The Journal of the
Families In British India Society

View of the water tank in Bundi named 'Sabiran Dha-Ka-Kund'
Built by the foster mother of His Highness Maharao Raja Bhao Singhji. Samvat 1711. AD 1654

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

Submission guidelines can be found in the Notices section

Front cover: View of the water tank in Bundi named 'Sabiran Dha-Ka-Kund' Copyright © - Courtesy of the British Library Board

Back cover: A Persian Wheel at Erinpura Road. Watercolour by Elizabeth Ellen James, January 5th 1888 Copyright © the Editor

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EDITORIAL

Congratulations to Pat Scully, who is now the Honorary Life President of FIBIS, and welcome to the 51st edition of the FIBIS Journal, which offers a broad range of articles from old friends and newcomers.

Peter Summers continues his account of the French in India, which but for my oversight would have appeared in the last issue. Thanks for your forbearance, Peter, and I do have a note that Part 3 is to follow! David Radley's article on Colour Sergeant Henry Baird rang a bell with me since I had followed the career of a member of my family in the Cameronians, and it was clear that he had served in the same period and at the same times. Something akin happened when I read Dr Chris Joseph's account of General William Gilbert, as another of my ancestors fathered a bevy of boys to an Indian mother (he brought them all back to England, had them educated at various establishments including Charterhouse, and they all went back to serve in the EIC Armies). Ed Storey's reminder on book resources online is a must for any researcher who has not explored this area, and Ron Horton's account of his grandmother is a fine example of family research. Dr N.C. Shah has been contributing regularly to the Journal since 2006, most frequently about his home turf, Kumaon and Ranikhet: it took me a little while to realise that his current offering deals with his own family, the 'Gentleman' of the title being his grandfather. If you are curious to see what a stick gun looks like in action, I have included a link to a YouTube video. Stephen Reilly's article stems from an event familiar to many researchers, that random find which turns out to have a fascinating story behind it – in this case, his attention was caught by the link to his professional life as a psychiatrist. David Bull's article on the Wessex Regiment's time in India came about by a chance email, and I leapt at the opportunity to include it.

I am delighted to say that I now have all the makings of Journal 52 and probably a start to 53, but please keep writing!

I hope that our Members will be signing up for the 25th Anniversary Conference in September; the provisional programme of talks is on the website if you have not made up your mind yet. The Trustees are also looking for a new Webmaster and Social Media Manager to replace Valmay Young, who has worked tirelessly over many years to bring the Society's online presence to what you see today. Details of the Conference and of the vacancy are in the Notices and Events section.

Adam Streatfeild-James

THE FRENCH IN INDIA - PART TWO
Peter Summers

The Eighteenth Century - the First Half (1716 to 1757)

In the first part of this brief story of the activities of the French and their leaders - Caron, de la Haye and Francois Martin - we saw them creating the first footholds of their country in India. They put in a lot of effort but, by their bickering, failed in many of their aims. However, they had set up a strong establishment in Pondicherry and created a positive view of their military capability in the eyes of the Indian rajahs.

A Quick Historical Overview

Britain had become more powerful during the 18th century but that brought many difficulties in its relations with France. The century saw a number of wars which could be classed as world wars. The War of the Spanish Succession was fought because of the intended union of France and Spain (both world powers) which would unbalance the position of Britain, Holland, Austria and Prussia in Europe. During this time, the Union of England and Scotland took place (1706/7) while in France, that most powerful king, Louis XIV, the Sun King, died (1715). A further royal potential change led in 1740 to the War of Austrian Succession with Great Britain and France on opposing sides; it ended in 1748. France and Prussia had the aim of displacing Habsburg's power (mainly Austria) while Britain and Holland supported the new ruler, Maria Theresa. I should add that during this period (1745/6) the French supported Bonnie Prince Charlie when he made a failed attempt to gain the crown in Scotland. As a result, many Scots ended up in India where they were treated with suspicion! This very short historical outline forms the background to Part Two of my story of French India.

Now, returning to the earlier part of the 18th century, a Scottish financier, John Law, was given charge of France's (King Louis XV's) finances in 1716. (The country was heavily in debt and the king needed fresh ideas and impetus). One action Law took was to re-establish the French East India Company under a new title: 'Compagnie des Indes Perpetuelle' and he financed it by calling for investors. This, and his other economic ideas, went well until he managed to crash the French economy in 1721.

In India, the French lack of commercial expertise, and squabbling by their leaders, resulted in a reduction of the numbers of their settlements. For lack of trade reasons the Surat settlement closed down for all European nations and Pondicherry became the French lead town. Their other, remaining, main settlements were now Chandernagor, Mahé, Karikal and Yanam.

La Bourdonnais and Dupleix

And so, we come to the era of La Bourdonnais and Dupleix - two strong men who were to develop the French position in India, but they didn't support each other! In the 1720s they had been competing as merchants all over the East Indies, owning ships and freighting trade goods back to France.

La Bourdonnais painted by Antoine Graincourt. (Original at Musée de la Compagnie des Indes)

Bertrand-Francois Mahé, Comte de La Bourdonnais, was a Captain with the French East India Company when he took part in the capture of Mahé from the Marathas. Mahé was then added to his name. Subsequently he became Governor of Isle de France (Mauritius) and Isle de Bourbon (Reunion Island). In this role he did much in these colonies, bought an estate and brought in large numbers of slaves. (Britain, itself, was then a huge slave trading nation; the terrible practice wasn't abolished until 1807).

During the 1720s, Dupleix brought La Bourdonnais in front of the Council of Pondicherry in a commercial dispute. Later, in 1739, Dupleix over-charged La Bourdonnais over commission and then La Bourdonnais accused Dupleix of stealing his idea of establishing the slave trade in Mozambique. Basically, the two men would never see eye-to-eye! And this led eventually to disagreement over how to handle the British in Madras.

The Marathas and their Involvement in the Carnatic

We need to understand a bit of what was going on in India. The politics of the various groups involved was hugely complicated and was quite central to the French strategic approach - one of the important themes of this was the decimation of British trade to the betterment of their own. In this context I need to mention the Marathas, a major Hindu dynasty occupying a large part of north-west and middle India.

The Marathas had been at war with the Mughals since 1689 and were taking advantage of the weakening Mughal Empire after the Emperor Aurangzeb's death in 1707; the Marathas eventually controlled the Mughals. Despite being largely from a farming background their military was hugely well trained and the story goes that they were known for the atrocities against the local populations that they conquered.

Aurangzeb had created the position of Nawab of the Carnatic (with the Nawab's capital at Arcot) and the area of his control encompassed Hyderabad and its Nizam. (We heard about Golconda in Part 1). You might get confused in what follows but remember that Hyderabad had a Nizam while Arcot (the Carnatic) had a Nawab. And in this story I have reduced both politics and warfare enormously.

Now, the Nawab of the Carnatic, Dost Ali Khan, had sent his sons, Safdar Ali and Chanda Sahib, to the south to exact retribution from the kingdoms of Madurai and Tanjore which had not paid their tributes. Tanjore was Hindu while the Nawab was Muslim. And so, to support Tanjore, the Marathas moved southward in 1740 and took Arcot, killing Dost Ali, and then took Trichinopoly, capturing Chanda Sahib. They put the elder son, Safdar Ali on the throne as a peace gesture. By 1742, Safdar had been killed by his brother-in-law, Murtuza Ali, who appointed himself Nawab.

Chanda Sahib managed to obtain his release and supported Murtuza but the East India Company preferred a son of Safdar Ali, Muhammed Sayyid, a young boy (note: politics), and declared him the Nawab. With British support a regent named Anwaruddin Khan was sent to Arcot by the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Nizam used his army to underpin Sayyid's position. (The British in Madras were given a number of villages by the Nizam, in thanks, which included Vepery, near Madras).

Sayyid, in turn, was murdered in 1744 and his regent, Anwaruddin, took over. The Nizam of Hyderabad, along with Anwaruddin Khan, beat the Marathas back out of the Carnatic (but not for long). Anwaruddin was declared the new Nawab.

So, having established this, at times confusing, coverage of the Marathas, let us return to La Bourdonnais and Dupleix.

The Capture of Madras

During the War of Austrian Succession, Britain and France were major powers in Europe while Holland was a diminishing power. And so, the main protagonists increased their sphere of interaction to the colonies, including India. However, the British East India Company was relatively weak, being largely a commercial venture, while the French had been building up their military there.

Statue of J-F Dupleix at Landrecies, Nord, France.

To a large extent, **Joseph-Francois Dupleix**[1] [2]was a politician and La Bourdonnais was a soldier. In 1742 Dupleix was appointed Governor General and he began machinations with various Indian princes to advance French interests. He adopted Indian dress in dealing with them. One major intent of his was to capture Madras and so reduce the British influence in the region but to do this meant war and this required him to persuade La Bourdonnais, who had control of the French troops and was by now an Admiral, to go on the offensive. This La Bourdonnais did, despite their mutual animosity, leading to the First Carnatic War. Initially, La Bourdonnais's fleet fought a similar sized British fleet with no winning result; however, the British fleet retreated to Ceylon and, later, its Commodore was censured for doing so.

The French force had nine warships, two mortar boats and 3,000 men and now had no opposition at sea; they laid siege to Madras in September 1746 and after three days the British there capitulated. La Bourdonnais, in exchange for the rapid surrender, agreed to a treaty to return Madras to British control if a ransom was paid. This was for the sum of 1,100,000 pagodas and the forfeit of all

[1] *'Rulers of India - Dupleix' by G B Malleson (https://archive.org/details/cu31924023967973)*

[2] *'India Ancient and Modern' by David O Allen pages 203 to 212 (https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/India_Ancient_and_Modern_Geographical_Hi/DVkOAAAAQAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1)*

merchandise in the city to the French. A certain number of British senior families had to send hostages to Pondicherry until the money was paid.

1746 Surrender of the City of Madras by Jacques Swebach.

And here La Bourdonnais fell out with both Dupleix and the Nawab of Arcot (whose land Madras occupied). Dupleix did not want to let the British have Madras back and neither did Nawab Anwaruddin Khan (now less pro-British).

La Bourdonnais (on board his flagship) and Dupleix exchanged many letters arguing over the position until the situation was ended when a hurricane struck La Bourdonnais's small fleet. In sailing away from the Madras shore, to avoid being damaged, Bourdonnais decided to continue on and made his departure for France.

There he was accused of maladministration and imprisoned in the Bastille for two years. He was acquitted but died of ill-health in 1753.

Now, Dupleix took charge and established himself in Madras as the Governor where he had 'Black Town' (the area outside the fort) destroyed in order to persuade the local merchants to relocate to Pondicherry. He had the fort walls repaired against potential future attacks by the British and the Nawab.

The Nawab did attack but was repelled by Dupleix's forces. And Dupleix reneged on the agreement to hand the city back to the British - he declared that the treaty was null and void. Interestingly, during this time Robert Clive, still learning the ropes as a clerk, escaped Madras disguised as an Indian.

Dupleix now turned on the other British settlement, Fort St David, at Cuddalore. Three attempts by the French were beaten back. And in 1748, a Royal Navy task force arrived which laid siege to Pondicherry but were unable, in their turn, to take the town. In that year, in Europe, a peace treaty was signed: the Peace of Aix-la Chapelle, which ended the War of Austrian Succession. The treaty gave Madras back to the British much to Dupleix's chagrin.

Dupleix's Influence in India [3]

Dupleix's aim, more than that of his predecessors, was for the French company to take over the trading empire developed by the British. From the recent events he had witnessed, Dupleix saw that well trained troops could beat larger Indian armies. In his time in India he had absorbed all the politics of the Indian 'rajahs and nawabs', their military strengths and capabilities, their likes and dislikes of each other as well as their views of the East India Company. He was a master of interaction with the rajahs and, wherever possible, aligned with one or other to fight the British at every opportunity.

Reading contemporaneous accounts, it is clear that life at the top of Indian kingdoms was full of intrigue, subterfuges, reversals of loyalty, palace revolutions and assassinations. With a strong French military position, especially after the capture of Madras, Dupleix was the 'go to' man for support.

And so the southern Indian sub-continent was embroiled in the second Carnatic War, too extensive for this account though I will cover certain crucial events in a broad fashion as the politics again becomes complicated. (The Carnatic War was notable, I should add, for the rise of two British men: Lawrence and Clive)[4]. It was 1748 and the political and military situation in South India was about to be exploited by Dupleix. It is in this period that the French company could well have expelled the British from India - read on!

Hyderabad was one of the most prosperous of the Mughal affiliated kingdoms and the current Nizam was a tough but good ruler. He died in the year of the Peace of Aix-la Chapelle (1748) and, though his eldest son Nasir Jung was appointed as the new Nizam, there was a power struggle involving all the sons and grandsons.

Charles de Bussy

Anwaruddin (the Nawab) supported Nasir, but there was another son, Muzaffar Jang, who contested the Nizamship. Chanda Sahib (remember him: the son of Dost Ali Khan, the man killed by the Marathas), now saw an opportunity in this dispute and asked Dupleix to join Muzaffar and himself, which he readily agreed to. This led, in turn, to Nasir Jung approaching the British for help.

As a side issue in all this, a British fleet under Admiral Boscawen had just arrived with orders to destroy Pondicherry; he failed and sailed home. This left south India open to the French since the British directors of the East India Company in Madras, having just recovered their city, were still not militarily minded.

Anwaruddin Khan, now 77, with 20,000 men met Muzzafar's army, 36,000 plus 400 Frenchmen, at Ambur in 1749 where he was killed. The driving force of the battle was not down to numbers but the discipline of the French led by **Charles de Bussy de**

3 'Dupleix' by Colonel John Biddulph. (https://archive.org/details/dupleix00bidd)
4 Stringer Lawrence - The Father of the Indian Army by Colonel J Biddulph (https://archive.org/details/stringerlawrence00bidd)

Castelnau, a close friend of Dupleix. (In time, de Bussy became Governor General of French India but not before playing a major part in leading Hyderabad's troops to many victories).

Anwaruddin's son, Muhammed Ali Wallajah, declared himself to be the Nawab but this was disputed by Chanda Sahib. Muhammed's forces were defeated by Chanda Sahib and the French so he escaped to Trichinopoly. (See 'Siege of Trichinopoly' below).

Muzzafir Jung was killed by Afghans in 1751; control of Hyderabad now passed to Salabat Jung, the third son of the previous Nizam. Dupleix sent Charles de Bussy, with a strong French contingent, to support the new Nizam. Over time, Salabat Jung came to depend completely on de Bussy giving him control of his whole army and the administration of Hyderabad 'state'.

