be tougher than those set for surgeons in Britain), was attached to a Native Infantry regiment in Madras and served for four years in Labuan, a small island off the coast of Borneo where the military safeguarded British coal mining interests. There he met the White Rajah, James Brooke, who had taken control of Sarawak. But in 1853 the Averys returned to Madras on board the steamer Hugh Lindsay, and he quickly switched careers, joining the fledgling Telegraph Dept. Near the end of 1856 he was put in charge of the Bombay office, a prestigious post, primarily to clear up a scandal caused by the leakage of secret papers, and secondly to improve the telegraph system in Bundelkhand, a region encompassing parts of modern Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh, notably Indore, Gwalior, Jhansi and Agra. Success in this project would guarantee him a noteworthy future.

They sailed from Madras, where they had lived in Blacktown (Georgetown) to Bombay, arriving in February 1857 and, after settling matters there, moved onto Indore travelling by bullock train. Their last port of call was the fort of Mhow, 12 miles from Indore, where they left most of their luggage. This was later auctioned, hundreds of items described in an inventory which a relative of mine discovered on the Find My Past website and revealing a typical standard of life for an aspiring

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MADRAS ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT.	
OFFICES.	
HEAD OFFICE.....	Madras, Popham's Broadway.
BRANCH OFFICES.....	Fort St. George, Guindy Park, the Mount, and Poonamallee.
HEAD QUARTERS.....	Bangalore.
First Class Offices and Chief Repeating Stations.	
Bangalore, Bellary, and Mysore.	
Second Class Offices and Repeating Stations.	
Cannanore, Arcot, Mercara, Vainumbaddy, Herrioor and Humpasagur.	
Second Class Offices, not Repeating Stations.	
Ootacamund and Calicut.	
ESTABLISHMENT.	
H. B. S. Brooking, Esq.....	3d Class, Offg. Depy. Superintendent.
Mr. E. Avery.....	Head Assistant.
„ J. H. Nowill.....	Ditto.
„ J. H. Merritt.....	2nd Class Inspector.
„ J. Bennett.....	3d ditto.
„ W. C. Durling.....	3d ditto.
„ J. M. Straughan.....	3d ditto.
„ W. Fuller.....	3d ditto.
DISTANCES.	
	Miles. F.
Madras to Poonamallee via Guindy and Mount.....	16 0
Madras to Poonamallee direct.....	12 0
Poonamallee to Arcot.....	58 0
Arcot to Vainumbaddy.....	55 0
Vainumbaddy to Bangalore.....	87 0
Bangalore to Herrioor.....	90 0
Herrioor to Bellary.....	91 0
Bellary to Humpasagur.....	76 0
Bangalore to Mysore.....	85 0
Mysore to Ootacamund.....	78 0
Mysore to Mercara.....	73 0
Mercara to Cannanore.....	73 0
Cannanore to Calicut.....	67 0
Total number of miles of lines including Local Lines.....	860 0

The image above shows Edmund Avery as ‘Head Assistant’ at the Madras Electric Telegraph Establishment (source Madras Almanac 1855)

involved in the administration of British India and attached to the regional HQ - the Residency - which was a sprawling complex of offices, storerooms (including the huge opium depot), troop barracks, bungalows and open grounds at the centre of which was the Residency building, an imposing stone structure with terraces and spacious, high-ceilinged rooms. There were perhaps 50 European officials and their families living and working in this zone of Imperial authority and they came under immediate attack from Khan’s force.

A party of Europeans led by Col Durand and including the Shakespear family did make it to safety after a frightening journey of several days through dangerous, unforgiving countryside and in terrible mid-summer heat. The scene they left behind was the stuff of nightmares, mutilated bodies decomposing quickly in the sun and ravaged by vultures; buildings ransacked and burning. The thick walls of the Residency itself withstood a bombardment from two cannons but most of the British enclave was virtually destroyed in the space of a few hours.

The Residency is still there, but used by Indian officials as a grand B and B. In 2015 my wife Fi and I were allowed to have a look around. We also toured the grounds, discovering a large, badly

civil servant – books on music, geography, history and religion; fine clothes; a coffee set; chess pieces and playing cards.

At Indore they moved into a bungalow near the telegraph office, met various officials including the Acting Resident, Lt Col Henry Marion Durand, and were assured that, despite the mutinies of sepoys in other areas, Indore was considered relatively safe as the young Maharajah, the Prince Holkar was ‘on their side’.

Durand, in charge during the temporary absence of Sir Robert Hamilton, was, like many British officials, a little complacent about the threat and on July 1 while Edmund and most of the Europeans were enjoying breakfast of tea and toast, a blood-curdling war cry erupted from the direction of the bazaar. Holkar’s own cavalry, led by the influential Sadaat Khan, had risen. Khan, waving his sabre, exhorted sepoys serving the British to join him, claiming that Holkar had ordered that ‘all the Europeans must die’. (Holkar later denied it).

In this context a ‘European’ could be British or Eurasian, but all were Christians

burned ruin which might have been the treasury and we saw the tree from which Sadaat Khan was hanged when he was captured many years later. Descendants have installed a memorial stone there and still pay homage to him as a national martyr. His story represents the other side of the Indian Mutiny which many Indian historians prefer to call the First War of Independence. Technically, it started as a 'mutiny', a rebellion by professional soldiers against their officers, but it became much more than that, and India had its heroes just as Britain long celebrated army commanders like Nicholson, Havelock, Campbell and Rose (although some modern revisionists present them in a different light).

Over several days we searched hard for an indication of where Edmund and Mary died or were buried, but we were left guessing. Analysing many reports, I fancy that they were killed near the telegraph office on a spot where now stand two massive statues commemorating famous cricketers – the city's cricket stadium is nearby. Holkar later claimed that a few days after the massacre he had ordered all the dead to be buried, but I doubt that they were. For one thing, the soil around the Residency was so thin that Durand, an experienced engineer, had decided against trying to protect the HQ with earth barricades. Locating bodies would also have been tricky as human remains, already picked by the vultures, were spread across the complex. Not surprisingly, Holkar was unable to confirm that his order had been carried out.

It was six months before the British regained complete command of Indore and conducted an inquiry led by Sir Robert Hamilton, who had returned from leave in England. Hamilton had a difficult task, but even so the conclusions were sketchy and based too much on assumption. He admitted there had been chaos, stating: 'Europeans were fleeing here and there for protection and shelter', but the suspicion among other officials, including Durand, was that he was keen to exonerate Holkar.

I have consulted many sources including original documents from Durand, Hamilton, and Lt Col Hutchinson and find it impossible to draw definite conclusions as to the events of July 1. The evidence is vast and varies greatly. But one paragraph in Hamilton's official report, lodged at the British Library, particularly caught my attention. *'Mr McMahon tried to effect his escape by the Agra Road accompanied by another European, both mounted, however four sowars appear to have pursued them. The European being able to clear a ditch escaped but Mr McMahon was cut down and killed.'*

Nowhere else have I come across mention of 'The European'. An un-named survivor. Every other report, whether in primary sources, newspapers, journals and histories, inform that 'all the Europeans' (other than those in Durand's party) were killed. Hamilton's note of one lucky man made me re-consider the issue of identification. And the more I looked into it, the more it became clear that, except for one or two eyewitness accounts, notably Shakespeare's, that identification relied on the theory that anyone missing must have died. Yet, according to Hamilton, one man leaped to freedom. Who? And, if one made it in all the chaos, might have others?

A complete and accurate list of survivors, led by Durand, is impossible to define. Various reports mention certain individuals, including two Telegraph Department employees, but the make-up of the party changed during their circuitous escape route through the dangerous Madhya Pradesh countryside with some leaving the group and others joining it. It places another obstacle in the path of accuracy.

In early October 1857 the ship *Indus* docked at Southampton. She was the first vessel to reach Britain with refugees from the mayhem in India. Thousands of well-wishers crowded the harbourside to welcome them home. Rain poured down but a band played and the mood was joyous. Yet, said *The Times*, some were surprised to see only a couple of passengers with obvious injuries. They had anticipated a stream of wounded. One of those who walked down the gangplank was a Mr Avery. By his side was a Mr Butler. They had travelled together. Seeing this pulled me up sharp because Edmund Avery's number two at the Indore telegraph office was James Butler. Coincidence, of course. But I could not help wondering about it and so spent some time researching whether it would have been possible for the pair to reach Calcutta or Bombay in time to catch the boat – and it was. Their route then would have included an overland section in Egypt arriving at Alexandria where the *Indus* was waiting.

Romantic conjecture, I know, and certainly not the material for serious research. 'Killed by mutineers' was the verdict of the day. A jury would accept it as proved beyond reasonable doubt, and so must I.

Earlier this year I tried to contact the descendants of Sadaat Khan but without success. Perhaps it was Sadaat himself who murdered my ancestor – who can say? What I do know is that Edmund and Mary, unarmed civilians, did not deserve to die like that, and Sadaat did not deserve to be hanged from a tree, although at least he escaped being blown from a cannon which was the fate of many of his fellow rebels. To his family he is a martyr, a courageous soldier who fought for his caste and religion, and to rid his country of invaders.

One result from our research is that I am committed to reading more about the First War of Independence from the Indian viewpoint. If history is written by the victor I cannot think of a better example than the 1857 rebellion. Thanks to the Indian telegraph service, of which Edmund was a pioneer, it was probably the first large-scale war to be covered as it happened by the British Press and, of course, they usually presented it in a blatantly one-sided way, so much so that it developed into a propaganda campaign, glorifying the heroes of Empire and the masculinity of soldiers like Nicholson. The great majority of Western books on the subject followed a similar pattern and, while some modern historians have tried to redress the situation, I believe there is still a significant imbalance in our understanding of a conflict which shook the world.

Family history footnote: Edmund's sister Amelia married a soldier in Madras, Edwin Thomas Cummins who became Quarter Master Sergeant at Fort St George. They had four children, including my great grandfather Thomas Cummins. In the early 1860s the family arrived in England. Amelia, born and raised in the heat and dust of southern India, found herself in a terraced house in the cold and damp of northern England and died aged 41. She is buried in an unmarked grave in a municipal cemetery in Bury. Her mother Charlotte, described as a 'native woman' in the marriage register of St Thomas's Garrison Church, Madras, lies in Agram (Army Grounds And Maidan), the army graveyard of Bangalore which is on Indian military territory and therefore difficult to access for security reasons. However, in 2010 we stood alongside her memorial and paid our respects, thanks to a remarkable man named Admiral O S Dawson, former chief of India's navy – but that's another story.

JOHN TEIL OF THE KIDDERPORE TANNERY, CALCUTTA: A REMARKABLE LIFE

Rod Berrieman

At 3 in the morning on leap-year day 1816, guided by local smugglers, a group of soldiers led by Lieutenant-Colonel O'Halloran began making their way along a little-used mountain pass towards the fort at Hureehurpore in one of the last actions of the Anglo-Nepalese war. Letters of 1853, when he applied for the India Medal, show that Private John Teil of the 24th. Foot was among them. He had since become the wealthy owner of a tannery in Kidderpore, Calcutta. John was baptised in Purton, Wiltshire in 1790, but by 1795 the family had moved to his father's birthplace of Great Barrington, Gloucestershire. Among his ten siblings, Thomas, born Christmas Day 1793, Elizabeth, born 1806 and James, born 1812, will be mentioned later along with Thomas' sons, George and Thomas Charles, born 1816 and 1827, his daughter Emma, born 1821, Elizabeth's son Thomas, born 1825 and James' son Samuel, born 1835.

John's life became closely interwoven with the relatives of John Hawkins Barlow, a silversmith, pearl-stringer and inventor born in Stowmarket in 1780. They included daughters Sarah Emma, born 1804, Virginia Catherine, born 1812 and son Thomas Hawkins, born 1810. Robert, born about 1800 and died in 1835, was possibly his son and father of Fredericka Frances Virginia, born 1833. There was also a niece, Maria, born 1804 and nephews Richard William and Thomas Cooper, born 1834 and 1839, his older brother Thomas Barlow's children.

From Nepal, John went to Calcutta where, in 1817, he married Susannah Lockhart of the Lower Orphan School. Susannah, the daughter of Mungo Lockhart, was baptised at Berhampore in 1799. An 1827 directory lists John as "of the firm of Tomlin & Co., Leather manufacturers, Kidderpore". This firm was in the ownership of Thomas Tomlin who in 1810 had married Eleanor Lockhart, born about 1795, of the Lower Orphan School. Though in his will Thomas refers to John as "my friend", it seems reasonable to assume that Eleanor was Susannah's sister, making Thomas and John brothers-in-law.

A book of 1904²¹ gives a history of the Kidderpore Tannery, saying it was set up by John in 1796. This cannot be true, but the date tallies with the establishment of a tannery set up by John Montgomery Beaumont advertised in 1799²². Mr. Beaumont died in 1816/7 and his widow in 1821. It seems the tannery passed to Thomas Tomlin. In 1824, Thomas went to Dorchester, Massachusetts, where Eleanor died and he remarried. His new wife with their young daughter waited in Dorchester when he returned to Calcutta in 1834, but he died at Cawnpore in 1837. John was his executor and reckoned the total estate to be 49,722 Company Rupees (CR), from which he claimed 12,000CR as monies due to himself. The inventory gives a clue as to the turnover of the tannery, mentioning a shipment to London worth £21,568. As Thomas' will, dated 1835, states he had no real estate, it must be assumed that John had bought the land and buildings before then and had run the tannery during his absence.

By 1822 John had been well enough established in Kidderpore to offer rooms in his house rent-free to missionary Rev. Samuel Trewin and his family. He also donated the land for the Kidderpore

²¹ Chandra: Tanning and Working in Leather in the Province of Bengal, Bengal Secretariat Press.

²² Calcutta Gazette 4th. July 1799

Chapel in 1824 and, with Thomas, subscribed towards the building of a school in Ceylon by a Boston-based missionary society.

John travelled to England in 1832, arriving at the end of May. His nephew George was with him when he returned to Calcutta, leaving in July. George travelled to Cheltenham in 1837, where he married Elizabeth Wasling in May and set off back to India with her two months later. He entered into partnership with John about this time. Directories show him as “of Tomlin & Co.” in 1837 and “of John Teil & Co.” in 1838, indicating that John had taken over at the tannery soon after Thomas’ death. John, apparently unaccompanied by his wife, left Calcutta for London not long after George arrived. In March 1840, he was living in Addison Road, Kensington and made a deed, witnessed by the Lord Mayor of London and the American ambassador, granting Thomas Wigglesworth of Boston, Massachusetts the power to act on his behalf in dealings in America. In his will Thomas Tomlin had specified that if he died in America this Thomas Wigglesworth should be his executor. In September John paid £6000 for 20 acres of land astride the Finchley Road in Hampstead on which to have built Kidderpore Hall, an 18-room Greek revival style mansion that was completed in 1843.

John’s partnership with George ended in May 1841 with John paying George £6000 and George agreeing under covenant not to compete with John in business and to pay 200,000CR to John if he did. Their future relationship was difficult, and their disputes came to the Indian Courts in 1846. Although some of John’s complaints were upheld, he was awarded only nominal damages and the Chief Justice ruled that the covenant was too wide in scope to be enforceable. Meanwhile, John’s nephew Thomas had travelled to Calcutta early in 1845 and was to become John’s partner. The tannery business must by then have been at its peak, trading finished leather and leather goods throughout the eastern sub-continent and Ceylon. It had a particular trade in leather goods for the use of the British and East India Company armies.

In December 1845, a son, Richard John Mowbray Teil, was born to “the lady of” John at Calcutta. The will of Virginia Catherine Barlow makes it clear that she was Richard’s mother and that she and John were in a long-term relationship. It states that John had made a settlement in July 1848 providing support for her and any children they should have. It is not always possible to decide which of the various Teils are being referred to in the passenger lists in the journals of the time, and there is the added complication that Virginia may appear as Miss Barlow or as Mrs. Teil. John certainly left Calcutta for England in October 1848 and left Southampton with Miss Barlow and child in January 1849, only to leave Calcutta in April, a month after arriving, as part of a group comprising Mr. & Mrs. Teil, infant, Miss Barlow and two servants. They arrived back in England around the end of May. They appear to have travelled for the marriage on 29th March of John’s nephew Thomas to Fredericka Frances Virginia Barlow, described in one source as John’s adopted daughter. It is not possible to know details of this adoption. Her father probably died before she was two, but her mother witnessed Thomas Hawkins’ marriage to Jane Cran in December 1841. Fredericka may be the Miss Teil who arrived in Calcutta in 1845, a week before a Mr. & Mrs. Teil and three months after Thomas.

As John’s family were travelling home, another Mr. & Mrs. Teil were sailing towards Calcutta. This is most likely to have been Thomas Charles with Hannah Wasley, George’s sister-in-law, whom he had married at Cheltenham the previous November. He went into partnership with George in 1851 and, though George renamed his firm Teil Brothers & Co., he had left the company by 1858.

Once back in Hampstead, John's family had scarcely a year to enjoy Kidderpore Hall before Virginia Catherine died in August 1850 at the age of just 37. The newspaper announcement of her death refers to her as John's wife. She lies under a substantial but now illegible monument beside one of the main avenues in Kensal Green Cemetery. For the 1851 Census John was at the Hall with Sarah Emma as his "sister-in-law", Richard and, as housekeeper, the Barlow sisters' cousin Maria who had married a William Montgomery in 1832 but was now widowed. Richard's birthplace is given as Golden Reach, Calcutta, which was later described as "densely studded with beautiful villas...a fashionable resort of the European and Native elite of Calcutta".²³

In 1851 Teil & Co. exhibited at the Great Exhibition, their items later being sold by the organisers for £2.16s. In May of that year, John mortgaged the Hall for £3000. Mrs. John Teil, a child and two servants left Southampton for Calcutta in November 1851. Mrs. John Tiel can only have been Sarah Emma, but no marriage had taken place and John was still legally married to Susannah. A fortnight later John followed them with George and his wife. In March 1852 John and Thomas met the Bishop of Calcutta to promise monthly donations of 300CR throughout 1853 to support a missionary at Kidderpore, and a donation of 1000CR to the additional clergy fund. A year later, his partnership with Thomas having been dissolved in December 1852, John told the Bishop that he had "suffered losses by the ill conduct of his nephew". Nevertheless, his donations continued until November when the Bishop felt obliged to return the money, having heard that John was "living in adultery".