The Marathas attacked Salabat Jung in the north with 40,000 men. Salabat's forces were irregulars and would be no match against the Marathas. But General de Bussy, with 500 of his men and 5,000 trained sepoys, shattered the opposition. They then marched into Maratha territory, winning a few engagements but eventually had to retreat. Salabat and the Marathas then made peace. During this time the Nizam gave the French quantities of land (for example, the Northern Circars), agreement for the increase of numbers of French soldiers in India, paid handsomely for French support, and allowed the French to collect taxes in certain areas.

The French were in the ascendant; so much so that Nizam Salabat Jung gave the title of Nawab of the Carnatic to Dupleix for his life and afterwards to the French nation. Now there were two Nawabs. (As so often happened, Salabat himself was deposed and was killed in 1763).

Dupleix meeting the Soudhabar of the Deccan. Woodcut by Paul Philippoteaux.
(Soudhabar is another title for the Nizam of Hyderabad. The Soudhabar here is probably Muzzafir Jung).

The existing Nawab of the Carnatic, Muhammed Ali Wallajah, was at this time besieged in Trichinopoly where Chanda Sahib (supported by the French) declared himself to be the Nawab of the Carnatic. Now there were three Nawabs.

↑ Contents

The Siege of Trichinopoly [5]

The story is more complicated than this, but I must mention Trichy because, while influence in India had shifted in Dupleix's favour, it was largely Trichinopoly, and its siege, that stopped his aim of France becoming the main European power in India.

The position of the fortified town at Trichy is interesting. It is overlooked by a huge hill 80 metres high, a rock sitting on an island between the rivers Cauvery and Coleroon. The island and hill are called Sriringam, or Cheringham. In July 1751 Chanda Sahib had an army of 8,000 Indians and 400 Frenchmen surrounding Trichy after he had defeated a combined force of British troops and Muhammed Ali Wallajah's men just outside the town. He could see every aspect of Trichinopoly fort while looking down from the rock.

To relieve Trichy, the Madras directors accepted a plan from a young Captain Robert Clive which was to attack Arcot in order to cause Chanda Sahib to march his troops back to his capital. Arcot is about 60 miles west of Madras and around 170 miles north of Trichy. The attack, with a small force of British soldiers and sepoys, was led by Clive. The undermanned Arcot garrison abandoned the fort without firing a shot, leaving it to Clive who then set about preparing it for a counter-attack by Chanda Sahib.

"The Rock at Trichinopoly" - painted by Francis Ward (1772) with the fort in the foreground.

Chanda Sahib, reacting as the British planned, sent his son, Raza Sahib, to take back Arcot; Raza arrived at the head of 4,000 of his soldiers bolstered with 150 French troops. This was September

[5] Stringer Lawrence: The Father of the Indian Army by Col. J Biddulph (https://archive.org/details/stringerlawrence00bidd)

1751 and he besieged the town; ranged on the walls of Arcot were the defenders: 120 British and 200 sepoys.

After two months of failure to subdue the Arcot defenders, a frustrated Raza Sahib ordered a frontal attack using war elephants which were intended to destroy the main gates. However, the attack was repulsed leaving 400 of Raza's men dead after which Raza Sahib retreated towards Trichy and his father. Clive pursued him with reinforcements from Madras and, after another pitched battle, 1,500 men against 5,000 of Raza's, defeated them. At this point, Indian opinion of the British East India Company changed; they were now seen not only as merchants but also fighters.

Next, Madras ordered the relief of Trichy, sending a force out under Major Stringer Lawrence supported by Clive; the men were friends. Against them was General Jacques Law with strong forces in place[6]. There were a number of engagements during one of which Clive was seriously injured. Eventually, Law and his army retreated to the island of Cheringham where he surrendered in June 1752.

Dupleix's Eventual Downfall

But Dupleix wasn't finished. The British had allied with the Marathas and the Mysoreans in their fight against the French and Chanda Sahib. Dupleix persuaded the Indian rulers to change sides and then attacked Trichy again. The fighting went on throughout 1753 with General de Mainville in charge of the French forces; at times the French nearly took the town and at others were forced to retreat onto Cheringham.

All this went against the grain of the French directors back in Paris and Dupleix was ordered to return leaving a deputy, Godeheu, in charge (14th October 1754).

Biddulph says of Dupleix: "*His subordinates, alienated and disgusted by his haughtiness and arrogance, were loud in their complaints against him. Assuming the style of an eastern monarch, he forced them to present 'nuzzurs'*[7] *when they approached him, and more than once, [....], he obliged his own countrymen to submit to the humiliation of paying him homage on their knees*".[8] Dupleix denied receiving '*nuzzurs*' from Frenchmen! He died in obscurity and poverty in 1763.

Chanda Sahib escaped into Tanjore but was caught and beheaded by the Tanjore rajah. Most of Chanda's troops defected to the British.

North India

In the north of India, Nawab Siraj-ud-Daulah took the throne of Bengal in 1756; he attacked and overcame Calcutta. History reports the happenings around the 'Black Hole' on which I'll not dwell. Within six months, Calcutta was re-captured by Robert Clive and Admiral Charles Watson. Clive and Watson then went on to capture the French fort at Chandernagore. Clive defeated Siraj at Plassey (June 1757) - another historical event - and Siraj was then executed on the orders of his successor.

[6] 'Dupleix' by Colonel John Biddulph. page 119

[7] nuzzur / nuzzer etc – a gift from an inferior to a superior (Hobson Jobson) – Ed.

[8] Ibid. page 136

And so, the British, now developed militarily, controlled much of Bengal. But, this was not so in south India. World events ahead, in time, were the American Revolution, the French Revolution and Napoleon. How would this affect India? All will be revealed in Part 3!

HENRY BAIRD – COLOUR SERGEANT, 26TH REGIMENT OF FOOT

David Radley

Henry Baird was born in the Parish of Bertt [Burt], County Donegal, Ireland in July 1797. When he was just under sixteen, Henry enlisted with 26th Regiment of Foot[9] (at Londonderry on the 10th May 1813) and was a soldier with the 26th for the next 24 years. Henry remained a private until the 25th August 1821 when he was promoted to Corporal, then again to Sergeant on the 25th March 1825 and attaining the rank of Colour Sergeant on the 7th April 1832.

Henry joined the 2nd Battalion of the 26th Regiment of Foot, stationed in Glasgow. The 2nd Battalion left Glasgow on the 25th May 1813, arriving in Dumfries on the 28th May 1813 where they remained until the 3rd September 1813 arriving in Kilmarnock on the 23rd September where they remained until March 1814. However, Henry was one of a detachment of the 2nd Battalion of the 26th which left Dumbarton on the 29th February 1814 and reached Gibraltar on the 19th May. He served for eight years and four months in Gibraltar. The regiment was then posted to Ireland, leaving on several ships between the 28th September 1822 and the 8th October 1822, and arriving in the Cove of Cork (now known as Cobh) from the 16th October 1822 to the 28th October 1822, from where they removed to Fermoy barracks. The regiment remained in Ireland until late in 1828.

Henry married Mary Ann Burrell in 1826, while the regiment was in Ireland, although the record of Marriage Licence Bonds, Diocese of Kildare, Church of Ireland from the Public Record Office of Ireland shows Henry's name as "Beard". From March 1825 until sometime in 1826 Henry's regiment was stationed in "scattered stations" around Naas, a scant 15 miles from Mary Ann Burrell's home of Rathangan, County Kildare. A detachment of 1 sergeant and 11 enlisted men was actually posted in Rathangan from 30th March 1826 to 18th April 1826. Was this sergeant Henry?

On the 19th and the 26th October and the 1st November 1827 the 26th embarked on the ships *Stentor*, *Lord Suffield* and *Flora Henry* respectively, landing at Gravesend on the 5th November and marching the same day to the Chatham Barracks. When the regiment embarked at Cork, as its destination was supposed to be India, permission was given to take on board twelve women to each hundred men, whereby all but fourteen of the soldiers' wives were provided with a passage. Hence Mary Ann was able to accompany Henry when he then went with the regiment to the East Indies for six years and one hundred and twenty days (from the 9th September 1828 to the 14th January 1835).

The regiment was transported to India on four vessels; 210 in the *Rose*; 170 in the *Prince Regent*; 197 in the *Asia* and 196 in the *Marchioness of Ely*.

[9] The Cameronians - Ed

Ship	*Tonnage*	*Launch Date*	*Captain*	*Scrapped*
Marchioness of Ely	*925*	*February 1812*	*Charles E. Mangles*	*1829*
Rose	*1024*	*November 1810*	*Thomas Marquis*	*1838*
Prince Regent	*935*	*November 1811*	*Henry Hosmer*	*1838*
Asia	*958*	*November 1811*	*Thomas F. Balderston*	*1840*

Each of the ships cost approximately £26,000 to build.

The four ships left Chatham on the 12th (*Prince Regent* and *Rose*) and 26th May 1828 (*Marchioness of Ely* and *Asia*), arriving in the Madras Roads within forty eight hours of each other from the 9th to the 11th September 1828. This landing was later than European troops generally arrived in India. The regiment stayed at Fort St. George until 1830.

Henry and Mary Ann had eight children; only three of whom were to survive until adulthood. Adam Robert was born in Rathangan in 1826 and baptised by Henry Bayly, the curate of the Parish of Rathangan. Elizabeth Regent was born on board ship during passage to India on the 8th June 1828 and was baptised at Fort St. George, Madras. Both of these children died as a result of the cholera prevalent in the area of Fort St. George at the time. In fact, the records of St. Mary's Church at Fort St. George show 50 deaths identifiable to the troops and family of the 26th from their arrival in September 1828 until the end of the year, and a total of 104 deaths before their leaving in late 1830.

Between September and November 1830 the 26th was moved to Calcutta. It was then decided that they would march to Kurnaul (Karnal, Haryana, India), a distance of 905 miles. After a total of 80 day marches with an average of eleven and a half miles per march, the shortest being three miles and the longest 16 miles, the regiment arrived in the barracks at Meerut on the morning of Saturday 26th March 1831. This successfully terminated a journey of unusual length for a King's regiment in India. The regiment was stationed at Meerut through the time of Henry's discharge.

Son William was born at Fort St. George in 1830 and died on the extended march to Karnaul.
Son Henry was born in 1832 but died within the year.

On the 14th January 1835 Henry was discharged, with a clean record, with the opinion of the Regimental Board being "that his character is very good". The reason for his discharge was " a chronic pain of side" with "constitution somewhat impaired", the complaint originating while serving in the East Indies five years prior to discharge. It is also noted in the discharge papers that the complaint did not appear to arise from 'Vice, Intemperance or Design'.

The couple's fifth child Dorcas, born either in Meerut, or on-board ship, was baptised at Chatham on the 1st February 1835, but died young.

At the time of his discharge from Chatham Barracks on the 7th February 1837, Henry was classed as a 'Colour Serjeant', he was 39 years, 7 months old, stood 5 feet 8¼ inches tall, with brown hair, grey eyes and a 'swarthy' complexion; a labourer by trade. Henry was admitted as an out-pensioner of the Royal Hospital of Chelsea on the 8th February 1837 and paid a pension of 2s.0d per day.

Child number six, Harriett was born in 1838, on board ship during the trip from Chatham to Ireland. Harriett went on to marry William Bourne, a soldier, at St. Colomb's Cathedral, Templemore on the 30th January 1855. She too travelled the world with her soldier husband, just like her mother.

Immediately following his discharge, Henry resided in Rathagan, County Kildare, Ireland as stated in his discharge papers. Henry's wife, Mary Ann Burrell, was born in Rathangan, County Kildare. Later, the family moved on to Templemore Parish (which includes Bertt township), from where daughter Harriett was married and in the area that Henry died. A son, a second Henry, was born in 1840 and, according to family writings, 'went out to India as an engineer and married a native woman'. The last child, George Robert, was born on the 11th July 1842.

Henry Baird died at Londonderry on the 27th June 1845. Mary Ann was left with three young children: Harriett, aged 7; Henry, aged 5 and George Robert, aged 3.

Mary Ann was still alive when her son George Robert was admitted to the Royal Hibernian Military School on the 12th May 1850, as the son of a deceased soldier. In January 1857, at the age of 15 years (records show five feet tall), George enlisted with the 95th Regiment of Foot[10], and, after some time in Dublin, embarked on the ship *Beechworth* on the 26th June 1857, arriving at the Cape of Good Hope in June 1857. But within days of arriving in September 1857, the regiment was sent on to India to help suppress the Indian Rebellion, arriving in Bombay on the 30th October 1857.

Although documents show that the regiment moved to Tankaria, Camp Kotahi, Gwalior, Goonah, Camp Chuprah, Central India and Mukssdeenghur, George's personal record shows him stationed at the depot, Deesa until 15th December 1858 when the depot, families, baggage etc. which had left Deesa the preceding January arrived at Neemuch. The regiment took part in the capture of the entrenched town of Rowa in January 1858. It went on to take part in a skirmish at Kotah-ke-Serai in June 1858 during which the rebel leader, Rani of Jhansi, was killed. It also took part in the recapture of Gwalior later that month as well as several other actions during the Central Indian campaign. The full regiment seems to have returned to Neemuch by July 1859 and remained there until the following year. In October 1860 the regiment moved to Camp Sultanpoor and thence to Poonah. The regiment stayed at Poonah for some time and then in the October quarter of that year moved by sea to Hyderabad, Sind, where it remained until September 1864. It moved again in October 1864 to Karachee. The regiment finally left India in 1870. While the regiment was still at Karachee, George purchased his discharge for £18 on the 1st May 1866. He is recorded as having 6 years and 278 days service and being 'of very good character'. George became engaged in commerce and had families with two progressive wives. He died in 1884.

No record has been found of Mary Ann's life after her husband's death, or of her death.

[10] At this point in time, the 95th was 'the 95th (Derbyshire) Regiment of Foot' - Ed

↑ Contents

THE GIRL I LEFT BEHIND ME: The life of my 4th great-grandfather, General William Gilbert (1781-1866), HEIC

Dr. Chris A. Joseph

It all started with a letter written in 1997. The fairly unremarkable typed sheet of paper among the genealogical records maintained by a distant relative, only caught my attention because it mentioned my maternal grandmother's mother, 'Effru,' Euphrosyne Marie Pacheco, in passing. Upon a closer reading, I noticed that Effru's grandmother, Marie Gilbert, was identified as the daughter of a Colonel Gilbert.

I had known anecdotally from my grandmother about Marie Gilbert being my 3x great-grandmother. But this was the first I had heard of a Colonel Gilbert. An Indian genealogist suggested that I look for a British officer with the Honourable East India Company (HEIC) in India. This launched an online search into British colonels that served near Marie Gilbert's hometown of Sunkeri (Karwar, Karnataka) and, to my surprise, I located him in two sources - neither one a flattering account.

The first one was a 24-page 1841 digital pamphlet by Thomas Say, a Lieutenant in the Bombay Native Infantry, where he makes his case about a Lieutenant Colonel Gilbert's 'numerous acts of oppression and injustice' against him. The take-away for my story, however, is that it established the presence of a Colonel Gilbert up to 1818 in a 'Staff' position as the 'Conservator of the Forests of Canara'. It also mentioned that he left the area in 1818 to take command of the 1st Battalion 5th Regiment Bombay Native Infantry.