In August that year, John wrote his will. He wished the tannery to be continued for two years after his death and then sold, with the proceeds going in trust to provide an income for Sarah Emma, who was appointed Richard's Guardian. She was also to have all the household goods from both Kidderpore and Hampstead. Richard could access the capital at age 21. Thomas Hawkins and a John Green, both described as "of Kidderpore and assistant in my employ", were to keep the tannery running meantime at a salary of 200CR each monthly and the benefit of ½% each of the profits. There was also to be 300CR monthly to Susannah and nephew Samuel was to be supported until age 21. If the trust's income were to exceed £2000 yearly then further legacies, including £50 yearly each for Maria and his brother Thomas would be paid along with £300 to the London Missionary Society. Should Richard not attain 21 years, John provided that the trust funds be split seven ways between two cousins, a niece of Maria, his niece Emma, and Thomas Hawkins' children, Thomas, Virginia (this author's great-great-grandmother who later called herself Virginia Catherine) and John. These three were said to be "of London, in course of their education". In December 1853 he made a codicil. This does not appear in the probate documents as it was superseded by another in May 1854 which brought substantial changes and halved Susannah's allowance. She would never receive it as she died on 9th September. Most important was that instead of Thomas Hawkins, John's nephew Thomas "of Kidderpore and now in my employ" was to have 300CR monthly and 1% of profits to run things down. It seems relationships within the firm had changed considerably.

This must have been a difficult time for John, for on the day he wrote the first codicil he agreed with solicitors J. H. Gledstanes & Co. to take out a further mortgage on Kidderpore Hall and its grounds. They registered this deed in March 1854 and within days took possession of the property.

²³ Bradshaw's Handbook to Western India, 1860.

John died on 14th. December. Both he and Susannah are buried at the Lower Circle Road Cemetery in Calcutta. Gledstones sold the Hall in July 1855 followed by part of the land in March 1866. The South African Commercial Advertiser reports that on 16th. February 1854 Mrs. Teil, Governess & child, Mr. Thomas Barlow and a European servant sailed from Calcutta on the steam barque Lady Jocelyn, bound for Southampton. They were lucky to reach home. The ship was hit by a hurricane and thrown on her beam-ends, losing her topmast, jib-boom, sails and boats. After repairs at Mauritius she continued to Southampton to arrive 10 days late on 9th May. Although the sun had set for John, its lingering rays were to cast long shadows. His executor in India, James Stuart, carried out his duties meticulously, preparing detailed accounts for the time between John's death and the end of his work on 28th. February 1858. Various sales included 91CR for madeira, port and wines, 1228CR for carriages and 1335CR for 25 hogsheads of surplus tallow. Outstanding bills usually mention only the payee but included payments of 26CR for brandy, 12CR for charcoal and 8CR subscription to the Native School. Income included 810CR from Susannah's estate. He stated the company's profits, including sale of goodwill, up to 30th. June 1856 to be 137,916CR. This seems to be the date that the business changed hands. The property and machinery had sold for 111,250CR. Later, under income, are payments by T. Teil regarding a mortgage at 4% of the same amount, showing that Thomas had bought the tannery from John's estate. He paid off the mortgage on 31st December 1857. Stuart referred to Sarah Emma as Mrs. Teil throughout, paying her 12,000CR yearly for her annuity along with 472CR for furniture he had sold on her behalf. He claimed his 5% commission on a total estate value of 188,975CR. These figures have been rounded, but he accounts to the accuracy of one pie²⁴.

Back in England the executors all renounced their appointment, and Sarah Emma, "spinster", was granted probate. This was to leave her exposed to accusations of improper administration. The first case arose in 1859 when John's brother Thomas claimed he was not receiving what was due to him. The National Archives contain ten pages of verbatim record of the evidence he gave, which not only tells much of the financial moves between him, his son George and John but gives a wonderful flavour of the man. *"I cannot read or write. I once could sign my name but I could do no more since I lost my arm"*.²⁵ He reports a conversation with John *"as we were walking along the road to Paddington Station"*. He mentions John sending remittances to support their parents and two sisters and their meeting at Oxford at the time *"when he took Tom Teil out to India"*. In fact, Thomas' annuity was not due to him, as the estate's trust income was only half the £2000 yearly needed to invoke it.

Another case had been brought against Sarah Emma by John's niece Emma, now married to Joseph Mills, alleging wilful default among the executors. This had failed, with costs awarded against Emma. Yet another came in July 1862 when a representative for Richard, then 16, asked that he be made a ward of the Court and that *"a proper scheme be adopted for his maintenance and education"*. This case mentions that he and Sarah Emma were living in Brussels.

Sarah Emma had lived there about four years when she died in October 1862. She took care in her will to provide for Richard's further guardianship, appointing Fredericka and Thomas to the task along with the Reverend Patrick Keogh, chaplain at the English Church in Brussels, and his wife, who were about to return to England. Richard was to live with the Keoghs. Thomas and Patrick

²⁴ A pie was one twelfth of an anna, with 16 annas to a rupee. The exchange rate was 10CR=£1.

²⁵ In a farm accident in 1842

were appointed executors. The will partly repeats John's in bequeathing the estate to the children of Thomas Hawkins, should Richard not survive to 21.

With no indication of what had been her resting place in the intervening years, Sarah Emma was buried in Virginia Catherine's grave in May 1867. It may be relevant that this date was about the time that Richard had access to the estate. His adult life would not be pertinent to this article, but the Teils who were at Kidderpore, or most involved with John, deserve further mention.

Thomas took into partnership Thomas Cooper Barlow, Fredericka's cousin, who became sole owner after Thomas died in 1870. The tannery passed to Richard William Barlow in 1894. Fredericka died in Dovercourt, Essex in 1886. George's wife Elizabeth died soon after John, and George remarried in 1855. He took his family to Victoria, Australia in 1862 but got into financial difficulties and returned to India. There, too, he had problems and was briefly imprisoned for debt. He died in Bombay in 1884 and his wife at Vizakhapatnam, Andhra Pradesh in 1892.

John's brother Thomas had built two inns in Cheltenham, the still extant Bayshill in 1832 and the now demolished Calcutta with cottages in Calcutta Terrace in 1837. In this year he had borrowed from John, offering the Calcutta as security. His evidence in the later court cases shows he was not good in money matters, which led him into dispute or debt at times. He and his wife died a few months apart in Cheltenham in 1875.

James married Hannah Hewlett in England in 1831. They were in Kidderpore when Samuel was baptised but back in England by 1841. Samuel returned to India about 1855.

Court papers of 1866 reveal Thomas Charles deserted Hannah in October 1863, five months after the birth of a son, Thomas Wakefield. Shortly after the desertion he bigamously married in Marylebone. The couple emigrated to New York where he died in 1906. Hannah died in 1876 and Thomas Wakefield joined his father in 1879, but died just 2 years later of accidental arsenical poisoning.

Kidderpore Hall became part of a college and still survives as part of a modern development. A garden there carries John's name.

I would like to thank Dian Elvin who provided background information when I first came across John in 2001, Meg Young, who made me aware of George's time in Australia and much more about his family and Andrew Atherstone who shared extracts from the Bishop of Calcutta's diary.

I have learned much about the Teils and Barlows in twenty years of sporadic research, but questions remain: Where and when did John and Virginia Catherine first meet? How did John die? Where were Sarah Emma's mortal remains before 1867? Finally, there is the matter which first brought John to my attention. When Thomas Hawkins and Jane took Virginia for baptism with Thomas in 1842, her date of birth was entered as 16 weeks before Thomas'. There are no birth registrations to cross-check, but if the dates were correct, only one child could be Jane's. Why was their first-born daughter given her aunt's name rather than her mother's? Was Thomas Hawkins adopting his sister's child? Could John have been the father? Whatever the truth, without the shared names I might never have found the will which led me to John's story.

THE EARLY YEARS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S MADRAS PRESIDENCY ARTILLERY CORPS: PART 2

Jane Keyes

Recruitment and Career Prospects of the Madras Artillery Rank and File

If the overwhelming demands on its officers made their recruitment to the Madras artillery difficult it was, however, even harder to recruit its rank and file. Plagued by the lack of a permanent recruiting depot in England, the East India Company employed 'crimps,' or agents, at so much per head to scour the streets of London for recruits to man the soldiery of its European infantry and its artillery regiments. Drawn from the dregs of society, they were tumbled on board East Indiamen and shipped out to India more dead than alive. Most went into the European infantry regiments; the cream of the crop were reserved for the artillery companies.

Once arrived at the Madras Presidency artillerymen faced arduous working conditions, due largely to the East India Company's refusal to establish a permanent body of Indian artillerymen, or *golaundauzes*, comparable to the Indian sepoy who served in the Company's infantry and cavalry regiments. Throughout the eighteenth century the East India Company remained adamant that Indians should be prevented from learning about methods of preparing ammunition or firing of guns lest they convey this knowledge to enemy powers. An attempt by the Madras Council in 1784 to establish a permanent Indian artillery battalion of ten companies to be commanded by a European captain, along the lines of the native infantry battalions, was immediately turned down by the East India Company's Directors, who in 1786 stated it as their express orders that no Indians were to be taught the exercise of artillery. To spare European artillerymen from the onerous task of dragging the enormously heavy guns, often over rough and difficult terrain, or of manoeuvring them when stationary, the Company employed varying numbers of lascars (in the case of the Madras artillery principally Marayakkars, or coastal sea-faring Muslims) on a temporary and as needed basis. One company of native artillery was finally raised in 1799 for service during the Fourth Mysore War, but even this was subsequently reduced, and it was not until 1805 that the East India Company finally permitted the raising, paying and clothing of two permanent companies of *golandauze*, or Indian foot artillerymen, one to each European battalion and commanded by a European officer.

Physical distance separating the artillery from other branches of the Coast army created additional hardship for Madras artillerymen. The artillery headquarters at St. Thomas Mount lay some eight miles from the centre of civil and military government at Fort St. George, Madras. While senior artillery officers travelled to and from the Fort frequently, making it possible for them to garner the news of the day and interact with other leading army officers and civil servants, junior officers and artillerymen at the Mount were isolated from the main currents of life at the settlement. From time to time they were called upon to travel to Fort St. George to learn how to make ammunition at the laboratory or to take part in exercises involving guns attached to infantry battalions, but, unless on such duties or engaged in battle they spent much of their time apart from their fellow infantry or cavalry officers and men.

Certainly serving as an artilleryman at the Madras Presidency during its early years was not regarded as an enviable proposition. The literature is replete with mentions of men who at the expiry of their term of service (normally five years) elected to go into the infantry or return home rather than serve a second or subsequent term in the artillery corps. A few deliberately injured

themselves or even committed suicide rather than sign up for another term of duty. Other forms of resistance ranged from protests to outright mutiny, the most noteworthy being a mutiny by 200 artillerymen at St. Thomas' Mount, Madras on 15 January 1798.

By the end of the eighteenth century overwork and poor prospects resulted in the Madras artillery becoming dangerously undermanned. In 1795 the Government was forced to draw recruits from St. Helena, from what was then Ceylon, and from among Dutchmen made prisoners of war following the British reduction of the Cape of Good Hope that same year. The incorporation of foreigners into the Madras artillery was recognized as highly undesirable or even dangerous since such men might choose to desert in time of battle. Major-General William Sydenham, then Commandant of the Madras Artillery, reported in August 1798 that the 1st Battalion included 110, and the 2nd Battalion 67 foreigners of different nations, mostly men drafted from Dutch prisoners taken at the Cape, but including foreigners not only from Holland but from France, Germany, Switzerland, the Austrian Netherlands, Hungary and Sweden. Many, he reported, were undersized or of poor physique, often of bad to very bad character or of revolutionary tendencies, or in other words men who would take the first opportunity to desert to the enemy. Because European artillerymen were posted over the park and guns in time of battle they could, he pointed out, do great mischief, while the information they might impart to the enemy could be of very serious consequence.

Changing British attitudes towards the Madras Artillery

While the East India Company failed to support the Madras Presidency's needs for a regular supply of trained artillery officers throughout the eighteenth century, the Company's territorial expansion in southern India during the latter half of that century radically affected British attitudes towards its armies in India. As early as 1767 concerns had been expressed in the House of Commons over the right of the Company to territorial possessions. It was argued that it was improper, if not dangerous, for such possessions to be in the hands of a trading corporation. The Regulating Act, passed in June 1773, not only tightened ministerial control over the Company's affairs at home but for the first time laid down Parliamentary regulations for the administration of British-held territories in India. Eleven years later Pitt the Younger pushed through the passage of a comprehensive India Bill that placed ultimate responsibility for the government of British possessions in India in the hands of a Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India, also referred to as the Board of Control.

Between 1784 and 1793 the Board was led by Henry Dundas, who held strong views about the administration of British India, many of which were shared by Lord Cornwallis, Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of British India from 1786 to 1793 as well as by Sir Archibald Campbell, Governor and Commander-in-Chief at the Madras Presidency from 1786-1789. In particular, Dundas and Cornwallis believed that only the European corps of the Company's army, namely its European infantry regiments and its artillery were of any military utility, and that the far larger native infantry regiments were valueless.

"I think it must be universally admitted," Cornwallis wrote to the Court of Directors in 1787, "that without a large and well-regulated body of Europeans our hold of these valuable dominions must be very insecure. It cannot be expected that even the best of treatment would constantly conciliate the willing obedience of so vast a body of people, differing from ourselves in almost every circumstance of laws, religion, and customs; and oppressions of individuals, errors of government,

and several other unforeseen causes, will, no doubt, arouse an inclination to revolt. On such occasions it would not be wise to place great dependence upon their countrymen, who compose the native regiments, to secure their subjection."

While devaluing its native infantry regiments, Cornwallis favoured the East India Company's artillery, to the extent of pushing to have this removed from the Indian army and merged with that of the Royal Artillery. Such views were greeted with outright alarm by officers of the Madras artillery. In October 1794 then Lieutenant-Colonel William Sydenham, currently on leave in England, was chosen to help draw up a case to present before the Board of Control for retaining the Company's artillery under the control of Company instead of transferring it to the Crown.

In his Memorandum Sydenham stated that "the Madras artillery was universally acknowledged to be equal to any in the world," and for Indian duties "unquestionably superior." He also brought to the Board's attention a cardinal feature of the Company's artillery that had been completely missed by both Cornwallis and Dundas. While the artillery was regarded by authorities in England as a solely European corps, in fact it relied heavily on temporarily employed Indian gun lascars for the most laborious work artillerymen were called on to perform. The Madras artillery, the Board of Control was advised, was "a compound of Europeans and natives."

"A train of artillery cannot be brought into the field in India, nor made use of when there, but by the joint cooperation of Europeans and natives, and the lascars, artificers, bildars [lit."a spade-wielder," or digger]... can only be induced to hazard a campaign by those who by previous mild and conciliatory treatment have merited and acquired their confidence."

Even though lascars were regarded as labourers rather than soldiers, and, unlike sepoy attached to native infantry regiments had no permanent status, they nonetheless served under the immediate direction of artillery officers to whose battalions or companies they were attached. For this reason, it was just as important for Company artillery officers to learn the languages and understand the customs of the country as it was for European officers commanding native infantry regiments. Indeed, in time of war a knowledge of languages and customs, or lack of it, on the part of engineers and artillery officers, could be critical.

"Because the military architecture of India [is] widely different from the scientific principles of European defence", the memorandum continued, "it was also deemed essential to the success of our Indian attacks that an engineer and artillery officer should be at once qualified by experience to discover and take advantage of [its] various imperfections, and by a knowledge of the language of the natives enabled to direct those labours by which alone his skill can be rendered useful and effectual."

Lastly Sydenham stressed that it took a long time to acquire local languages, and that they were easiest learned by going out to India young, in the manner of the Company's officers.

"The generality of officers who have been bred in Europe going to serve with the artillery or engineers in India, by contrast", he added, "carry with them the deeply rooted prejudices of their own country, which have taught them to look upon the natives of India as beings of the lowest order; and can it be supposed that under the influence of those prejudices they will take pains to acquire a knowledge of their language and customs, or to conciliate their attachment to the service

(a principle with which the security of the British possessions in India is inseparably connected), especially when they know that they have only a limited number of years to remain in that part of the world?"

These messages were not lost on Cornwallis or Dundas. Two years later, in 1796, orders for the overall reorganisation of the Indian army were despatched from London. Among them was the determination of whether or not the Madras artillery corps was to be amalgamated with the King's forces. By then Dundas had less time than before to devote to Indian affairs, having been appointed Secretary of State for War in July 1794 following the outbreak of the Napoleonic War. Whether he had by this time become so taken up by other duties that he was no longer able to maintain interest in whether the East India Company's European regiments were to be amalgamated with those of the Crown, or whether he had been swayed by Sydenham's arguments, the Madras artillery won the day, remaining part of the East India Company's forces rather than being attached to those of the Crown.

If we look, then, at the overall changes that took place in the Madras Presidency artillery over its first half century, in 1748, when it was founded, it consisted of only two companies, one based at Fort St. George, Madras and the second at Fort St. David, one hundred miles further south on the Coromandel coast. By the end of the eighteenth century the Madras artillery comprised two entire battalions, each of seven companies, to which numerous staff positions had also been added. But while Madras artillery officers remained highly valued for their specialised and essential skills, the rank and file saw little advance in upward job mobility or prospects over the course of the century. It took the establishment of Addiscombe in 1809 before the Madras artillery could be sure of a regular supply of scientifically educated and well trained officers, and it took the raising of a permanent body of native artillerymen in 1805 before the East India Company artillery rank and file enjoyed easier working conditions. Despite these difficulties, however, the Madras Presidency artillery succeeded over the course of its first half-century not only in maintaining its high reputation for professional skills but in safeguarding what General Sydenham declared to be "its dearest interest", namely protecting its independence and remaining an integral part of the East India Company's Indian army rather than being amalgamated with the forces of the Crown.

THE HEIGHTS OF BRITISH SOLDIERS IN THE SERVICE OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY – AN INTERESTING DETAIL IN MY FAMILY RESEARCH

Stephen Lally

Four of my ancestors joined the army of the East India Company at about the same time in Ireland in 1823. I obtained a mass of personal information about them from the recruitment records in the British Library – catalogued, in my case, at L/MIL/9/99. Here I discovered the shape of their faces, complexion, colour of eyes and hair and, what interested me most, their heights. My ancestors' surname was Little, but I discovered that they were giants. Using this information, it is possible for you to assess your ancestors by judging them against their fellows. Another fact obtained from these records, that was relevant to my research, was that, in 1822-4, 59% of recruits were from Ireland.

The Irish were known to be short. Irish men were often shorter than 5 feet (1.52m), and women even shorter. This is not surprising when even the main military protagonists at that time were very short by modern standards. Admiral Nelson and James Madison, the US President who the British fought in the American wars of 1812, were both 5'4" (1.63m). Napoleon was 5'6" (1.68m). The army of the Honourable East India Company set minimum height requirements for their recruits, and their men had to be much taller than average. I carried out a small study of recruits' heights in 1822-4, around the time my ancestors signed on. The results shown below are based on 456 Infantry and 519 Artillery recruits. Measurements taken at that time were to the nearest quarter of an inch.

The minimum permitted height of an Infantry recruit was 5'5" (1.65m) but this was clearly not adhered to. 70% of Infantry recruits were between 5'5" and 5'6". But of these, 60% were exactly 5'5", a consistency that is not believable in the population as a whole. Thirty three of the 456 were recorded as being less than the permitted 5'5". Infantry recruitment was "flexible". For example, if a man was classed as "a growing lad" he could be admitted at under 5'5", yet none of the recruits were under 19 years old, so unlikely to still be growing. Also, there was a desperate need for high recruit numbers and the Recruiting Sergeant received a good bonus for every recruit. It has to be that a great proportion of Infantry recruits recorded as 5'5" were shorter than this. The average height of all Infantry recruits was only 5'5¼".