The second source was an 1861 book[11] by Hugh Francis Clarke Cleghorn (Conservator of Forests of the Madras). He mentions the teak plantations in Honore, Ankola, and Sadashivgad (North Canara or Karnataka) 'superintended' by Colonel Gilbert in 1804 and criticizes the trees as 'poor specimen(s) of teak' and points out the unsuitability of laterite soil and the 'injudicious selection of site(s) too near the sea'. A monthly magazine, *The Indian Forester* (Volume XVII 1891:99), also confirmed that *Colonel Gilbert* had been a Conservator in Canara for 16 years.

None of the sources mentioned a first name. However, Internet searches for a Gilbert in the 5th Regiment Native Infantry confirmed that there was indeed a Lieutenant Colonel William Gilbert with them in 1819. With that information, I pieced together his military career and his family history.

The cadet papers at the British Library revealed vital identifying information like the names of William Gilbert's parents (Joseph and Mary Gilbert), his birth date (5th February 1781), and his birthplace in the UK (Warminster, Wiltshire). His early life does not appear to have been easy. He was the only son of his parents, Joseph Gilbert (1755 –1783) and Mary Poole (1759 –1822) but he did have older stepsiblings, Mary, Joseph, and Elizabeth Ann Gilbert. His father, Joseph, died when William was only two years old. Joseph Gilbert left very little for his family; according to family lore, he is said to have lost the family fortune and home (Abbaston Manor in Maddington, Wiltshire) through gambling. A memorial plaque in the beautiful 12th century Norman church of St. Mary's in

[11] Hugh Francis Clarke Cleghorn 1861. The Forests and Gardens of South India, Volume 9. Pgs. 10, 29.

Maddington is dedicated to the Gilbert family and mentions Joseph Gilbert's death, and the names of his parents, siblings, and their spouses.

Gilbert Memorial at St. Mary's Church, Maddington, Wiltshire

At the age of 13, William was nominated by the Board of Control to be an officer in the Honourable East India Company (HEIC) and was only 15 years old when he left England for India on 17th May 1796 on the Indiaman, the *Woodford*. Little did he know then that he would never see his mother and stepsisters again and would only return to England on furlough 28 years later in 1824.

On her voyage out, the *Woodford* sailed past Madagascar in August 1796 and arrived at Old Woman's Island (Little Colaba, Bombay, India) in September 1796 in 'squally and unsettled weather' with 320 soldiers, among whom was Cadet Gilbert. He was first assigned to the Bombay European Regiment (1798) and then the Bombay Pioneers (1799/1800) with whom he was in the Battle of Seedaseer (Siddapura, Karnataka) against the notorious Tipu Sultan. Later that year, he commanded a party with the scaling ladders at the siege of Jemalabad Fort. After the end of the Fourth Mysore War, the Bombay Pioneers returned to the Malabar region to resume the roadmaking operations interrupted by war; Lieutenant Gilbert is reported as serving in Bednore and the Wynaud Districts in Malabar in 1800-01. By 1807 Captain Lieutenant Gilbert was serving as an Assistant to the Surveyor of Forests, Captain John Johnson in Canara. In this role, his primary job was to survey teak forests and source the wood for the British ship building industry in Bombay. He was also tasked with establishing the infamous experimental plantations for propagating teak trees, a fast-dwindling resource, along the Kali River (see above).

It was during his time in Canara that William Gilbert fathered seven children between 1807-1818. I have not found any records to suggest that he married the mother of his children, but did find baptism records for them that name him as the father.[12][13] Unfortunately, the mother is not mentioned, suggesting that she may have been deceased by the time of these baptisms in 1823 at Sunkeri Carmelite Mission (Karwar, Karnataka). However, the baptisms do suggest that the mother may have been from the Christian village of Sunkeri, and they place William Gilbert in Chitacal, now a part of the small town of Sadashivgad, Karnataka. Sunkeri and Sadashivgad are located on

[12] Ann Gilbert 1807, Teresa Gilbert 1809, Aloysius Gilbert 1812, Marie Gilbert 1814, Francisco Gilbert 1815, Thomas Gilbert 1817, Paulina Gilbert 1818. Baptismal Register, 1721-1836, Immaculate Conception Church, Sunkeri, Karnataka.

[13] Ann Gilbert 1807, Teresa Gilbert 1809, Aloysius Gilbert 1812, Marie Gilbert 1814, Francisco Gilbert 1815, Thomas Gilbert 1817, Paulina Gilbert 1818. Baptismal Register, 1721-1836, Immaculate Conception Church, Sunkeri, Karnataka.

opposite shores of the scenic Kali River as it enters the Arabian Sea. There are no traces of the British presence left in Chitacal, but visiting the sleepy little town with its spectacular sunrises over the Kali River and sun setting in the Arabian Sea I could imagine their idyllic life there on the banks of the river. Colonel Gilbert left the area in 1818; unwillingly, it seems, as he submitted a memorial to the Court of Directors about his disappointment at not succeeding to the Office of the Conservator of the Forests in Canara. There is no record to indicate that he ever went back to visit his children. However, there is a mention of a 'Mr. Gilbert' as a Sub-Conservator in Canara in 1857 and that is most likely one of his 'Eurasian' sons, who in all probability owed his position to the patronage of his British father.

Looking across the Kali River from Chitacal (North) towards Sunkeri (South). My great, great-grandmother went across the river from Chitacal to attend church at Sunkeri.

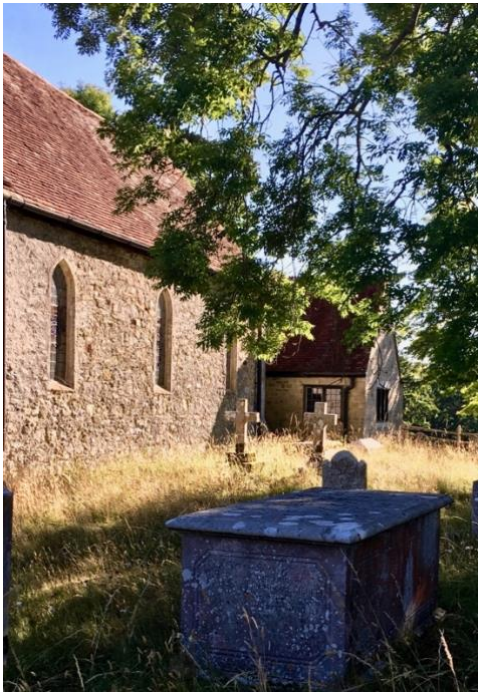
In 1818 Major Gilbert was appointed to take command of the 1st Battalion 5th Regiment Bombay Native Infantry, and records place him landing with soldiers in Porbandar, Gujarat and later in Kathiawar and Kutch, Gujarat. In 1820, Colonel Gilbert was noticed by Colonel Stanhope for the courage and gallantry with which he led the storming parties at Dwarka in Okamundel. In Kattiawar in 1822, he contracted such a severe case of cholera that most people refused to go near him. 1823 found him stationed in the cantonment of Brocha (near Surat, Gujarat) with the 1st/5th Regiment and having to seek shelter on the roof of the barracks during the heavy monsoons and flooding.

In May 1824, William Gilbert sailed on the *Columbia* from Bombay to Liverpool on furlough. A year later, in June 1825, he married Matilda Goddard Harriet Gilbert (1803-1873), the daughter of his brother Joseph Gilbert. Matilda was 20 years younger than him and they did not have any children. According to the records, ill-health kept him from returning to India even though he was permitted to do so in 1825. In 1826, he was in the Bath Hospital for 'pain and weakness of his limbs from rheumatism.' He is reported to be living in his hometown of Warminster, Wiltshire at the time. However, 1826 finds him in Lymington, Hampshire at a house called Tweed Hill. In 1830 he is

declared cured of rheumatism, and by August of the year he, his wife, and two of her sisters, Caroline Anne and Augusta Mary Gilbert, departed London on the *Upton Castle* for Bombay.

On his arrival in Bombay in January 1831, William Gilbert was appointed to the General Staff with temporary rank of Brigadier General and put in command of the Garrison at Bombay. 1831 was a momentous year for the Gilberts. Within a couple of months of their arrival in India, Matilda's two sisters - Caroline Anne and Augusta Mary - were married to HEIC officers. And Matilda also had to attend to the estate of her brother, William Charles Goepel Gilbert, a purser in the Royal Navy, who had sadly died in 1830 in Bombay prior to the arrival of his sisters.

In 1832, Brigadier General Gilbert assumed command of the Southern Division of the army with its headquarters in Belgaum, Karnataka. Between 1832-1836, there are several references to administrative orders issued by him. His personal life was marked by the arrival in 1833 of two more of Matilda's sisters, Alicia Anna and Louisa Jane Gilbert, and their marriages in the following years to HEIC officers and in 1835 the death of a brother-in-law, Captain Arthur Mackworth. On his approaching departure for Europe, the Commander-in-Chief offered 'his best thanks for the manner in which he has conducted his duties, upheld the discipline of the troops under his order in the Southern Division.' William and Matilda sailed back to England in November 1836 on the *Walmer Castle*. He continued to be listed as a serving officer and eventually made the rank of a General in 1854.



Gilbert vault
St. John the Baptist Church, Boldre, Hampshire

On their return from India in 1837, the Gilberts settled down on the edge of the New Forest in Boldre, Hampshire; eventually taking up residence in Tweedside Villa, a large stuccoed house with slate roofs and spacious grounds. The current owners have no record of him ever owning the house. His brother, Joseph Gilbert, and his extended family also resided in the area. From all accounts, William Gilbert was a land and tithe owner who played an active role in the local community and frequented the Red Lion Inn, which is still in business. In 1841, he is listed as the Surveyor of the Tithing of Battramsley within the Parish of Boldre. There is some indication that he may still have been plagued by rheumatism, as he was regularly quoted in newspaper advertisements for an effervescent liquid remedy and blood purifier, *Old Dr. Jacob Townsend's SarsaParilla*.

General William Gilbert died at his residence, Tweedside Villa, on 5th November 1866. At 85, he was 'the oldest officer in the late Indian

army.'[14] In the St. John the Baptist Churchyard on a scenic hillock looking towards the sea, he shares a vault with several other Gilberts, including his wife and her parents (his brother Joseph and his wife). In his will, he left everything to his wife; there is no mention of his other family in India. Within the Gilbert family his memory seems to have faded fast; he was misremembered as a bachelor and his uniforms were used 'for dressing up at parties.' In Boldre, he was best remembered as the "General that was great at singing '*The Girl I left behind me*.'"Sadly, we may never know the name and story of that girl, my 4th great-grandmother.

BOOKS ABOUT OLD MADRAS: Examples of online sources
Ed Storey

As we work to learn about our ancestors, we soon wish we knew more than just birth, marriage and death information. One source to consider is the online collection of historic books. Fortunately, as copyrights expire, we can access such books easily. Here, we will look at some examples of what there is to be found.

Much of what was written was about wars, skirmishes and insurrections. Since our interest is more family matters, I will try to leave out disputes and try to focus on information about where people lived and what they did. I am going to use Madras as an example; but such books are available for the other presidencies as well, indeed also for English colonies beyond India. Starting close to 1800, newspapers became available. I have not included these because they are widely accessible, for example at the Tamil Digital Library.

There are many sources of books on the internet. Those referred to in this article are as follows: The FIBIS library (part of Google Books) – the link is on the FIBIS website on the Research menu. HathiTrust.org (https://www.hathitrust.org/) and The Internet Archive (https://archive.org/). Everything listed in this article is available free in full view.

Madras (John Murray 1859)[15]
In 1851, John Murray published a book simply called Madras. It might be a good place to start because the pages in the beginning include a glossary of Indian words and their English translation. I cannot promise that the translations are perfect or apply to all locations, but they can be most helpful. As we read older documents, we find they can be peppered with words we might not otherwise understand.

Fort St George, Madras (Mrs Fanny Emily Penny, Swan Sonnenschein & Co. London 1900)[16]
With her husband, Mrs Penny spent considerable time in the Madras area. The book has two sections of interest to genealogists. First, there is a list of cemetery inscriptions. There are other books that cover cemeteries, but it is often useful to look at all of them. The other section of interest provides a list of chaplains at the fort earlier than about 1800. Even if we do not have a

[14] 26th November 1866. *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*.
[15] https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/Madras/qvkNAAAAYAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=John+Murray+handbook+madras
[16] https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.281412/page/n1/mode/2up

chaplain in our family, the list can help with the names on baptism or marriage documents. I like to follow up on every name on a document, as they might have a family connection.

Madras in the Olden Time (J. Talboys Wheeler, 1861)[17]
This covers about the 60 years prior to 1700, so it goes back further than many other records. There is a list of husbands and, importantly, wives. From this we can gain a better understanding of where the wives originated. Many men of English ancestry married women of other nationalities. This can help support or refute what might have been only rumours. There is also a list of tenants in 1688, likely farther back than many other sources. There is a statement that soldiers tended to marry Portuguese women. Since they were primarily Roman Catholic, we have an important clue as to where to look for records of marriages and baptisms.

Madras in the Olden Time also explains about *White Town* and *Black Town*. White Town and Fort St George were once synonymous. The European houses were within the fort. In European communication it was called Fort St George, but in India it was called White Town and was about 100 by 400 yards. Over time it became much too crowded, and the Company servants were obliged to take houses in Black Town. White Town did not contain more than about 50 houses. Black Town, to the north, was much larger and housed the natives plus increasing numbers of Europeans. Additionally, weavers and painters in the employment of the Factory erected a village for themselves, as did the fishermen at the mouth of the river. Native villages such as Egmore and Persewaukum were a little further off. Not every description has an accompanying date listed but, taken together, we gain a fair understanding of the communities. Several of the books include maps which can, however, be not entirely clear.

There are two books about the medical community of potential interest. The **History of the Indian Medical Service by D.G. Crawford (W. Thacker & Co, London 1914)[18]** and the **Madras Quarterly Medical Journal (Ed. Samuel Rogers: Vol 1 J.B. Pharaoh, Madras 1839)[19]**. Both will include the names of military and civilian medical personnel. Patients' names are not listed, but there can be contemporary accounts of various maladies. If you have a brief notation of the cause of death, these publications might help explain it in more detail. **The Madras Almanac for the Year of Our Lord 1832[20]** lists the names and positions for many in the medical community. In addition there is a list of residents along with their professions.