*Bengal Foot Artillery 1845
(Henry Martens) – "Truly giants"*

The minimum permitted height of an Artillery recruit was 5'6" (1.68m) and a healthy and strong physique and intelligence were also demanded. This was strictly adhered to. The tallest recruit in my sample was 6'1¼". The average height of Artillery recruits was 5' 7½" (1.72m). Two thirds of them were between 5'6" and 5'7¾" (1.68m or 1.70m) but there is no evidence that heights were manipulated, as the greatest number were in the 5'7" to 5'7¾" range.

The Artillery was meant to be the elite force and was meant to be looked up to in more ways than one. My four Little brothers were 6' 1¼" (1.86m), 5' 11¼" (1.83m), 5' 9¼" (1.76m) and 5'7¼" (1.71m). Even the shortest was just about on the average, so they all towered above most other soldiers. Put on their tall military helmets and send them out into the general Irish public and they were truly giants, towering, to the top of their hats, perhaps two feet above an average Irishman in the street.

Each of the brothers did unusually well in India, quickly being promoted to Sergeants in the army and police and to high ranks in the Public Works Department. I believe their stature played a part in their success by giving them a presence and authority. What can you learn of your Indian ancestors from the wonderful records of them that survive? Three of my brothers died before their thirtieth birthdays, one rose to join the upper ranks of Bengal society and changed the world for the better. But they are different stories.

SOME HILL STATIONS ON THE SUB-CONTINENT

Peter Hare

Mention 'hill station' (Ranikhet and Ooty – FIBIS Journal 48) and I immediately conjure my vision of Shangri-La as created by James Hilton in his 1933 novel *Lost Horizon*, whose inhabitants defied the natural ageing process. Kipling was 'there' even earlier with his tale of *Venus Annodomin*²⁶, whose unaltered beauty so attracted the son of his father's former flame. Such were the fictional outcomes of the health-giving properties ascribed to some seventy hill stations established by expatriates in the Victorian Age. Set in wooded hills, they offered respite from the heat, hubbub and disease of the cities, while creating the opportunity for social and sporting activities in surroundings that reminded visitors of home.

My three greats-grandfather, Melville Hare, as an officer in the Madras Infantry may have visited a hill station. His 2nd Infantry Regiment was stationed in the military cantonment near Ellichpur in 1850, which 'has the reputation of being somewhat insalubrious, but is fortunate in having a hill-station in Chikhaldra, only 20 miles distant and nearly 4 000 feet above sea-level, near the famous fortress of Gawilgarh, which was stormed and taken by Wellesley's²⁷ troops in the Maratha War of 1803.'²⁸



Gawilgarh Fort

Chikhaldra was discovered by Captain Robinson of the Hyderabad Regiment in 1823. The Englishmen found it particularly attractive because the lush green hue of the place reminded them of England.

When Melville was posted to Burma in 1853 he could not have visited the hill station of Maymyo as it had not then been established. However, Melville's great-nephew, Eric Blair, (the writer George Orwell), was stationed there in 1922-27; and all three of us share the same ancestor in Joseph Hare, born 1772. The town was named for Colonel (later Major General) James May of the 5th Bengal Infantry who was there in 1886. It served as Burma's summer capital during the British administration. Now known as Pyin Oo Lwin, the town lies at the head of a shallow valley in the Shan hills, some 42 miles north-east of and about 1,000 metres higher than Mandalay, from whence it takes about 2½ hours by car.

One sign of Maymyo's colonial era is the Purcell Clock Tower, a copy of one in Cape Town. Its bells strike the same 16-note-tune at hourly intervals as 'Big Ben' in London.

²⁶ Kipling R. - Plain Tales from the Hills: pub 1888 & introduction OUP edition

²⁷ Later Duke of Wellington

²⁸ Burton, R. G. - A History of the Hyderabad Contingent: pub. 1905



The Purcell Tower in the centre of Maymyo.

My first experience of a hill station was in 1971 after travelling overland from London to Kathmandu. My next-door neighbour in England had given me the address of her retired aunt in Mussoorie. The aunt was living with her cousin in Happy Valley there, and that cousin's husband enquired if I was related to his cousin Margery Hare, who had married a doctor. I was able to confirm that she was indeed married to my Uncle Edward, in London!



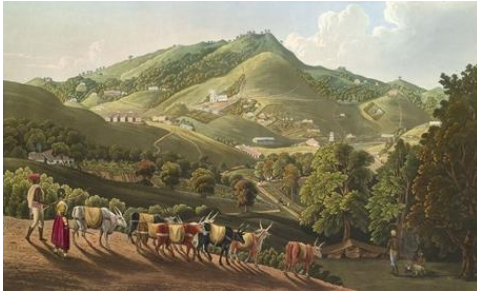
Mussoorie

Mussoorie is 180 miles north of Delhi at an altitude of 2,000 metres in the foothills of the Himalayas. It is 22 miles from the railhead at Dehra Dun, and a remarkable 1,360 metres above it. Mussoorie was established as a resort in 1825 by Captain Young, a British military officer.

My wife, Fiona, first visited the hill station of Ootacamund or Ooty in 1979 when she went overland; and we were both there in 2017. She vividly recalls lunching at the Club and visiting the kennels of the hunt's hounds. I have not been able to establish if the hunt still meets, having been founded in 1835. The rules of snooker were drafted and codified there in 1882.

The hills, reaching 2,600 metres, were developed rapidly in the early 1820s under the British Raj, as most of the land was already privately owned by British citizens. In 1827, Ooty became the summer capital of the Madras Presidency.

Fiona's grandfather, Herbert Foster, represented Glaxo's interests in India and Ceylon, through his company H J Foster Ltd, in the early part of the twentieth century. We have yet to establish his presence in Columbo's hill station of Nuwara Eliya at around 1,900 metres, but, just in case he did, we went; taking the train through the tea plantations established in its temperate, cool climate – the coolest area in Sri Lanka.



A General View of Ootacamund 1837



The Billiards Room, Ootacamund Club

Another of Kipling's hill station characters gave Ogden Nash the opportunity to compose the most execrable pun in his poem about Mrs. Hauksbee's behaviour '*Plus ça change, plus c'est la memsahib*'!²⁹ But it is no longer *la même chose* in the hill stations: there are no memsahibs twirling their parasols; there are fewer long-lost relatives living there. Independence has given the towns a fresh impetus and, importantly, they are attracting tourists.

Thankfully, travelling to them is no longer such an arduous task as it was. Kipling wrote of his journey from Lahore to Simla, the summer seat of the Viceroy: "*It began in heat and discomfort, by rail and road.*"³⁰ From Calcutta it took considerably longer: by train to Ambala junction, coach for the 38-mile journey to Kalka, and then a transfer to a pony or jampan for the winding 56-mile journey up to Simla. And it was not just the Viceroy and all his staff who left on the 1,000-mile journey at the start of the hot season, but also the Commander in Chief and all *his* staff, returning in October. The railway was extended to Kalka in 1891, and by 1903, through over one hundred tunnels, reached Simla. And Simla had been declared the Summer Residence of the Government of India as early as 1864! At least they had good reasons for moving the seat of power. Today the EU parliament meets four times a year for a week-long plenary session in Strasbourg, moving offices and staff there and back from Brussels each time – with no good reason.

Ooty can still be reached on the Nilgiri Mountain Railway built in 1906. It is the only rack railway in India, and now recognised as a UNESCO World Heritage Site.¹⁴ Sadly the narrow-gauge railway line to Nuwara Eliya closed in 1948.⁸ However, for family history researchers the lure of the hill stations remains - for their atmosphere and, most importantly, their cemeteries. And for those unable to visit, the records maintained through the efforts of BACSA - The British Association of Cemeteries in South Asia - are an invaluable resource.

²⁹ Nash O. – Mr. Kipling, what have you done with Mr. Hauksbee?: 1952

³⁰ Kipling R - Something of Myself: pub. 1937

HIGHLANDS – THE SCHOOL ON TIGER HILL

Tony Mortlock

The dangers of ocean passage following the outbreak of World War 2 made it impossible for children to go home from India to attend school in Britain. Not long after the War started my father decided to fill the educational gap by founding an English - standard boys' boarding Prep School. It may be helpful for those readers who are not familiar with the traditional British education system if I explain that Prep (Preparatory) Schools were (and are) fee-paying schools within the private sector. In my day these were almost invariably single sex residential schools for boys or girls from the age of about 7 or 8 to the age of about 11 to 13. However, at that time in India, it was not uncommon for children as young as 4 or 5 to be sent far away from home to commence their education.

As an exceptional inducement, the new prep school would offer home-produced fresh Jersey-cross dairy produce. Better still, an ideal location for the school existed on the outskirts of a nearby town named Coonoor, which had the advantage of being at a lower altitude than Ooty and enjoying a better climate. The name of the site was "Highlands", and I discovered much later that it had been the summer palace of a raja from the East coast of South India, but by that time it had been abandoned and was vacant. In the interest of clarity I will refer to the building as "the Palace".

First Impressions

We left Ooty by way of the ghat road to Mettapalayam, passing by the impressive entrance gates of the Cordite Factory at Aravankkadu, a distance of about 12 miles and a reduction of altitude of about 1000 feet; a slow journey due to the gradient, number of sharp blind bends and the usual hazard of negotiating the many bullock carts travelling on either side, both sides, or the middle of the road, regardless of whether the driver was awake or asleep or could not be bothered.