Vestiges of Old Madras (Harry Davidson Love, John Murray 1913)[21]
Harry D. Love wrote covering the time before 1800. He has a list of residents from 1681. To a great extent, he covers the ongoing disputes with the Dutch, the Muslims, and the French, as well as local rulers. Much of India was a difficult place to live, with many diseases. One might wonder how time was found to squabble when staying alive was far from certain. In addition, there are rates of pay for company servants, as well as a listing of those servants in 1670. The list is not long, but there may be no other such recording of HEIC employees. There is also a reference to older "lists of residents". I have never seen such listings and they might no longer exist, but Mr. Love makes it

[17] https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.$b53960&seq=9
[18] https://archive.org/details/in.ernet.dli.2015.500115/page/n9/mode/2up
[19] https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/The_Madras_quarterly_medical_journal/vwQHAAAAcAAJ?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=Madras+Quarterly+Medical+Journal
[20] https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=umn.31951d00991447z&seq=7
[21] https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc1.b4506718&seq=9

sound like there once were such lists. He states San Thome '*was an ancient Portuguese town. Muslims, French and the Dutch all contested St Thome*' at one time or another.

Report of the Railway Committee (Madras, American Mission Press, 1850)[22]
The English brought railroads to India. The 1850 Report of the Railway Committee gives a detailed account of what is required to provide a railway and to operate it, both in terms of funds and manpower. It was an especially difficult undertaking because there were no local sources of materials required and all had to be brought from England. Further, all design and operating personnel were also from the UK.

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AGNES TERESA MEIGHAN: My paternal grandmother

Ron Horton

Both my grandmothers were born and raised in India. This is the story of one of them, my paternal grandmother, Agnes Teresa Meighan, the youngest daughter of John and Jane Meighan.

John Meighan married Jane Haslam on 3rd September 1861, at St Patrick's Roman Catholic Chapel in Fort William. Fort William was a military cantonment in Calcutta, at that time in the Bengal Presidency. At the time of his marriage, John Meighan was about 26 years old, most likely born in Ireland, and their Marriage Certificate describes him as a Sergeant. Other documents show that he was a Sub-Conductor or Sergeant in the Army Commissariat Department. It is not clear whether, at the time of his marriage, he was a serving soldier still or was serving in the Army Commissariat. There is a 3322 Private John Meighan who served with the 32nd Foot Regiment (Cornwall Regiment), arriving in Calcutta in September 1846. In late 1859, the 32nd Foot returned to England. There is no confirmation yet, that the two John Meighans are the same person.

Jane Haslam's birthday and place of birth are also obscure. According to her marriage certificate she was 'of age', which suggests she was at least 18 years old. Research suggests she was born in India, but finding proof of that has been difficult. The Marriage Certificate shows her father's name was William. Other documents show that a William Haslam was a Conductor in the Army Commissariat at the time of Jane's likely birth. It has yet to be confirmed if this William Haslam is Jane's father.

[22] https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015021010171&seq=1

By 1864, John Meighan had been posted to Lucknow. If my great grandfather was the same person as the Private in the 32nd Foot, then this was a return to the scene of his involvement in the Defence of Lucknow during the Indian Mutiny. Travel, in those days, would have been by foot, on horseback or bullock-drawn carts over land or, where possible, by river. By chance, the railway line from Calcutta to Delhi opened in 1864, so they may have travelled part of the way to Lucknow by train.

The couple's one and only son, Joseph William, who might have been called John, was born in Lucknow on 19th July 1864. Their second child, Mary Gertrude, was also born in Lucknow on 17th July 1865. Regrettably, she died a year later on 28th June 1866.

Shortly after their daughter's death, the family moved to Roorkie, some 500 kilometres north west of Lucknow. Jane would have been pregnant for this move, as Alicia Agnes, known as Alice was born there on 21st October 1866. The family was not to stay in Roorkie for long, however, and in the following year they moved to Agra. Another journey of about 300 kilometres. Soon after arriving in Agra, on 24th February 1867, their son died. However, on 7th December 1867 Catherine Eleanor, known as Kate, was born. The family was still in Agra when Kate's birth was followed by that of Josephine on 23rd March 1869. But soon another move came, and the family returned to Lucknow, this time with a promotion to Conductor for John.

Jane gave birth to three more girls while the family was in Lucknow. Madeline Marie was born in 1872, Margaret Mary was born on 27th June 1873 and my Grandmother, Agnes Teresa, was born in 1874. Unfortunately, Josephine died in Lucknow on 2nd September 1873 followed by the death of her sister, Margaret Mary, on 18th January 1874.

Death seems to have been stalking the Meighan family. After yet another move, this time to Faizabad, only some 80 kilometres from Lucknow, the children's mother died on 11 March 1878, and then that sad occasion was followed by the death of their father on 7 November the same year. Both parents are buried in Faizabad and both deaths were recorded in The Times of India newspaper.

Following the death of John Meighan, the Officer Commanding the Royal Artillery in Faizabad convened a Board of Inquiry, comprising three commissioned British Army Officers for the purpose of adjusting John's affairs. The household effects were impounded and secured by the Committee and an inventory was taken. A guard was placed in his house until an auction took place in December. From the proceeds of the auction, servants and household expenses were paid off. Finally, the Committee of Adjustment forwarded all accounts and documents to the Officer Commanding. The inventory comprises several pages and is a fascinating insight into the furniture and belongings of a family in the 1870's. It lists books, clothing, furniture items, a cricket set, uniforms and household goods.

The deaths of John and Jane left the surviving daughters as orphans. According to the findings of the Committee of Adjustment, they had no close family support in Faizabad. The three older girls, Mary Gertrude, Alice and Kate, had been placed in a Convent at Bankipur, while the two younger girls, Madeline and Agnes, were sent to a Convent in Lucknow. More research is needed on the death of Mary Gertrude, as earlier documents indicate she had died in 1866.

Agnes was only four years old when all this happened. It must have been quite traumatic for her to experience the death of both her parents in the same year and then to be parted from her older sisters. There is today a Loreto Convent in Lucknow, which was established in 1872, and also a St Joseph's Convent in Bankipur. It is quite possible that the girls were sent to these two convents. What happened to the girls as they grew up in the next few years is speculation. Did they remain in the convents or were they taken in by other members of their parents' families. I like to think that some family member would have taken in the girls, once they were aware of their plight. It is possible that their mother's family may have lived in Calcutta, as documents show that the sisters were all living in Calcutta just six years after the death of their parents.

We pick up the trail again on 13th November 1884, when Alice, the eldest sister, marries Lawrence Candler, a clerk, at the Roman Catholic Cathedral in Calcutta. The other sisters were in Calcutta at the time, because Kate is a witness signatory to her sister's marriage. Alice and Lawrence had five children, two of whom did not live past infancy. The last child was born in December 1893. Unfortunately, Alice seems not to have recovered from this birth, and in the following January she died of a fever.

Madeline Marie was the next sister to marry. Now, here the story takes a curious twist, as the British Army again becomes involved in the life of the Meighan girls. K Battery of the 2nd Brigade of the Royal Field Artillery (RFA), was located in Woolwich, London in 1887, and the following year the Battery was posted to the garrison of Barrackpore, in India. Barrackpore in 1887 was a few kilometres upriver from Calcutta. I now have to introduce three soldiers who moved with K Battery to India. One was a sergeant named Edward William Stacey, aged 22 years when he went to India. The other two were Gunners when they went to India and they were Gunner Arthur Frostick and Gunner Frederick Thomas Horton, my grandfather.

These two gunners enlisted at about the same time and, from what I can gather from their respective Service Records, they seem to have done much of their initial training together before being posted to K Battery. I think that during this training period they became good mates. Anyway, we will see.

Two years after his arrival in India, on 10th September 1891, Sergeant Edward William Stacey married Madeline Marie at the Roman Catholic Chapel in Barrackpore. Witnesses to the marriage were her sister Alice and Alice's husband, Lawrence Candler. The girls were still together. This marriage was an approved Army marriage. In the 1890's a Battery, which equates to a Company in the Infantry, was permitted to have a number of approved married soldiers. Approval meant that the family could get billets and allowances.

K Battery, now redesignated 31st Battery, moved to Cawnpore, which is 60 kilometres south of Lucknow in 1893. While at Cawnpore, Madeline gave birth to two boys, Arthur George and Leo Meighan. Unfortunately, Arthur George died from bronchitis 18 months after his birth. Then, in March 1900, Edward Stacey returned to the UK and was discharged from the Army in May of that year, medically unfit. Regrettably, by the end of the year, Edward had died while living in Portsmouth.

Meanwhile, our two Gunners have been promoted to the rank of Sergeant. As sergeants, they would have fraternised in the Sergeant's Mess with Edward Stacey, their Battery Sergeant Major

and would have met his wife, Madeline. They also probably met Madeline's younger sister, Agnes, whom I think might have been living with her sister, because on 27th August 1896 Agnes married Arthur Frostick. Again, an approved Army marriage. In the following year the Battery moves to Meean Maar which is in Lahore, now in Pakistan, and on 11th January 1897, their son Charles was born there. Soon after the birth of his son, however, death revisited Agnes and her husband died of tuberculosis, leaving a widow with a baby to fend for herself. I said earlier that the two gunners were good mates. I like to think that comradeship came through at this time, and that Frederick Thomas would have said to his dying companion that he would look after his widow and their baby son, Charles - because exactly a year later, on 15th April 1898, Frederick Thomas and Agnes married. This marriage was also approved by the Army. Madeline, probably, was not at this marriage as her husband had been promoted and had been posted out of 31st Battery two years earlier.

Frederick Thomas and Agnes, produced six more children. Their eldest, Frederick Walter, known to the family as Bob, was born in India on 18th January 1899. A year later my grandfather's time in India came to an end. In February 1900, accompanied by a wife who had never been out of India and their two infant boys, the family sailed to Waterford, in Ireland. After the moves and privations that Agnes had already lived through, I think that she would have been undeterred by this move, although the sea voyage and Irish weather might have been a bit hard to take and, of course, she may not have had any servants there.

On 14th April 1901, Frederick Thomas was promoted to Battery Quarter Master Sergeant (BQMS) and the family moved again, this time to Aldershot in Hampshire. After a couple more Army moves, the family settled in Woolwich where, in 1912 my grandfather retired from the Army. The street where they lived in Plumstead still exists, but their house has gone. During Frederick's service in the UK, Agnes gave birth to Dorothy Agnes at Ewshot (a village near Aldershot), Hampshire, on 12th January 1902, Matilda Alice (Kathleen) at Bulford (a town near Salisbury), Wiltshire, on 17th January 1904, Leonard John (Rex), on 17th September 1906, Eileen Mary, on 4th August 1908, both at Aldershot and Edwin at 139 Sandy Hill Road, Plumstead, on 3rd August 1910. Charles Frostick grew up as a family member.

My father, Rex, never spoke much about this time in his life as a child nor of his mother, although I am told by relatives, he adored his mother. Agnes was most likely like many other mothers at that time, busy keeping house and looking after seven children. Being associated with the Army for so many years, she was probably not surprised when her eldest son, Charles, enlisted as a Boy Trumpeter in the Royal Field Artillery in 1911, nor when her second son, Frederick Walter, also enlisted as a Boy Trumpeter in 1913. Both boys enlisted at Woolwich. With their father a senior NCO and serving at Woolwich, their enlistments were probably a meal time topic of conversation. When WWI broke out, Agnes' husband re-enlisted and was granted his old rank of BQMS. He served in the First Battle of Ypres in Belgium in 1915. Her two sons, Charles and Frederick, went to France as Boy Trumpeters in 1914, both serving in 46th Battery, RFA, taking their part in the retreat from Mons and the First Battle of the Marne. Agnes was left to look after her other children and to endure the pain of separation, knowing her husband and her two oldest children were serving in constant danger.

Frederick was posted back to the UK after serving in Belgium and then served the remainder of the war in the UK. His son, Frederick, was recalled to England in 1915, being underage for overseas service. He served later in France and survived the war. Charles, who turned 18 years in January

1915, stayed with his battery in France and was promoted to the rank of Gunner. Sadly, especially for Agnes, he was killed in action in 1916 at the Battle of the Somme. Death, however, had not given up stalking Agnes and two years later, she fell sick to the pneumonia epidemic that was sweeping through Europe. Sadly, Agnes died on 8th November 1918, three days before the Armistice. She was only 45 years old.

Agnes is buried, together with her husband, Frederick, in an unmarked grave at Plumstead Cemetery, in Woolwich, London. It is not known if she made contact with her two surviving sisters during the eighteen years she lived in the UK.

AN INDIAN GENTLEMAN WHO WON THE HEARTS OF BRITISH OFFICIALS AND THE LOCAL PUBLIC (and owned an antique Victorian Stick-Gun)
Dr. N.C. Shah

Introduction

In India the British established hill stations such as Nainital, Dalhousie, Chakrata, Mussoorie, Lands Down and Ranikhet. Ranikhet township, as a cantonment or permanent military station, came into existence in 1866, when General Sir William Rose Mansfield, then Commander in Chief of the Indian Army, sent Major Lang of the 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers to locate a place in the Kumaon hills in Uttarakhand where the British troops could be stationed.[23] The early British settlers in Kumaon had difficulties in communicating with the natives of the hills. Although they learnt Hindustani, they still needed mediators so that they could finish their projects of erecting buildings for the army and for civilians; they needed helpers like sweepers, attendants, daily workers, labourers, etc. and this need was hampering their work. Consequently, local residents fluent in English were in great demand.

The administrative set-up in Ranikhet

Ranikhet was established in the year 1876, Ranikhet cantonment having been established in 1869, and the administration of the town was entrusted to a Cantonment Magistrate, an army officer with all administrative and legal powers. In 1869, Col. I. H. Chamberlain was appointed as the first Cantonment Magistrate. He had with him the Divisional Forest Officer to take care of the forest in the cantonment, and a Police Officer to maintain law and order. In 1920 the post of Assistant Commissioner (Pali) was created, who used to be a member of the Indian Civil Service responsible to the Deputy Commissioner at Almora, and all legal and criminal cases were dealt with by him rather than by the Cantonment Magistrate. The first SDM[24] Pali-Ranikhet was R. L. Nestor, I.C.S. under the district magistrate at Almora.

At Almora

It is worth mentioning here Rai Bahadur Chiranjee Lall Sah Thulgharia, son of Jai Sah Thulgharia, a close friend of Sir Henry Ramsay (a well-known commissioner of Kumaon[25]). Ramsay suggested to

[23] Dr Shah, FIBIS Journal 48, Autumn 2022 *Ranikhet: A Township of Britons when they ruled India*
[24] Sub-Divisional Magistrate. Pali-Ranikhet is now named Ranikhet Tehsil
[25] Dr Shah, FIBIS Journal 37, Spring 2017: *General The Hon. Sir Henry Ramsay: The Uncrowned King of Kumaon*

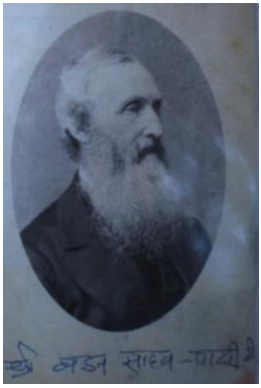
Jai Sah in 1860 that his son should be educated and tutored by Reverend Henry Budden.[26] Jai Sah agreed, and his son was educated in the English medium. He was not only taught English, but also British manners and etiquette. He was thus fluent in both Pahari and English, and taught the latter to Lachi Ram Sah his brother-in-law, and his son Harkision Lal Shah.

Harkision Lal Shah

His ancestors belonged to the Maharana Pratap family in Udaipur, and Padarath Shah from Udaipur came to Kumaon about 300 years ago. The Chanda kings of Kumaon employed them to collect the 'Jagat' tax, and so they were called 'Jagatis.' Their main home in Kumaon was Bageshwar, and from there the family spread out all over Kumaon. In Kumaon after the mutiny of 1857, everything was settling up and a lot of establishment and construction works were under way in Almora , Nainital and Ranikhet etc. Harkision Lal Shah's father, Mr. Laximi Lal Shah, came to Ranikhet in about 1880 and started contract work on the buildings being constructed there.

Rev. John Henry Budden

He was a missionary from London and came to Almora from Mirzapur for health reasons. The climate suited him at Almora, and he was offered a missionary position in the Kumaon Hills by Captain Ramsay. It was suggested that his salary, and a stipend for local expenses, would be supplied through a subscription paid Captain Ramsay and other sponsors if the London Missionary Society gave permission for a mission to be opened in the region. Permission was granted from London, and two buildings adjoining the Bazar, formerly a mess-room and a billiard room for the regimental officers, were dedicated to the missionary works. He first established the famous church of Almora. Then, with Ramsay, he established the leper asylum near Almora, a place known as 'Korikhan'. Next came the Missionary school at Almora in 1886, Ramsay High School, which later came to be known as Ramsay College and was affiliated with Calcutta University. Later, at Nainital he established a hospital which was known as Ramsay Hospital.



Rev. Budden from the album of of Mr C.L.Sah Thugharia The Hindi reads 'Shri Budden Sahib Padri'

Laximi Lal Shah and his eldest son Harkision Lal Shah:

Educated at Ramsay High School, Almora, his proficiency in English helped both father and son in their careers. Laximi Lal Shah became an arbitrator in the cantonment under the Cantonment Magistrate, Capt. G.W. Anson. On the 25th May, 1885 he received the testimonial that 'Lachi Ram Sah is an intelligent, respectable resident of Sadar Bazar. He has often been used in arbitration cases'[27]

In 1898 he had to go to Chakrata on timber business and there, unfortunately, his whole stock of timber, in which he had invested about Rs. 2.5 lakhs, was destroyed in a fire: he could not bear the loss and died of heart-failure. The elder son, Harkision Lal Shah, only 16 years old and still at school at Almora, where he was living with his maternal uncle and also learning English from him, came back to Ranikhet. Harkision Lal Shah was in debt, as his father had taken a loan from a number of people to start his business. His mother had to sell

[26] Dr Shah, FIBIS Journal 38, Autumn 2017: *Sir Henry Ramsay's Kumaon Friends*

[27] Harkision Lal Shah 1925. A Few Extracts from Testimonials & Remarks on humble services of Rai Sahib Lala Harkision Lall Shah Hony.Special Magistrate, Estate Proprietor & Senior Partner of the firm of Rai Sahib Harkision Lall Bros. Ranikhet and of his Ancestors. K. P. Works, 1925, p. 17.

her jewellery, a house and a garden in order to pay off the loan. In 1899 he received training in the art of photography from Messrs Salisbury & Rhine, Photographers, at Ranikhet, and he then went to Lucknow for three months' advanced training from Messrs L.W. Clayton, Photographers, Lucknow. On his return, he opened his own studio at Ranikhet.

In 1900, he was employed by the Cantonment Board of Ranikhet as Kotwal[28] and as he was an intelligent, energetic and hardworking young man like his father, he was promoted within two years to the post of 'Chaudhari' (Supervisor) in 1902. He proved to be an asset with the Cantonment Board and to the British Government and served up to 1922 when, due to family matters, he had to resign. Although he was working with the Cantonment Magistrate, he also assisted all the senior military officials, medical officers and civilian officers stationed at Ranikhet. Apart from his duties in the cantonment, Harkision lal Shah also performed commendable social work for the citizens of Ranikhet. His work, both official and social, is evidenced in the testimonials which he received from Cantonment Magistrates and other British officials:

HLS in his own studio in Ranikhet

Lt. Col. C. Herbert, Cantonment Magistrate, 8th August 1901, *"The Cantt Magistrate desires to express his thanks to Lala Harkision Lal Shah, Hon. Captain, Fire Brigade, for the work done by him in the Brigade during the past and for the assistance he gave in keeping law and order during the Dusshera and Moharam festivals."*

HLS as Fire Brigade Captain in 1916

Capt. A. Amy, R.A.M.C. 11th Sept 1911, wrote, *"I have known Choudhari Harkision Lal Shah for the past three years and have formed a high opinion of his integrity, energy, and unfailing courtesy. He is well known and respected here. Exercises his influence with tact and in a good representative of a good family"*

James Meston for Lt. Governors camp, Lucknow. **remarked on 10th Feb.1912,** *"The reports for "Our Day"[29] are now all in. The result has been most gratifying to me and it is matter for great pride that the United Provinces stands first in India. It has been a great delight to me to find throughout the Provinces so many willing and eager helpers and for what you personally did to secure this splendid result, I offer you my heartiest thanks"*

F. N. Wrack, Cantt Inspector of Police, **stated on 1st Nov.1914,** *"Lalla Harkision Lal Sah , Cantonment Supervisor and land owner is an Indian gentlemen of first class and has always rendered me great help in police cases, and given me most reliable information as regards to damages by the wolves in the Bazaar. He is a person to be relied on."*

[28] *Kotwal* was a post in the public works department responsible for organising sweepers and cleaning.
[29] 'Our Day' was held in support of the war effort during the 1st World War – Ed.

↑ Contents

Lt Col. E. M. Lang Army Commander in 1916, *" I have pleasure in recording that you gave me much useful assistance during the times this Battalion was being raised in Ranikhet."*

Major General E. S. May Commanding 8th Lucknow Division in 1916, *" I cannot speak too highly of your value, and good service. You have been most useful to me always."*

Major L. Hood, Officer Commanding, Standing Camp, Ranikhet, 1918. *"You were real good friend to us who were strangers into a foreign land. Please accept my very sincere and heartiest thanks for all your very great kindness. If ever, I get chance you may rely on it, it will give me the greatest pleasure to repay it. With best wishes for you and your family".*

Major General W. E. Burnburry, on 21st Nov.1919, "*During my summer stay in Ranikhet have formed a high opinion of his intelligence and ability. He is courteous and well-spoken as becomes a man of his high family and good education and from what I have heard I understand his power of organisation to be above average and he did good War work from 1914-1918*."

Lt. .Col. C. Herbert, Cantt. Magistrate, 4th April, 1919, stated, *"During my tour on duty here, he has carried out the following quite apart from his duties as a Choudhari. He has taken charge of the poor people of the Cantt. who have suffered much owing to the war; at one time he had charge of 250 persons on relief for whom he raised Rs.1500/- by local subscriptions, and subsequently, when help was received from T.T.R. funds, he saved much money by judicious purchases of grains, etc. He worked as a local secretary of the war loan and raised nearly a lakh of rupees. He procured Rs. 500 worth of "Silajeet"[30] for the Indian troops in France. He has helped most valuably in all arrangements to raise war funds of all descriptions. When the price of salt and kerosine oil rose to an unreasonable level, there are some of the ways he has worked and helped, and I cannot speak too highly of his energy and probity. Harkision Lall was known to me during my three-year stay at Ranikhet as Cantt Magistrate. He is an intelligent, respectable young man."*

R. L. Nestor, S.D.M. Pali, Ranikhet, 16th Jan.1920, " *He has shown his public spirit in number of ways. In time of distress and shortage of supplies he has personally undertaken the sales of cloth, grain, salt, kerosine oil at the lowest possible rates, when prices of these things were getting prohibitive by the pernicious practice of profiteering. He has raised funds for all the relief measures introduced during the War and was prominent in peace celebrations & Our Day rejoicing.....I consider that he should be the first Indian in Ranikhet to be nominated for power of an Hon. Magistrate should bench be formed here."*

Mr K.K. Knox I.C.S.
First Assistant Commissioner
Ranikhet, in 1922

K. K. Knox I.C.S. Assistant. Commissioner, SDM, Ranikhet, 1922, "*I have always found him most obliging and ready to help in all matters. He was local Secretary of the Committee for collecting Funds for King Edward Memorials and has generally shown himself to be a public-spirited gentleman"*.

[30] Shilajit is a mineral medicine, extracted from the high mountains, which is used as panacea for cuts, bites, wounds, fever, strengthening the body, etc.

On the eve of Harkision Lal Shah's farewell party on 3rd Dec 1922 in the Ranikhet Skating Hall, Col. Burton gave an emotional speech in Hindi to the public of Ranikhet, in which he designated Harkision Lal Shah as '*a messiah of the poor of Ranikhet.'* The literal translation of his speech from Hindi runs: *"Today, you people have assembled to praise and thank him for the excellent services he has rendered to the government for 20 years. I would not say much about Harkision Lal because your big presence shows how much you like and love him. When I came here for the first time, Harkision Lal also submitted his resignation. Earlier, he also submitted his resignation, but it was not granted. Harkision Lal is resigning at his own wish. Harkision Lal has helped me in my work, and without his assistance I would have been much handicapped. The profit of Rs. 15000/- that was gained in the Cantonment Fund was due to his efforts only, and due to which the government and the public greatly benefited. Now, after two months, Lala Harkision Lal will leave his job. I will also leave my job after three months and go. He has been the Messiah of the poor, and he is always kind to the poor. We are sorry he is leaving the job. God may do good to him and his family."*

Lt. Col. W. Burton, Cantonment Magistrate, Ranikhet, 1922

Harkision Lal Shah retired from his post and Lt. Col. W. Burton was transferred to another location. When he returned to Ranikhet on official business and made a courtesy call on Harkision Lal Shah on the 5th March 1923, he gave him this testimonial: *"I must now write to thank you for all your valuable assistance to me during my tenure of office here (twelve months). You always gave me your best efforts, and I can only repeat the remarks I made at the farewell party given to you by the residents of the cantonment last December on the occasion of your leaving Cantonment employment after 20 years' good service. Your family deserves well of the Government. You yourself are a 'Darbari'[31] and have taken part in Ranikhet in all public works. You and your family own much house property in Ranikhet. I shall always be glad to hear of your welfare and prosperity as well as that of your family."* He further stated. "*During the War he has given great assistance to the local authorities with regard to raising money for the loan and War charities. He also gave great assistance to the Officer Commanding in raising the 4/39th Kumaon Rifles*."

After retirement in 1922, Harkision Lal Shah was awarded in 1924 the title of *Rai Sahib*[32] by the Government of India in recognition of his services to the people of Ranikhet and to the Government. On this occasion, he received many letters from his past officers, under whom he had served, congratulating him. Among those were Percy Wyndham, Commissioner at Kumaon and Nainital, his successor Mr. W. Cassels, Commissioner at Kumaon, and F.C.M. Cruickshank, ICS, Deputy. In 1925 he built a temple at Kalika Estate, which he owned. In this occasion a group photograph of his family, only the males were present. At the age of 48 yrs. he died in 1926.

Apart from his title of ***Rai Sahib,*** he was socially and officially so much associated that he had the following titles and designations: ***Hon. Special Magistrate***; ***Member of the District Board***; ***Hon.***

[31] A Darbari ('Courtier') was a person who had been invited to attend the Durbar.
[32] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rai_Sahib

Capt. Local Fire Brigade; ***Vice President of Aman Sabha*** (An organisation to make peace and unity in Hindus & Muslims, the District Magistrate Almora used to be its President*); Hon Secretary of* ***Laximi Bhandar*** (a social organization that helped people in many ways); ***Member of the Advisory Committee for the Territorial Forces; Trustee of Ranikhet Temples***; ***Member of the Court for Juvenile Offenders***; ***President of Vaish Sabha***.

The family in 1925 at the occasion of inauguration of the temple at Kalika, Rai Sahib Harkision Lal Shah front left, seated, with white turban, and his brother Bhawani Das Shah.

Victorian Guns

The Victorian era was a time of great development in firearm design. During the British period there was a good demand for guns in India for hunting, which was quite unregulated in India but is now completely banned. Hunting was regarded as an adventurous and entertaining sport, and a wide variety of guns and rifles were imported by the British. (India today has over 71 million firearms, the second-highest in the world. However, the number of licensed firearms in India is only a small fraction of the total number of firearms in circulation in the country).

Antique Stick Guns

A stick-gun is of 4.10 bore and is one of the smallest calibres of shotgun. The cartridges are of the same construction as for 12 bore guns and were available in the same range of shot, for example No.1, No.4 and Ball. Shotguns of 4.10 size are of light weight and easy to handle, making them perfect for hunting small game or shooting clays: they were also known at this time as 'Ladies' guns'. A stick-gun looks like a stick: it is a single barrel gun, but its shot can be fatal up to 150 yards.

Rai Sahib Harkision Lal Shah purchased this particular gun in 1922 from a British friend who was going back to England. After HLS' death, it passed to his eldest son, and it was passed down for two generations. The author is the grandson of Rai Sahib Harkision Lal Sah: he inherited the gun and eventually donated it to the Ballabh Pant Public Museum at Almora so that it could be seen by everyone. Dr Shah recalls that each time he went to renew its licence, it caused lively interest. At the family home in Kalika, his father used to shoot birds when out for a walk, and Dr Shah himself

has also shot hill pigeons on the wing with this gun. He recalls that his father stated that it can kill a barking-deer.[33]

The chamber open for loading, with 4.10 cartridges. The trigger is visible to the left

The gun in its 3 main parts

The stock and barrel assembled but with the tompion (end cap) separate

Rai Sahib Harkision Lal Shah (1878-1926) of Ranikhet with his Victorian stick-gun in 1923.

In 2022 this unique firearm was donated by the author Dr. Shah, along with a .32 calibre Colt revolver, to the Govind Ballabh Pant Public Museum, Almora. Dr Shah is 3rd from the left

Ed: Dr Shah asserts that this gun was perfectly safe to fire, and he speaks from experience. If the reader wishes to see a short video showing a similar 4.10 calibre stick gun of being fired in a manner reasonably appropriate to modern health and safety concerns, a search on YouTube for 'Firing a Victorian .410 Bore Cane Gun' will satisfy the curiosity.

[33] Muntjac, or rib-faced deer native to Asia – Ed.