Having arrived at Upper Coonoor we followed the laterite road down from the town to a small village called Darlington Bridge, with its own bazaar, to Tiger Hill, a journey of several miles and some hairpin bends upwards passing Hebron CMS girls school, to arrive at the Palace.

The car halts outside a large gateway flanked by massive, high pillars of which the ornamental plaster, formerly white, but now flaking, is covered with black mould. Looking through the entrance the hillside rises gently. Just behind the pillars stand two tall ornamental palms of a kind I have never before seen. Behind us, in the opposite direction, the hillside rises more steeply. We have stopped at the level point between the two hills called a saddle.

Inside the gateway is a narrow curved drive through a dense tangle of bushes and grass, of such a height as to prevent any view of the large low bungalow which comes into sight on closer approach. The bungalow stands a little above the level of the drive and is reached by two wide shallow steps giving access to a deep verandah covering the whole front and one side of the building, from which many glazed doors open to the rooms within.



Highlands Palace, entrance and to the left rooms which served as classrooms.



Highlands Palace, colonnaded verandah to the right of the entrance.

Behind the bungalow the bank is vertical to the level of the apex of the roof, and beyond the hillside rises steeply. It is carpeted with an abundant growth of coarse grass, tangles of the tough, springy, bushes known as lantana, and eucalyptus trees. Here and there, the roofs of other low buildings are visible, all surrounded by vegetation and apparently unoccupied. The whole area gives an impression of desolation and abandonment which, for me, is most exciting as I know that this is to be our next home and the location of the school which my father had decided to start.

Opposite the entrance gateway and on the same level is a large flat area of ground which had clearly been excavated from the steep hillside but was overgrown by the same vegetation as the rest of the hill. Knowing that such works were effected by manual labour alone, I couldn't guess what might have been the purpose for which so much effort and expenditure had been made. This area became the playing field.

At the side of the entrance gateway the laterite roadway continues to the right, around the "garden" to end at a range of large buildings, which I guessed had been garages but which held no vehicles. At that point the road ends, but a well-used footpath continues past a little Hindu shrine and then is hidden by the curve. To the left of the gateway, the road continues but soon disappears from view around the curve of the hill.

Later, I will discover that the road continues around the tree-covered summit of Tiger Hill, passing the Coonoor Cemetery and linking with the more direct road from Darlington Bridge, and also the other end of the footpath from the garages, thus making a complete circle. This became one of the shorter and less strenuous of the school walks. At that time, other than the palace, the buildings on the estate, and the Cemetery there were no dwellings near the summit of Tiger Hill.

First occupation

By the time we moved down from Ooty to the Palace to live, considerable changes had taken place. Servants, cooking staff, gardeners, a carpenter, cleaners and sweepers had been hired. The latter were always female. The cleaners swept, dusted and polished the furniture and wax polished the cement floors, while the sweepers emptied and washed out the toilet buckets ("the potties"), but didn't actually sweep, an instance of caste and gender demarcation.



Highlands school dining room, elegantly furnished and with panelled doors and ornamental fireplace.

An army of day labourers, “coolies”, of both sexes, had been recruited to cut back the grass and other vegetation and to cut and collect firewood. The coolies were paid according to the weight of grass or firewood brought in at the end of the day, so, each evening there would be a procession of men and women balancing on their heads bundles of firewood or grass to be weighed and paid for in cash.

Facing down the hillside and overlooking the whole Palace complex was a 4-room building with attached bathrooms, which was to become our home. There were the usual “potties”, a tin bath, basin, and a drum of cold water for washing but no kitchen was included here as the plan was to take all meals communally with the pupils and teachers.

The Palace was laid out in a strange fashion. The general impression was more of a hotel than a private home, as all the rooms opened directly from one to the next without any corridor and also could be accessed through the glazed doors from the verandah. Directly in the rear of the entrance was a spacious reception hall, which became the school dining room. From here, a roofed passage and steps led up to an annexe, behind and well above the level of the Palace, that served as the kitchen. To the right of the dining room was a modest hall, and then, again further to the right, a truly vast hall. The two halls became the Small and the Big dormitories. Smaller rooms adjoining the dormitories served as bedrooms for the two matrons. Also, there was the surgery for dealing with minor injuries and dispensing medicine.

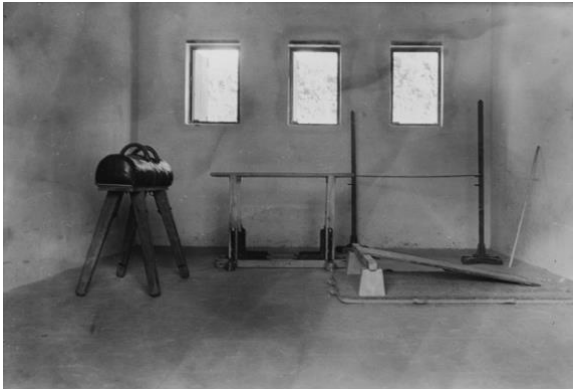
Running along the back of the dormitory end of the Palace was a passage with a row of cubicles. These could also be accessed from outside through low doors, enabling the sweepers to remove the potties and their contents. The rooms at the left end of the Palace, from where we had magnificent views across the mountains towards Mettupalayam, became classrooms.



Highlands school classroom, note elaborate fretwork screen in the door opening.

The highlight of the domestic arrangements was the hot water supply for the school baths. The Palace had no internal plumbing: standard tin baths had to be filled and emptied by hand and the problem was how to enable a group of small boys simultaneously to enjoy hot baths. My father invented the perfect solution. Fortunately, the vertical bank at the rear of the palace was ten feet or so above the floor level of the main house and its bathroom. Immediately above the bathroom was an outbuilding, in which he constructed a large brick open fireplace supporting four or five large steel drums. These were connected by pipes to a tap and outlet in the bathroom immediately below, enabling the baths to rapidly be filled by gravity and used simultaneously. The noise created by a dozen small lively boys splashing about in tin tubs is best left to the imagination.

Towards the summit of Tiger Hill was a square bungalow, which became the hospital - for anyone who needed to be kept in bed or had an infectious illness such as chicken pox - which indeed was put to good use later.



Former garages converted to a gym

I mentioned earlier the four large garage-type buildings which held no vehicles. One of them was transformed into a gymnasium containing a vaulting horse, a pommel horse, parallel bars and floor mats to provide a landing surface less painful than the concrete floor.

With the contents removed, the space served as a roller-skating rink. The skates at that period had steel wheels, so the noise on the solid floor was truly deafening. A second garage became a students'

workshop complete with carpentry benches, vices, tool racks and hand tools, another became a workshop for the school resident carpenter, whose name was Sankram and who was my special friend. He did not use a western type bench with a vice but squatted astride a heavy length of timber so he could use his toes rather than a vice. There was a treadle-powered wooden lathe on which Sankram turned wooden spinning tops. The last space was the garage for the school station wagon in which some of the pupils were taken out for picnics or outings too far for walking expeditions.

After the "coolies" had cleared sufficient undergrowth in the Palace grounds, other workers erected fences around areas selected to be paddocks for the milking herd. Further up the hill

behind the Palace some of the single-room buildings which had been “godowns”, living quarters for lower-level members of the Palace staff and their families, were transformed into cow sheds.



A woodwork classroom.

After a short time the herdsman and the cows arrived and milking began. First the fresh milk was strained through muslin bags so as to eliminate any dirt, then scalded, then cooled in large basins for the cream to become clotted and then again strained through muslin to provide the source for fresh butter. (The only alternative was tinned salted butter from New Zealand which no one liked.) I learned to milk, having first tied together the hind legs of the cow to prevent her kicking the milker or the bucket and, from the clotted cream, to hand churn the butter.

Opening the School

Finally, the day came for the school to open and the first boarders arrived. A few were accompanied by mothers, but none by fathers, who were otherwise fully occupied with military or civil government duties. Most had travelled, some over several days and nights, by train, and their trunks of clothes and other possessions had been ‘sent in advance’ by rail and delivered from the station, as was customary.

The first Entry was only about a dozen boys so at that time only the first, small dormitory was occupied. Although Highlands was a school for boys only, the exception was Christine, my younger sister, the sole girl pupil. She lived in our home, which was strictly out of bounds for me, other than during the holidays. Like all the other boarders, I slept in, first, the Small and later, when there were more boarders, the Big dormitory.

The school uniform was grey cotton shorts of a material called mussorie and a maroon cotton short-sleeved aertex shirt with a grey woollen pullover. In dry weather we wore sandals and when it was wet, we had gumboots and “Nilgai” raincoats of waterproofed canvas which were so stiff they stood up on their own. Before pulling on the boots it was important to upend them and bang them on the floor to ensure that they were empty of snakes, scorpions or similar nasties. On one occasion I was in too much of a hurry and didn’t take that precaution, inserted my foot, but withdrew it very rapidly; fortunately, the occupant was only a frog, but I had a good fright.

School staff

Due to the War the teaching staff consisted predominantly of men who were unfit or beyond the age of “call up”. The men were always addressed as “Sir” and all the women were “Miss” so we didn’t get familiar with their names. One of the masters was a retired Classics teacher so he tried to instil a modicum of Latin and Greek, but I think he did not stay long. Another was a young Indian teacher awaiting “call up”, which took place after a term or so. He used a long cane by which he was able to tap anyone at the back of the class who was not paying attention. Exceptional was our

long-term female teacher whose name was spelled Barrell with the emphasis on the second syllable rather than the first, which served to make the name more elegant and sophisticated.

The singing and music teacher was Miss Glanville who was Irish and had a fiery temper. She wielded a long, heavy lead pencil with which she would rap our knuckles when we got our scales wrong (which, in my case, was frequent), with the result that I soon gave up my piano lessons and never resumed them.