JAMES AND SARAH ROSALIE ROBINSON, 'INSANES', AND LETTERS FROM BENGAL 1807-1819

Stephen Reilly

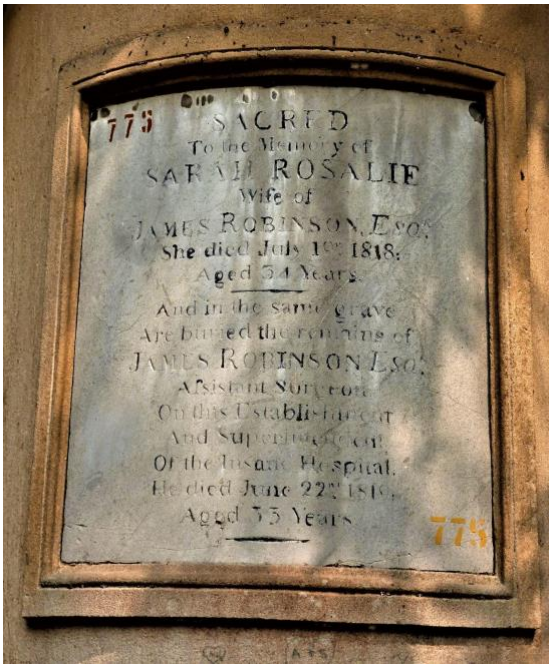


Photo taken by the author, South Park Street Cemetery, February,2016

Whilst wandering around the atmospheric, overgrown South Park Street Cemetery in Kolkata, I came across a tomb which immediately sparked my interest: that of Sarah Rosalie Robinson and her husband James Robinson, who died a month short of a year apart: she on 19th July 1818 and he on 22nd June 1819. They were both in their thirties, but tragic though this was, it was not uncommon for the British to die young in India. No, what particularly caught my attention was that James Robinson is described as

'*Assistant Surgeon on the Establishment and Superintendent of the Insane Hospital*'.

As a retired psychiatrist, I was instantly drawn to find out what I could about the '*Insane Hospital*' and about James and Sarah Rosalie.

What emerged was a tantalising glimpse of the lives of a loving couple and a promising career cut short by untimely death.

James Robinson was born on 23rd July 1785. His father was an evangelical minister, the Reverend Thomas Robinson (1749-1813), a Yorkshireman and the vicar of St Mary de Castro in Leicester for 35 years. Well known for his rousing sermons, he was a keen proponent of the Anglican Evangelical Missionary Society and a member of the Abolition Society. James was just five years old when his mother, Mary (née Boys, 1748-1791) died at the age of 43 having given birth to 11 children, of whom five predeceased her. He had three surviving sisters: Mary, Ann and Rebekah, and a brother, Thomas.

Mary (1775-1840) married Edward Rist (1783-1817) in 1808. He worked at the Treasury, East India House. They had two daughters; Emily and Mary. A year after her first husband's death she married Ezekiel Bird (1764-1840).

Ann (1777-1807) married James Cort (1771-1851) in 1798. His ironmongery business developed into the first successful iron foundry in Leicester, the Britannia Foundry, in 1799. Ann had 10 children of whom five outlived her.

Rebekah, also spelt Rebecca, (1783-1809) married Thomas Hall Junior (b.1778) in 1802. He was a member of the wealthy ship owning family of Hull. Rebekah died after giving birth, and the child, Thomas Robinson Hall, died shortly afterwards. They were buried just nine days apart. Their daughter Rebecca (1807- 1891) went on to marry twice. Her second marriage in 1832 was to Thomas Sissons (1809-1892) of the paint company, thus forging a link between two local, wealthy families.

James' brother Thomas (1790-1873) , following in their father's footsteps, was ordained a priest in 1816 and married Esther Eleanor Dornford (d.1855) in the same year. They had two sons, Charles and Thomas, who also went into the church. Thomas was a missionary in India and was appointed Archdeacon of Madras in 1826. After resigning in 1835, he became Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic at the University of Cambridge, and Canon of Rochester Cathedral.

Information regarding James's childhood is greatly lacking, though we know from one of his father's letters that around the age of 12 years James was placed in the care of a friend in Yorkshire following his father's remarriage. Equally, information regarding James' medical training is very sparse, though in an obituary notice from the Leeds Mercury, 8th January 1820, he was described as a former pupil of William Hey (1736-1819), an eminent provincial surgeon and principal founder of Leeds General Infirmary (L.G.I). Subsequently James moved to London, where he was possibly a pupil or junior colleague of John Pearson, of Golden Square, surgeon to the Lock Hospital and specialist in Venereal Diseases, who was a close friend and biographer of William Hey. Pearson was also an executor of James's will.

Sarah Rosalie Chorley was from a Quaker family: according to *FindMyPast* she was born on 14th March, 1780 which would have made her 38 years old at the time of her death, and not 34 as stated on the couple's grave. She had 10 or 11 siblings. Interestingly, in her mother Betty's will (dated 1809) Sarah was bequeathed £200 *'if she ever returns from the east indies'* which of course, she never did. The unmarried daughters, of whom there were five, were also bequeathed £200 each, but only if, and when, they married a *'gentleman of the same religious society'*.

How James and Sarah Rosalie met remains unknown, but there is a case for suggesting that they may have met through Thomas Chorley, a Leeds surgeon with an attachment to the General Infirmary from 1794-1833. Although Sarah Rosalie's family hailed from Lancashire, she was described in the marriage banns as '*of Leeds'* and one can't help wondering if there was a family connection between Thomas Chorley and the Lancashire Chorleys, in which case Sarah Rosalie might have been living in the surgeon's household, for instance as governess or nurse to his young children. Unfortunately, residency requirements for a marriage licence were not very strict, and no address was given. Certainly, Thomas Chorley and James Robinson would have been aware of each other's existence, and if Sarah Rosalie was living there, then social events or prayer meetings at the surgeon's house would have provided an opportunity for the couple to meet.

James Robinson and Sarah Rosalie Chorley were married in St Peter's Church, Leeds on licence on Tuesday, 7th October 1806. By then James was living and practising in London, had passed the examinations for Membership of the Royal College of Surgeons (M.R.C.S) and been appointed an Assistant Surgeon of the East India Company. The likely reason for marriage by licence was their differing religious affiliations and family disapproval (James' father was an Evangelist, and we know from Sarah's mother's will that she clearly intended her daughters to marry within the Quaker

community). On 4th January 1807, James and his new wife set sail from Portsmouth on the East Indiaman *Devaynes,* arriving in Bengal on 26th September from whence they travelled to Secrole, Benares where they lived for the next eight years before moving to Calcutta.

Sarah Rosalie left a fascinating and candid account, far too rich to do justice to in this short article, in the form of a series of letters home (which to be fair, she never intended to be made public) of life on the civil station of Secrole in 1814-15.[34] She writes about the busy social life and constant round of parties and lavish dinners, at which she was a rather reluctant participant. Insisting that she gave rather moderate dinners in terms of the variety of foods on the table, she goes on to list the menu for a dinner party of twenty people which included: soup, fish, turkey, ham, sucking pig, saddle of mutton, fowls, rabbit, pickled beef, fillet of veal, mutton steaks …and vegetables in great variety!

She took an active interest in gardening and the local flora and fauna. There are sharply observed descriptions of insects, like the Red Velvet Mite, which appears after the rain '*like little tufts of scarlet velvet'* which, when touched, '*roll up like a pea',* and accounts of birds found in the garden like the *'Taylor Bird'* which sews mango leaves together with grass to form a nest, and another small, russet coloured bird which made a nest shaped like a wine bottle. Fascinated as she was by the beauty of much of the wildlife, she was not averse to having a man come to shoot the parakeets, jays and crows which helped themselves to the peaches and mangoes in her garden, into which she was constantly introducing new plants and trees, many sourced from the Botanical Gardens in Calcutta. She was a keen reader across a wide range of subjects, took an avid interest in current affairs and was passionate about poetry; indeed, she wrote poetry herself. As these were private letters, she didn't hold back in sharing her opinions on the people she met, and understandably her attitudes were shaped in great part by the mores of the times, her religious faith and the elevated view the British had of themselves in relation to other peoples, but her essential kindness and concern for others show through.

There are also brief references to her husband's busy medical practice and how sought after his medical expertise was. She talks about the fever-stricken soldiers who stayed with them for treatment or to convalesce, and the long, exhausting days her husband spent travelling around the station and sometimes much further afield in the fierce heat of the fever months to treat his patients. At one point she gives a vivid account of visiting the native insane asylum in Benares where her husband, in addition to his general medical practice, was superintendent. She describes her surprise at how clean and personable it is, but goes on to remark that the *'Ladies Abode'* was very noisy, with one woman howling with rage for more food until she saw Sarah Rosalie and '*gave me her Blessing and wished I might have fifty Children, in which another surly wretch joined*. *The women of Hindustan consider a large family the greatest Blessing …I cannot say I agree with them.'*

There is also an account of a long and arduous round trip, over 400 miles each way, taking many months on poor roads and through dangerous territory, from Secrole to Calcutta, which she insisted on making alongside her husband ('*a wife's place is at her husband's side*') to board their only child, seven year old Alexander (b.1808) on a ship to England where he was to be cared for by James's sister Mary, far away from all the hazards facing a child growing up in India. Her grief on

[34] *Diary Relating to life at Secrole Station, Bengal 1814.* Mss Eur 492: 1814-1815. Robinson, Sarah Rosalie, née Chorley. India Office Records, Asian and African Studies, British Library.

being separated from her son and anxiety regarding his welfare are ever present. I don't know if she ever saw him again. (He became a doctor, married and emigrated to Canada as soon as he obtained his inheritance at the age of 21 years). While in Calcutta she suffered from a ' *violent attack of pleurisy'* from which, '*thro' divine Mercy*' she slowly recovered, '*though much altered in appearance by the frequent Bleedings and Blisterings which were thought needful to take the dreadful pain from my Chest and breathing.'*

From her references to their relationship, she and James were obviously a close, loving couple and this was confirmed in a letter (packaged with her diary in the British Library) written to her sister, Ann Whitwell, by the Rev Thomas Thomason. A good friend and the officiating vicar at Sarah Rosalie's funeral following her death from cholera morbus in 1818, he wrote '*a more affectionate and loving couple I never saw'.* James was too distressed to write the letter himself.

After eight years on the Secrole Station the couple moved to Calcutta, where James built up a thriving medical practice before being appointed Superintendent of the European Insane Hospital in October 1817. It was during his short tenure as Superintendent that he introduced a radical new policy which was to have a significant effect on how *'insanes',* to use the jargon of the time, were managed. James Robinson was the first to suggest the regular, yearly repatriation of patients back to England, arguing that this strategy would give his patients the best chance of recovery. Regular readers of the FIBIS journal will recall Mike Young's reference to this policy in his fascinating article '*Coming Home: Mental illness, Mental Hospitals and Repatriation' (No 42, Autumn 2019).*

There had been an asylum for the insane in Calcutta since at least the late 1700s, catering mainly for E.I.C military personnel and their families. With the exception of the occasional wealthy Indian or Anglo-Indian, only Europeans were admitted. Sepoys (Indian soldiers) in the employ of the E.I.C were treated in separate native asylums. The number of patients in the asylum was relatively small, usually between 30 and 50, and there were only 10 or so admissions per year but even so, despite discharging patients whenever possible, long-term patients accumulated year on year and the hospital became overcrowded and run down.

A plan to replace the asylum with a new, larger hospital had been approved some three years prior to James Robinson's appointment. Building materials had been purchased and a new policy for its management had already been written, but Robinson didn't agree that this was the best way forward and came up with his own plan. He suggested a scheme for the regular, yearly repatriation of '*insanes'* back to England after initial treatment in what he called *'a House of Reception*' which would be *'the dwelling house of the surgeon*' where up to six or so tractable patients would live with himself and his wife prior to their return home. Intractable patients would be housed in another facility, and those not wishing to return home could be rehoused locally. The emphasis was very much on a moral (i.e., psychological) approach to treatment, though this did not exclude using the drugs of the day when considered appropriate.

As regards repatriation, his key argument was based on the prevailing medical opinion of the time, which viewed the hot climate and excesses of 'hard living' associated with the British lifestyle in India as injurious to mental health and making it harder for those who broke down to recover. A logical response to this was to remove sufferers from that environment by returning them to the home country as soon as was safely possible. Alongside the medical argument, Robinson also highlighted the financial advantages of such a scheme. He calculated that the new plan would

reduce spending on the provision of services for '*insanes'* by approximately 50% for the year 1819 from an estimated £7142 to £3724. The E.I.C calculated even greater savings.[35]

The medical and financial arguments were obviously strong inducements for the E.I.C to adopt the plan, but there was also another possible reason, namely, to make these people disappear from public view. Their presence in full view of the Indian population was considered by many within the E.I.C and wider Establishment as a threat to the British self-declared position of moral superiority and God given right to rule over others. Charles Grant, evangelist and a prominent member of the 'Clapham Sect' who, as director and chairman of the E.I.C succeeded in persuading the organisation to allow missionaries access to the presidencies from 1813 onwards, promoted the view that '*licentious, criminal or otherwise insane'* Britons should be kept out of sight of Indian society, as their presence in public would make it more difficult to spread *'light and knowledge*' (presumably meaning Western, Christian civilisation) to the indigenous population. What better way to make these unfortunate individuals invisible than by deporting them? It should be stressed that James Robinson made no reference to Grant's views when arguing for repatriation, though as the son of a prominent evangelist himself, he would no doubt have been aware of them. His own views on this matter remain unknown.

The first cohort of patients, comprising 21 of the 38 residents in the Insane Hospital, sailed out on the *East Indian* in March 1819. James' wife had died eight months previously and his own death was to come in three months' time. In the last year of his life following Sarah Rosalie's death, James threw himself into a frenzy of civic activities alongside his busy medical duties, including membership of the committees of the Calcutta Bible Society and Calcutta School-Book Society and was a founding member, first Governor and Secretary of the proposed Calcutta Asylum for Lepers. He also wrote an important paper on leprosy (or elephantiasis as it was then called) which was read at the Medico-Chirurgical Society in London in January 1819.

Under the command of Captain Hogg, the *East Indian* delivered its assemblage of '*insanes'* to British shores in August 1819. The final destination was Pembroke House, a private lunatic asylum in Hackney run by a Dr Rees and said to be a humane establishment with many activities and diversions on hand. The cost to the E.I.C was £100 per annum for first class patients (officers and senior civil servants and relatives) and £40 for second class patients (soldiers and sailors of lower rank, minor civil servants and relatives). Sadly, before the *East Indian* reached British shores James was dead.

The policy of repatriation was extended to include the Madras and Bombay Presidencies and continued until the end of the 19th century, when it fell out of favour. The Royal India Asylum, opened in 1870, superseded Pembroke House, and although the E.I.C formally ceased to exist in 1874, the majority of former employees requiring asylum care continued to be sent there until it closed in 1892.

Other key sources:

Psychiatry and Colonialism: The Treatment of European Lunatics in British India 1800-1858. Ernst, Waltraud, R.M. Ph.D thesis 1986. https://eprints.soas.ac.uk/33864/1/11010654.pdf

[35] *Abandonment of the plan to build a new lunatic asylum in Calcutta in consequence of measures being taken…* IOR-F-4-588-14219. India Office Records, Asian and African Studies, British Library.

INDIA: A SPORTING LIFE

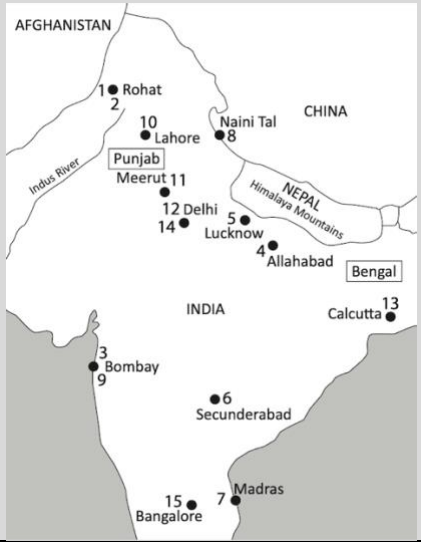
David Bull

THE WESSEX DIVISION IN INDIA

Although there would be limited action in the north-west corner of India, this map otherwise shows where the 1/5th and 2/5th Hampshire and 1/4th Wiltshire battalions were based and where they played the football or cricket matches mentioned in the text.

Key to the 15 numbered locations:

1-2	The North-West Frontier with Afghanistan and where the 1/5th Hampshire "smelt powder" in 1919
3	Point of arrival and departure
4-5	Successive bases of the 1/5th
6	Base of the 2/5th
7	2/5th Officers on detachment
8-10	Cricket venues
11-13	Football venues
14	Bases of 1/4th Wiltshire
15	Churchill's cantonment in 1897



The day of Wednesday 2nd September 1914, four weeks after the nation had entered the First World War, was one of stark contrast for Southampton's two leading sports clubs. While the county's cricketers beat Kent at Bournemouth and thereupon, a week ahead of schedule, drew stumps until 1919, the footballers of Southampton FC (the "Saints") kicked-off their Southern League season against Luton Town.

These different reactions to the war, especially after the early setbacks on the Western Front, each had its supporters in the press. The *Times*'s campaign, using class-conscious cricketing metaphors, against the continuation of football, was enhanced on 26th August by W.G Grace calling in *The Sportsman* for "first-class cricketers of suitable age [to] set a good example and come to the help of their country without delay."

The counterattack in support of the football authorities' case that 'our great winter game should pursue its natural course' was led by the *Athletic News* railing against 'an attempt by the classes to stop the recreation on one day in the week of the masses.'

I have expanded upon this clash, with its class dimension, in the introductory chapters of *SAINTS AT WAR* (working title), a compilation led by the Saints Official Historians that is nearing completion at the time of writing. My focus in what follows here, though, is on India: on what happened there to three battalions of the Wessex Division – the 1/5th and 2/5th Hampshire and the 1/4th Wiltshire – and what that meant, as a corollary, for the Indian soldiers withdrawn from their home soil to serve in Europe.

The Wessex Division in India

When war was declared, the 5th Hampshire Territorial Battalion was way under strength. By the 26th September, however, it had acquired so many new recruits in response to Lord Kitchener's appeal for volunteers, that it split into two battalions: the 1/5th and the 2/5th. Both were among the eight Hampshire battalions selected for service in India.

The 1/5th disembarked, along with the 1/4th Wilts, at Bombay (nowadays Mumbai) on the 9th November, completing a month-long journey. The 2/5th Hampshire would follow, arriving on 4th January 1915.

In 1914, so many British troops were on garrison-duty around the British Empire – a kind of colonial police force – most especially in India, where the Army had almost 80,000 men. They included the regulars of the 2nd Hampshire, who were waiting at Bombay to exchange places with the less-fully trained territorials, supplemented by untrained novices who had answered Lord Kitchener's call to arms.

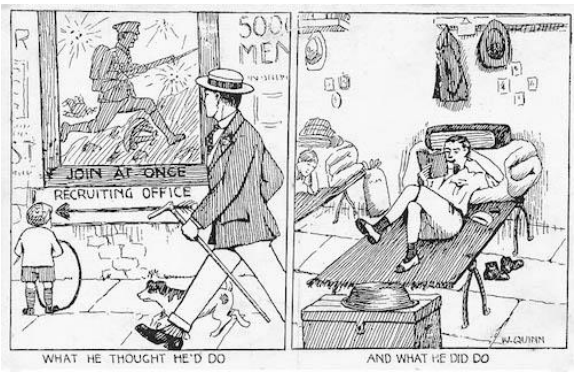
Moreover, India's own army had more than twice the 80,000 soldiers of the British garrison – so there were approaching 250,000 soldiers in India deemed to be sufficiently trained to be brought to the Western Front. Drawing upon reports from those three battalions of the Wessex Division – the two 5th Hampshire territorial units and Sergeant Fred Mundy's journal on the 1/4th Wiltshire – backed up by C.T Atkinson's regimental history, we can follow these battalions across India, mainly playing football and cricket.

This will entail an appraisal in three stages:

- **Spread across India – where were the enemies?**
- **Nothing to report – apart from sport**
- **In perspective – what price substitutions?**

Spread across India – where were the enemies?

India would never become a theatre of this war – unless you count the brief skirmish in May 1919 (of which more later) in which the 1/5th Hampshire would be involved. Meanwhile, we shall see how the Wessex Division found plenty of sporting diversions for their Hampshire cricketers and Southampton footballers, and reported their achievements frankly. Which didn't stop a cartoonist, as can be seen here, from lampooning the difference between enlisting for action in 1914 and then serving in India.



Having nobody to fight, the troops' main threat was disease. Yet even that hazard was pretty minimal: despite shade temperatures of 125ºF in their first summer in India, deaths from disease

would receive less attention in the history of the Hampshire Territorials than the cricketing achievements of the 1/5th Battalion.

That said, **Charles Ireland** of the 1/5th was invalided home with what his *Southampton Daily Echo* obituarist described as 'lung trouble'. Southampton-born Ireland had played football for Crow's Nest, a local parks side. Signing amateur for the Saints in 1907, he featured occasionally in the Reserves' attack, until he was given a one-off Western League opportunity during his second season.

Leaving the club at the end of that 1908-09 campaign, he found his goal-scoring touch in the Hampshire League, initially at Winchester and then, even more so, at Bournemouth FC. His obituarist deemed him the 'finest inside-right ever signed by the Bournemouth club [and] a most consistent goal-scorer.' Having survived the journey from India, Lance-Corporal Ireland died in Netley Hospital in December 1915 and is buried in the neighbouring military cemetery.

Disease apart, the 'the only conceivable major threat', in the withering words of T.A Heathcote in *The Military in British India,* were the Pashtuns, an Islamic tribe who had a longstanding habit of venturing across the North-West Frontier from Afghanistan into India. In his *Churchill's First War,* Con Coughlin records that the Pashtuns' 'constant state of agitation' had necessitated 34 'punitive expeditions against them' between 1858 and the 1897 involvement of Lieutenant Winston Churchill.

But a peace deal of sorts had then been struck. In 1914-18, the Pashtuns remained in their mountain retreats, while mainstream Afghanistan remained neutral. There would be no invasion until May 1919. Meanwhile, the perceived need to protect against the Pashtuns had two consequences of relevance to the transfer of military personnel I am describing.

First, as already noted, it meant that the British Army had recruited, organised and equipped Indian soldiers to ward off 'tribesmen on the bare hills of the Indian North-West Frontier', as Heathcote put it, but then expected them to fight 'against conventional German and Ottoman troops in the mud of Flanders and the deserts of [Mesopotamia].'

Secondly, it followed that neither trainers nor trainees had a lot to do. Even if you think that the cartoonist above was exaggerating, then be aware that the Hampshire Regiment's 1914-18 history recorded that its battalions had absolutely 'nothing to report'. That was always going to be the case for troops garrisoned far from the North-West Frontier and unlikely to be called into combat. The worst that happened to the 2/5th Hampshire, based at Secunderabad, was when officers on detachment way south in Madras (nowadays Chennai) went down with jaundice. As can be seen from the map, the 1/5th Hants at Allahabad (now Prayagraj) and the 1/4th Wilts in Delhi were that much further north but still far removed from any anticipated action.

The point here is that the British had long garrisoned its soldiers all over India, far too far from the North-West Frontier to be of much help in the event of any invasion at that corner. Thus, when Lieutenant Churchill obtained what was effectively a secondment to the Frontier from the 4th Hussars' cantonment in Bangalore in 1897, he was more than 2,000 miles and a five-day train ride away. The antidote to his 'useless and unprofitable exile' at Bangalore was, as it would be for the Wessex territorials, sport.

Nothing to report – apart from sport

The developers of the Imperial cantonment at Bangalore had included five polo grounds. So, when

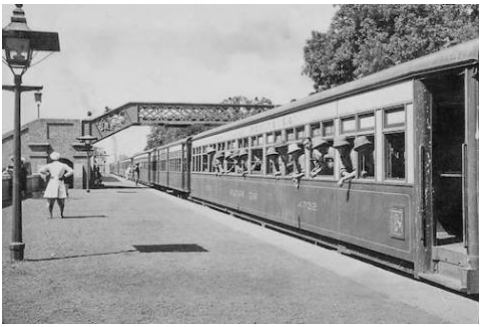
the day's temperature had dropped enough and the light yet held, the officers of the 4th Hussars could play endless chukkas of what was for Churchill 'the emperor of games'.

There would be no such equine sport for the Wessex territorials – unless you count the mules that the 1/4th Wilts borrowed from the resident gunners for a spot of racing. That battalion played some serious football, though. Its journal, as kept by Sgt Mundy, records that it lost only eight of its 58 matches across India. When the draw for the Second Round of the Murray Cup paired them with the 1/5th Somerset Light Infantry, the team was struck off all duties in order to train for this tie. When a special train took them to Meerut for the match, the team was accompanied by 400 supporters from the regiment. As I say, it was serious.

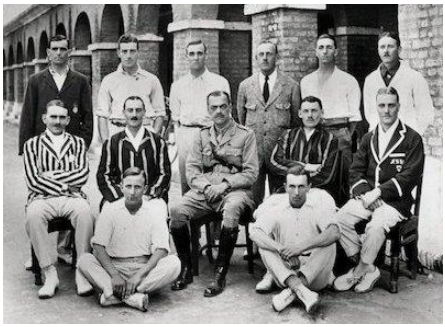
Their 3-1 defeat was an anti-climax to the calendar year of 1916 in which they had lost only one of their 20 fixtures. They had chalked up three wins and a draw against the 1/5th Hampshire, but the 1/7th Hants had held them to goalless draws in both Delhi and Meerut. **Gil Couldrey** played in both games for the 1/4th Wilts. He had signed Hampshire League forms for Southampton in 1911, but had never got a game.

Gil Couldrey

Although the 1/4th Wilts had bragging rights over the 1/5th Hants, the latter's football team was reported to be 'up to a good military standard'. Its cricketers feature more prominently, however, in the history of the Hampshire Territorials. They reached the final of the Naini Tal Tournament, a prestigious event in the Himalayan foothills, while three of the players represented the Viceroy's side against an All India XI in Bombay, a 53-hour train ride away.



The 1/5th Wiltshire depart on yet another train-ride – to yet another sporting venue, might we infer?



The cricket line-up at Lahore included, back left, Hampshire's Newman, Livsey and Evans, who had left Southampton together for India. Len Butt is on the ground, left.

The photo reproduced here shows a battalion XI in Lahore, in the north-west region of India that would become part of Pakistan. The man of particular interest to us is **Len Butt**, a sporting all-rounder who had been on Hampshire's ground staff before the war and had made his Saints debut in 1912-13.


Ken Boyes


Len Butt

After his cricketing war, his return to The Dell would take a while. **Ken Boyes,** who had signed amateur for the Saints in March 1914, was another all-rounder. He would make four appearances in the side that won the Football League's Third Division (South) in 1922, yet never get to play in Division II. He would remain in the Third South with Bristol Rovers, with whom his League career soon ended.

Boyes had joined the 2/5th Hampshire. Its records make little mention of any sporting achievements, although room was found in its 1916 report to record their semi-final appearance in the inter-regimental football Cup. As well it might, given that the team included not only Boyes but a teenager from Romsey who would come home to make a record number of appearances for Southampton.


Boy-Soldier Shelley

This boy-soldier was **Bert Shelley**, whose presence in the battalion he owed to his persuasive older brother, Bill. When the nation entered the First World War, Bill was already a Boer War veteran and a Sergeant, while his brother Bert was a week shy of celebrating his 15th birthday, three years short of the minimum age to enlist in Kitchener's Army and a further year away from being eligible to serve overseas. Bill persuaded their mother that young Bert should lie about his age: army life would do him good and, anyhow, it would all be over by Christmas.

That expectation of a short – and, of course, winning – war seems to have been widely shared not only by a British public unaccustomed to losing wars but also within its army. For a regular like Bill Shelley, a survivor of the South African War, the army had been a not too dangerous, reasonably paid occupation, offering travel and excitement and three meals a day.

So why wouldn't his mother want her youngest child to have a taste of his big brother's life? It merely required an article of faith that the country's under-strength army could somehow defy the mathematical odds against the German conscripts and that all would, indeed, be done and dusted by Christmas.

The war would last long enough, alas, for Bill to be killed in its 44th month. He would at least have had the satisfaction of knowing that the War had certainly done his kid-brother good, if only in helping to make a most able footballer of him.

Despite his obvious youth, boy-soldier Bert had been allowed to enlist in the 2/5th Hants. It is easy to see how. As Richard van Emden reasons, in his *Boy Soldiers of the Great War*, there was scope 'on both sides of the recruitment table… to bend the rules.' Recruiting sergeants were incentivised by a reward of 2s 6d [12½p, equivalent to about £14, today] for each volunteer they passed – although the Army soon reduced this payment to a 'bob-a-knob' [5p, or about £5.40 today]. There was no age check, either in the form of ID or in any space on the enlistment papers for the medical officer to comment on the age of a volunteer.

As parents became acquainted – censorship notwithstanding – with what their sons had signed up to, many would seek to withdraw them. Or maybe the boy would be sent home, anyhow, as the Army was given more reasons to challenge a false recruitment.