Celia Whitwick was the Matron I remember best as she was also a family friend. Another Matron was Joy Nicholson who must have been at the school for a shorter period. Both of them were greatly loved by the boys and acted as foster mothers, listened to tales of woe, attended to scrapes and bruises and comforted those suffering from homesickness or missing pet animals, local friends and domestic servants. Remember, the pupils were thousands of miles and several days and nights of travel from home; the school terms, to small boys, seemed interminable.

Tony is preparing a sequel, and would be pleased to hear from readers with knowledge of, or information about, Highlands School in Coonoor



Matron Joy Nicholson standing before an enclosure for the school's cows.



Matron Celia Whitwick (who always wore a turban), with a group of boys and girls on an outing in the school's station-wagon.

A LETTER HOME FROM MAGDALA, APRIL 1868

The Editor

This letter is from my 2nd great grandfather, Major (later General) Herbert Henderson James (1827-1914) of the 10th Bombay Native Infantry, to his father, General Charles Butler James (Bombay Army, retired). The Abyssinia Expedition is outlined in Wikipedia³¹ so I shall not try to précis it here; it was sent to rescue European hostages from Emperor Tewodros and was mounted from India

³¹ <https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/39470> is the Project Gutenberg entry for the account of the campaign by G.A. Henty. The Wikipedia entry is at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British_expedition_to_Abyssinia

using a mixture of European and Native regiments. It culminated in the capture of Magdala and the death of Tewodros.

Major James was the 2nd son of C.B James, and one of four to serve in India.³² He was at this point 2nd in Command of the 10th Bombay Native Infantry, the CO being Lt Col John Field. His letters home to his wife Gertrude were copied out, I believe after his death, and his account of this expedition thus survives along with that of his time on the 2nd Afghan Campaign of 1878-81 in which he was promoted to command the 2nd Infantry Brigade. Photograph 1 of the John Morgan Collection in the FIBIS gallery shows the 10th BNI just prior to their departure for Abyssinia, while photograph 8 shows James as Brigade Commander at Deesa in 1883 with his wife Gertrude on the far left of the front row.

Magdala 18 April 1868

My dearest Father,

Here we are at last actually in occupation of Magdala after a very tedious and somewhat anxious six months. The place itself has fallen more easily than expected, mainly owing to Theodore's army having deserted him at the last. Had the position been well defended, there is no doubt that its strength would have defied our best efforts for many a day. I never have seen any fortress naturally so well placed for defence. There are three hills, or rather mountains, all supporting one another, Magdala being so situated that one or both of the others must be taken before it could be reached. The other two are "Fullah" and "Salamgi". We reached the Bashilo River (8 miles off) on the 10th of April.



General Charles Butler James HEICS ca. 1802 and 1840

Here the 2nd Brigade was left in support whilst the 1st advanced to reconnoitre. About 4pm we heard the firing of heavy artillery and knew that Theodore³³ must have attacked. Shortly after

³² The others were Lt Col Charles Mardon Wallace James, Capt. Edmund Marcus Viret James and Lt Col Lionel Henry Septimus James. A 5th son, Reginald, was an indigo planter in Bihar before joining the Railways.

³³ Tewodros II was commonly referred to in reports by his anglicised name, Theodore.

orders reached us for the 2nd Brigade to advance to the assistance of the First. As the men had had no food that day and could possibly get none the next, except what they carried with them, it was necessary that they should have a good meal before starting, moreover water was very scarce ahead so a large supply on mules had to be sent on. This caused some delay, and we did not march till 10pm, arriving before Magdala at 1.30am. Here we bivouacked for the night fully expecting the attack would be resumed in the morning.

We found that the 1st Brigade had been fired on by Theodore on their approaching Magdala (or rather Salamgi and Fullah) and at the same time poured down his men (Infantry and Cavalry) to attack our column and baggage. They were repulsed with great loss, leaving some 500 dead, and finding they could do nothing against us, retired towards dark. It was evident next morning that Theodore did not intend to repeat his tactics of the day before, and after waiting some hours under arms, he sent in a flag of truce to ask Sir Robert *"what he wanted."* The reply was *"Unconditional surrender of himself, the Captives and his position"*. This Theodore declined, but he sent in all the Captives next day, evidently hoping this would excuse other excesses, so (we) have been ordered down below, and we shall also I suppose remain here till the place is evacuated.



*Herbert Henderson James and his wife Gertrude in the Deesa Brigade Staff photograph of 1883
(FIBIS Gallery John Morgan Collection)*

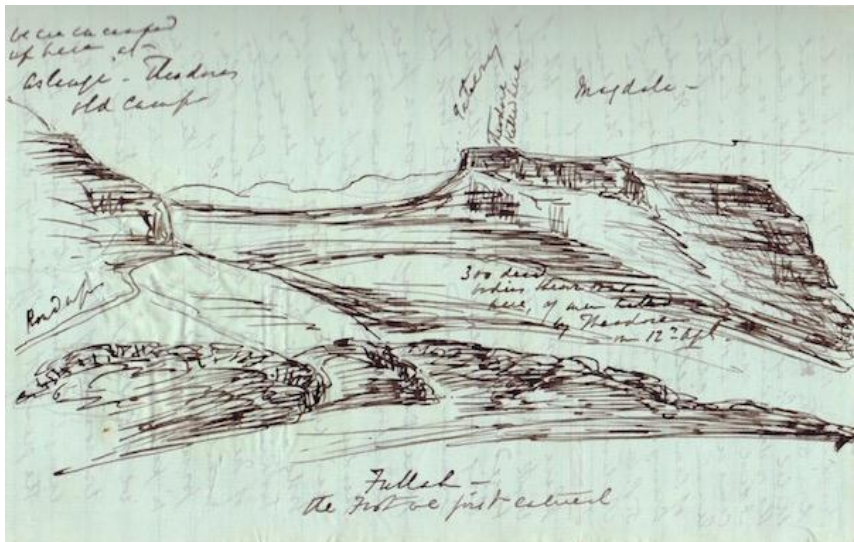
We are destroying all Theodore's guns (27-28), collecting together what treasure is worth removing, and turning all the Abyssinians out of the place, after which it is to be fired – unless Wagshum Gobagge,³⁴ the Lasta Chief, chooses to take it. It has been offered to him, but as yet he has declined to accept it. Theodore's body we saw – his appearance is anything but prepossessing. Just previous to the attack he proceeded to kill the chief Abyssinians he had among his prisoners, and the day before he killed some 300 in cold blood, throwing their bodies over the walls, where they now lie. Magdala can never be perfectly clean again till thoroughly purified with fire.

³⁴ I believe the accepted spelling is 'Wagshum Gobeze'

We are living in straw wigwams just big enough to sit up in. We can get us water hard by – just enough to wash in. We are without our kit and have the greatest difficulty in getting anything to eat, so I think we ought to get six months Batta³⁵ for all we have gone through! The general opinion is that we shall, but I have my doubts, unless indeed the India Government gives it. I anticipate the English one won't.

Talanta Plain 19th April

Arrived so far on our way back, one tremendous ravine and river passed. The ascent yesterday was 4,200 feet above the river bed which will give you an idea of what the ravines are like in this country. We have another to get over in our next march which is if anything more difficult than the last. This will be in crossing the "Djedda". We were yesterday on the march from 8am to 6.30pm, merely halting at the Bashilo River to allow the men to get a meal. The distance was only 12 miles altogether, this will give you some conception of what our difficulties must have been. The road in places was so steep that one could hardly keep one's feet in climbing up, and numbers of accidents occurred to mules and horses. One elephant died in getting up. Thank our dear Mother for her most welcome letter of the 19th March, which reached me the day we marched into Magdala. I shall write to her next time. It gives me much pain to find her still so great a sufferer, but I know she is in God's hands and that her trust is in Him. So we must continue to hope and pray for her, and leave all to His Infinite Mercy and Love. He alone knows what is best for us all. We march on from this the day after tomorrow, the 2nd Brigade (ours) first. Sir Robert expects to reach Zoola about the end of May, and to embark the whole Force during June. Won't it be hot!!



Sketch of Magdala - letter dated April 14th 1868 from HH James to his wife

20th April

Today, Sir Robert Napier had a grand parade of all the troops preparatory to our marching tomorrow. It was a very imposing affair – he read out to us his General Order to the Army of

³⁵ Batta (or Batter) in this context was a bonus paid to troops on active service.

Abyssinia and thanked the troops for all they had done. You will of course see it in the papers ere long. The order is a good and appropriate one, but somewhat in the Napoleonic style. He also addressed all the Foreign Officers attached to the Force, and thanked them for their assistance, giving them each a complimentary speech – this no doubt was a very polite move. The Abyssinian Captives were all present. Yesterday at Divine Service special thanks were returned to God for giving us the success we had obtained. There is no doubt that He has smoothed away all difficulties for us in a most wonderful manner and has made an expedition comparatively easy that might have been attended with great disaster to us had the people been hostile or the climate less healthy. I think the people at home will be well pleased with the result of the campaign. We are all conjecturing whether 6 months Batter (sic) will be granted us, or not? We deserve it I think, but perhaps the Home Government will not be inclined to add further to their already heavy outlay.

Much love to you each one at home and believe me, my dearest Father, your very affectionate son,

Herbert



Silver mounted glass taken from Magdala by Herbert Henderson James. The inscription reads '13th April Magdala, Abyssinia'

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

ANNABEL PERCY-LANCASTER lives in South Africa and 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.

SUE PAUL has retired after many years as a senior Project Manager in the IT industry. She has had a number of articles published in a wide variety of specialist magazines and journals over many years. An experienced family historian, she is the author of “Jeopardy of Every Wind”, the biography of Captain Thomas Bowrey, a late seventeenth century/early eighteenth-century East Indies mariner and merchant.

COLIN EVANS is a retired sports reporter who first went to India in 1996 to cover the Cricket World Cup. He had been violently ill on the flight, yet in the Ambassador taxi which took him and a colleague to their hotel, he felt completely at home, as though he had been there before. This feeling grew as he travelled around the sub-continent for the next six weeks. Being a cynical, non-religious, non-superstitious journalist, he found this unsettling. None of his family had ever mentioned an Indian connection – his dad hated curry. A year later he discovered, by chance, a strong ancestral link with the region. Since then, he and his wife Fi have backpacked around India many times, uncovering more and more of his family’s past.

ROD BERRIEMAN was tracing his grandfather’s family, who for more than 80 years lived in the same street in London’s working-class Kensal New Town, when he hit a brick wall with his great-great-grandmother. With no real hope of progress, he ordered the will of a woman from an earlier generation who shared her names. It showed that the woman had been living in opulence in Hampstead, socially far removed from Kensal New Town, but, to his surprise, she was indeed part of Rod’s family. It also revealed a link to India. Trying to solve the many questions that arose from this discovery led to the research on which his article is based.

JANE KEYES has ancestors in India dating from the mid-18th century through World War I. Her great-grandfather was the Resident of Kashmir. She holds an M.A. from Cornell University and is the editor and compiler of the English-language edition of *Thailand and World War II*, the memoirs of Thailand’s former Deputy Prime Minister and Ambassador to Japan in World War II.

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.

PETER HARE was inspired to begin his family research after receiving a gift from his sister on his 70th birthday: it was the family history which she had written especially for the occasion. From it, Peter learned of his descent from Captain Joseph Hare of the 21st Light Dragoons who found himself posted to Cape Town in 1806, tasked with defending the sea-route to India against possible attack from Napoleon’s forces. Most of Joseph’s sixteen children forged Anglo-Indian

connections and one of them, Lt. Edward Melville Hare, died of injuries sustained during the Indian Mutiny. Luckily, he left a son, Peter's great-grandfather, Charles Edward Hare. From that beginning, and with the time Covid provided, Peter's good intentions have become a reality.

TONY MORTLOCK celebrated his 16th birthday on board the ship transporting him from India to England to continue his education. During his National Service he served in the Royal Engineers in Malaya. He qualified as a solicitor, in which profession he remained for 30 years, and then bought a commercial Dutch Barge and travelled around the canals and rivers of France for the next 25 year with his wife, Audrey. Following Audrey's sad death from cancer Tony has visited India many times, principally as a supporter of Action Village India, a London based NGO which supports several other Indian NGOs, all based upon the principles set out by Gandhi. Tony can be contacted at tonymortlock@gmail.com

BOOK REVIEWS:

HOMEWARD BOUND: Return migration from Ireland and India at the end of the British Empire

Dillon Niamh, pub. NYUP, 245pp, ISBN 978-1-4798-1731-3

Homeward Bound is a thoughtful and detailed exploration of the comparisons and contrasts between two of Britain's imperial territories and the impact felt by the thousands of people who returned "home" from those locations in the post-colonial era. The author has meticulously studied official records, including those of contemporary parliamentary debates and public opinion, and has also drawn upon personal memories and documents of those most directly involved in the process: the returnees themselves.

To set the scene, Ireland during the period following the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922 was pitched into a period of violence and economic depression. Loyalists found their businesses boycotted, their families intimidated and threatened. For security or economic reasons, in the main, many chose to move to Britain. They became refugees. Their situation bore many similarities to those of Anglo-Indians and others who travelled to Britain from India after Partition in 1947 in the bloody aftermath of the "*Quit India*" campaign.

For both groups, there was a huge period of adjustment to be made. In 1920s Britain, there were no jobs to be found and migrants faced penury. For those in 1947 and 1950s Britain, employment was less of a problem than their sudden loss of status and privilege, in some cases, and the adjustment to a lack of domestic help, food rationing, lack of housing and sometimes racial prejudice. Britain was re-shaping and undergoing radical political change. The British Nationality Act of 1948 made people think about the definition of nationalism – and there was so much to take in. The Festival of Britain in 1951 celebrated achievements but also induced a feeling of nostalgia in post-war Britain. There was an influx of West Indian labour in the 1950s, the death of a king and the coronation of a queen...there was so much for a newcomer to absorb, besides the recent emotional traumas of leaving friends and the land where they had grown up. Britain seemed to be a cold and grey place of austerity for many, with poverty, bomb-sites left by the Blitz and differing social expectations. On the plus side, there were more opportunities, free education, better healthcare. But feelings were tangled...

For anyone interested in researching the background of family during this period, in particular, the findings will strike a chord. There is plenty here to engage the interest and provoke a deeper understanding of the myriad issues faced by arrivals to Britain, still today. The writing has a pleasantly light touch, not an easy feat to achieve, given the academic tone of the subject and the amount of information it packs in. The result is a book which is both an enjoyable and informative read.

Margaret Murray

NOTICES

ARTICLE SUBMISSION GUIDELINES *Recent revisions are underlined*

- The editor is happy to consider articles, letters and information for inclusion in the Journal. Receipt of material does not imply obligation to publish. All submissions should be emailed to editor@fibis.org. Articles should be *no more* than 3000 words. You should be aware that the Journal is usually posted on the FIBIS website.
- *Manuscripts must be typed in Word or GDoc format. There is no particular requirement for a font or size, but the Journal is produced in Calibri and the normal body text is 9-point on a page size of A5.*
- 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.
- Please supply illustrations as JPEGs, *in colour if available*, and give full details of provenance: we cannot use copyrighted pictures. The printed Journal is now produced in colour. It is helpful to include a pdf version to indicate intended layout: final layout is up to the Editor.
- 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. If you welcome contact from readers, please make this clear and put your email address in your biopic.

AN UP-TO-DATE LIST OF EVENTS AND MEETINGS CAN ALWAYS BE FOUND AT

www.fibis.org/events

Open Meeting – Saturday 28 October 2023.

Union Jack Club. 1 Sandell Street, Waterloo SE1 8UJ.

10.30 – 12.30 FIBIS experts will be available to answer members' questions.

12.30 – 13.30 Lunch break

13.30 Homes in the Empire – representing empire in the home?

This presentation examines whether homes in the British empire were representing the empire overseas and argues that homes were not purely neutral domestic spaces but, rather, places in which imperial values were absorbed and replicated. Using interviews with two groups – separated by geography but linked through imperial connections (southern Irish Protestants and the British community in India) – this paper looks at the physical space of home, relationships with servants, gender, and the connection to the external environment – to suggest that for both groups, home had various, and sometimes ambivalent meanings. For the British in India, this meant being rooted physically in India, but imaginatively located in Britain.

Dr Niamh Dillon is Project Director at National Life Stories at the British Library and is leading a corporate oral history of one of the UK's foremost civil engineering firms. She previously worked in television, most notably on the Academy Award winning, *Into the Arms of Strangers* at Warner Bros. She is particularly interested in questions of migration, empire and identity. Her recent book, *Homeward Bound: return migration from Ireland and India at the end of the British empire* (NYU Press, 2022) is a comparative study that uses first-hand testimony to investigate individual and collective narratives of belonging in the late British Empire.

14.30 – 15.00 Tea break.

15.00 – 16.00 Sources for tracing military ancestry in India

A guide to exploring published, unpublished and visual sources held in the British Library to discover the lives and careers of officers, N.C.O.s and private soldiers who served in India before independence in 1947.

Dr Hedley Sutton is a professional librarian who has spent a career of over forty years in the British Library, having managed the team that provides the reference enquiry service within the Asian and African Studies Department since 1999. He has been a FIBIS Trustee since the middle of last year and is a regular and popular speaker at FIBIS conferences.

Admission is free

Please book tickets to attend the open meeting on the FIBIS website.

Names are required in advance by the Union Jack Club for security reasons.

Please check the FIBIS website for latest updates before travelling.

Unable to travel to London? Join the afternoon session by Zoom.

See the FIBIS website for details

AGM and Open Meeting – Saturday 22 June 2024.

Union Jack Club. 1 Sandell Street, Waterloo SE1 8UJ.

1030 – 1200 hrs. FIBIS experts will be available to answer members' questions.

1200 - 1300 hrs. Lunch break

1315 – 1400. Annual General Meeting.

1400 – 1630 hrs. Guest speakers and tea break. Watch the FIBIS website for further details

FIBIS 25 YEARS CONFERENCE



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In 2024 the Trustees intend to publish the FIBIS 25th Anniversary Magazine

In a larger format and in full colour, this will be separate from the usual FIBIS Journals which members receive as part of their subscription.

If you would like to contribute to this publication, please contact either editor@fibis.org or our Publications Coordinator, Xandra Sherman, (secretary@fibis.org) with an outline of your contribution.

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, and £18 for elsewhere abroad. Cheques (in Sterling) should be made out to 'FIBIS' and sent to the Membership Secretary (address above). We've also now added 'Paperless' membership at £12 per year worldwide – please see the website for details. Subscriptions can be paid/renewed online with a credit card or by PayPal at www.fibis.org/store. For special arrangements for payment by Australian members: see below.

AUSTRALIA & NEW ZEALAND:

For liaison with FIBIS members and with India-related family history activities in Australia or New Zealand 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 research 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: (email: transcriptions@fibis.org).



The Telegraph Office at Surat, 1885

Photograph by C.S. James

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