In estimating that some 65-75 per cent of under age recruits were withdrawn before they could be sent overseas, van Emden was focusing on lads posted to the Western Front. But why would Mrs Shelley want to bring young Bert home from India? Reports from France, where Bill's battalion was up against it, were surely worrying enough for any mother, but her youngest was filling out and prospering, meanwhile, as a footballer in the safe haven of India: by July 1916, the fragile recruit had grown into a strapping lad, still not 17 but good enough to play, as noted earlier, for the side that lost to the North Staffs in the inter-regimental semi-final in Calcutta (now Kolkata).

Bert Shelley (back left) and Ken Boyes (front right) were in the side defeated in the inter-regimental semi-final.

In perspective: what price substitutions?

This article has involved us in following soldiers of the Wessex Division – some trained to territorial standards; others not at all – who were being used as substitutes for two armies in India: one of regular British soldiers; the other of Indians.

For a country that had eschewed conscription and declared war while woefully lacking in numbers, India was the obvious go-to reservoir of trained soldiers. But while it made sense to substitute territorial units for regulars – remember the 2nd Hampshire Battalion waiting at Bombay in November 1914 to swap with the disembarking territorials – the Indian soldiers had been 'highly trained', as Heathcote has unapologetically put it, 'to function as marksmen in the hills of the

North-West Frontier,' rather than to be 'used as mere cannon fodder on the Western Front,' where they would be 'mown down in swathes.'

Heathcote is not alone in his indignation at that imperialist exploitation of men who were duty-bound to pay the price for the sporting life available to their replacement territorials. That colonial duty, as defined by the Army in India Committee of 1912, was to be ready to serve overseas, 'when the situation in India allows of it, in such direction as His Majesty's Government may determine.' That government had two principal destinations in mind when it began to mobilise the Indian Army on 8th August: Egypt, where the Suez Canal would need to be guarded; and the Western Front, where the British Expeditionary Force was so palpably under strength.

By the end of 1914, a third of the 'British' army in France would be Indian, predominantly drawn from India's Northern Army – which, Doherty and Donovan argue in *The Indian Corps on the Western Front,* was a superior force to the southern divisions who had been sent to fight the Germans in East Africa. The men posted to the Front were handicapped by the inappropriateness not only of their training but of their outdated rifles and their flimsy uniforms. Some serge clothing would gradually reach them but, even then, turbans saturated by rain could be a weighty burden.

The manner in which these men overcame their disadvantages was captured by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle in a report, cited by Doherty and Donovan, on operations in December 1914:

'*As well turn a tiger loose upon an ice-floe and expect that he will show all his wonted fierceness and activity… The bravest of the brave, our Indian troops were nonetheless the children of the sun, dependent upon warmth for their vitality and numbed by the cold, wet life of the trenches. That they still in the main maintained a brave, uncomplaining, soldierly demeanour… against the fierce German assaults, is a wonderful proof of their adaptability'.*

Once the Kitchener recruits had been trained to take over as 'cannon fodder' on the Somme, the Indians could be redeployed to theatres nearer to home – Gallipoli, Mesopotamia and Palestine – to which reinforcements could be more easily sent and from which their sick and wounded could be more readily repatriated.

When the original plan to dispatch Indian casualties to Bombay, via Marseille, had proved impractical, arrangements had been made to send 14,500 sick or wounded Indians to southern England, including five sites in Hampshire, most notably the Lady Hardinge Hospital at Brockenhurst and the related convalescent hospitals at Barton and Milford.

The hospital at Brockenhurst – named in honour of the Viceroy of India's late wife, who had founded several hospitals in India – consisted of two hotels: the *Balmer Lawn* and the *Forest Park.* The Indian patients were drawn from the two crack battalions that had come to France, the 3rd Lahore and the 7th Meerut.

The road linking the two hotels would be renamed Meerut Road. That lasting memento of Brockenhurst's war hospital illustrates the incongruity of the Hampshire Regiment sending so many men to India to play football and cricket, while Indians wounded in France convalesced in New Forest hotels. When the Indians moved their hospital to Egypt in late 1915, their Brockenhurst estate duly became the No 1 New Zealand General Hospital.

Indian Soldiers emerge from the Forest Park Hotel

Lest you feel I have overdone my sentiments on the exploitation of Indian soldiers, while the Hants and Wilts territorials recorded their football scores and cricket tournaments in India, I should make, in mitigation, two points about the role of sport in the military.

First, it was a recognised form of fitness-training. Secondly, not every British soldier in India was content with the sporting life, as calls during 1915 for volunteers to transfer demonstrated. The possibility of an attachment to the Dorset Regiment in the Persian Gulf was rapidly over-subscribed by soldiers of the 1/4th Wiltshire, while four or five times the required number from the 2/5th Hampshire expressed a wish to be attached to their 1/4th comrades in Mesopotamia. And when the 2/5th Hants and the 1/4th Wilts were being readied to transfer from India to Palestine in May 1917, leaving Len Butt and the 1/5th Hants behind to deal with the Afghans, Sgt Mundy recorded the satisfaction within his battalion that they were 'going to do a little real soldiering.'

Extra time

Even as British troops were returning home in 1919 from the many theatres of war, the non-theatre of India exploded into delayed action at the North-West Frontier when the Afghans invaded in May. The half-dozen Mountain Batteries of the Royal Garrison Artillery who had been protecting the frontier were now joined by the 1/5th Hampshire, who had been left behind in Lucknow when the 2/5th departed for Palestine.

Ordered to Kohat, hard against the Afghan border, the 1/5th at last 'smelt powder', as Atkinson put it. But the invaders' powder was in poor supply and the battalion's losses were confined to six men from cholera. After three months, an armistice was signed and the 1/5th were back in Southampton in early November.

Duly discharged in January 1920, Butt found a job at the Thorneycroft shipyard, for whom he was playing football when Southampton came calling. He was now playing in the Football League, finishing Southampton's 1920-21 season at left-half but getting only four outings in their 1921-22 promotion season. Moving to Southern League Boscombe, he would captain them in 1922-23 and play in their first Football League match in August 1923.

Len died in December 1993, just 17 days short of becoming the Saints' one and only centenarian and 78 years after Charles Ireland, with whom he'd played cricket for St Mary's.

This article has been excerpted from a chapter in SAINTS AT WAR, the working title of David Bull's forthcoming book. For further details, please see David's entry in the NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS.

Sources: Heathcote (2013) generally; Coughlin (2013) on the Pashtuns and Churchill; Atkinson (1952) on the Hampshire Regiment; Doherty & Donovan (2014) on the Indian Army; Hampshire Territorial history, pp 134-152, on Hampshire's 1/5th and 2/5th battalions; Mundy (2011) on 1/4th Wilts; and van Emden (2005) on boy-soldiers.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

PETER SUMMERS (pgs999000@gmail.com) was born in Naini Tal, the fifth generation of that surname to live in India. He boarded at Sherwood College, Naini Tal, in that beautiful area of the Himalayas, a time cut short in 1955 when the family returned to the UK. He joined the RAF as an engineer working on Lightning, Phantom and Buccaneer aircraft before leaving and settling in Derbyshire with his wife, Pam. There he spent 24 years with Rolls-Royce on various gas turbine project teams, finishing as Head of Engine Health Monitoring on the Trent 1000 in 2010. Pam and Peter are happily retired, having three sons and four grandchildren in the local area.

DAVID RADLEY was born in 1949 in Mill Hill, a suburb of London. His work as an aircraft designer took him to Canada in 1972, where he has worked and resided since. He is married to Suzanne, Canadian born (and the main reason he stayed in Canada): they have three children and seven grandchildren. David started his family history research in 1981, finally deciding in 2021 that he needed to preserve it for others – so he produced a 1200-page, 4 volume history of both his and Suzanne's families, copies of which have been distributed to family and other researchers all over the world. His mother's family were intrinsically involved with the Indian Raj and it is by far the most interesting part of the four histories.

DR CHRIS A. JOSEPH is a cultural anthropologist who lives and works in the United States. He is originally from India and his family tree started with his grandparents' accounts of family history. While he dismissed his maternal grandmother's vague references to her British ancestry as apocryphal, he was still interested in filling gaps in the tree. The enforced isolation of the pandemic provided that perfect opening for a deep dive into online resources and has since evolved into in-person archival research at the British Library, state and local archives as well as churches and cemeteries in India and in the UK. By sharing what he has learned so far, he hopes

to be able to crowd-source other resources, ideas, and, just maybe, that forgotten bundle of letters in someone's attic…

ED STOREY has been a member of FIBIS for over twenty years. He now lives in the U.S. with his wife, Nancy. Ed enjoys researching the Storey and Barrett family lines in Britain and especially the India line. He continues to discover more about the lives of those who made their way to Madras with the HEIC Army and others who became involved with Nawab support.

RON HORTON is a retired Australian Army officer, born in Poona, India into a Royal Artillery family. His family has a long history of both military and civilian service in India dating back to the late 1700's. Currently, he has a keen interest in tracing and writing about the World War 1 service histories of some 15 family members who served in the British and Australian forces during that war.

Dr. N.C. SHAH is a retired ethnobotanist and freelance writer who lives in Lucknow. Dr. Shah has been a regular contributor to the Journal since 2006, writing particularly on the area around Ranikhet.

STEPHEN REILLY is a retired N.H.S. psychiatrist and psychotherapist, formerly a consultant at Bootham Park Hospital, York. He has a longstanding interest in the history of medicine. With a Scottish father whose extended family left British shores to settle in Canada, Australia and South Africa, the author is now searching for any ancestors who might have ventured out to India!

DAVID BULL graduated from Exeter in 1961 and was called to the Bar in 1990. Having taught Social Policy at the Universities of Exeter, Manchester and Bristol, he retired in 1996 and then in 2009 from a part-time Judgeship in the Social Entitlement Chamber. This left him free to research and write on the history of Southampton FC. Details of his latest book, 'Saints at War', which includes the chapter on India in WW1 from which his article stems, are on www.hagiologists.com. You are invited to contact the author if you have any questions about his article: bull.hagiology@blueyonder.co.uk or 0117-962-2042

BOOK REVIEWS

Pompous Graves: A History of the Park Street cemeteries of Calcutta, by Anirban Bhadra **(pub. BACSA, London 2023) pp167 (vi + 147 + unnumbered bibliography and Index of 14pp) ISBN 978 0 907799 95 5**

I hope most readers of FIBIS are familiar with the British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia (BACSA) who do noble work in restoring the cemeteries of the Raj in India and also other countries in Asia (Indonesia, Malaysia, Japan, etc). BACSA also publish two series of books, one comprising transcripts of epitaphs and the other, memoirs of life in the Raj.

Perhaps the best-known British cemetery in India is that of South Park Street in Calcutta (Kolkata), in use from 1767 till the 1850s. In 1992, BACSA published the Register of the cemetery listing all known graves both (roughly) chronologically and geographically. They also handle the sales of a souvenir book by Maurice Shellim of the Christian Burial Board of Calcutta.

Over the centuries it is no surprise that many of the graves have lost their inscriptions and some even their actual stones, but a publication called The Bengal Obituary by one "Asiaticus" (copies of course in the British Library) lists the inscriptions visible in 1848.

There were two other cemeteries in Park Street – one in North Park Street opened in 1791, and the other a Catholic cemetery opened in 1796 and sometimes known as the French Cemetery. Neither survives, though some stones from both were transferred to South Park Street, and BACSA published a transcript to all remaining French Cemetery inscriptions before it was cleared. The present book is by a young Indian scholar who has set out to describe the history of these cemeteries and especially South Park Street. He has combed diligently the Calcutta newspapers and also such sources as official debates in the House of Commons and even an article by Kipling's sister published in a magazine called *Argosy* in 1895.

The book describes the origins of the cemetery, the British attitudes to death and graves, the kinds of funerals to go with these graves, the plight of the cemetery on closure and the efforts by many including Theon Wilkinson, the founder of BACSA, to preserve it as a monument. There are notes on some of the more important individuals buried there. Finally, he describes its present condition and even gives a short chapter on rumours of supernatural activity.

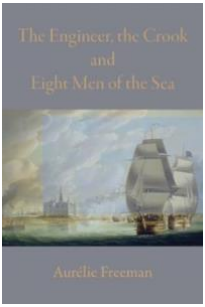
It is no hyperbole to say that the author has succeeded admirably in his endeavour. He mentions several other cemeteries in Calcutta: St John's Churchyard, the Rev J Z Kiernander's Mission Church, etc. He explains the classical style so in fashion in the 18th century, derived from discoveries at Pompeii and Herculaneum. We can browse undertakers' advertisements which offered for sale the correct clothes for mourners to wear. He also points out that in the 1780s the graves there were in better condition than those in Westminster Abbey. There are copious notes and plenty of illustrations – well chosen, but a little on the small side.

This book is on sale at the cemetery. For readers elsewhere it can be obtained from BACSA – www.bacsa.org.uk/shop/cemetery-record-books/bacsa-books/ and follow the links. The UK price is £7.50 plus postage.

Richard Morgan

The Engineer, the Crook and Eight Men of the Sea by Aurélie Freeman

(pub. YOUCAXTON2023, pp 191 ISBN 978 1 915972 25 5)



Aurélie Freeman's second book does what many of us have only aspired to: publish her family history research.

Part 1 (The Engineer) concerns the Ker family and centres on the career of Thomas Ker, the author's great grandfather, who went out to India in 1872 and was responsible for building a cotton factory in Kangaum (Kangayam) before joining the Public Works Department two years later, and going into railway construction. He was involved in the Holkar State Railway as an Assistant Engineer and then in the Rajputana line, rising to the rank of Chief Engineer by 1883. His job included bridges and railway buildings, among them the railway colony at Abu Road and its Railway School. In 1882, Edward married Minnie Grange Rait, daughter of a Scottish tax collector; the account records their eight children and the quite usual arrangement by which Minnie and the youngsters moved back to England while Thomas continued to live and work in India. The fact that Thomas was a keen photographer allows the author to bring the words to life with pictures of the railways, the railway staff, family homes and the children as well as local landmarks.

Part 2 (The Crook) is a fascinating story drawn from family memories and contemporary press reports from the 1830s involving the staged death of one of the author's great great grandmothers, aged six at the time, in an attempt by her stepfather (The Crook) to claim a legacy. It is quite a complicated plot and I shall leave the reader to discover the truth. It is engagingly presented and is backed up with extensive evidence, a real gem of family history research.

In Part 3 (the Eight Men of the Sea) the author looks at the Rubie family, prompted by a painting of Trafalgar in her grandmother's house. She has discovered that her branch of the Rubies has maritime connections going back to at least the mid 18th Century, starting with Edward, a carpenter based in Portsmouth Dockyard, his son who became a shipbuilder in Bursledon and his grandson, also a shipbuilder, who lived through the transition from sail to steam and was involved in building the first steamboats in Prussia. A further branch was active in Rye, starting with George Rubie, a master mariner and pilot who died in the shipwreck of the French ship Josephine in Rye harbour in 1841. His son Thomas was lost off the mouth of the Shannon in 1836 as master of the Water Lily. The seventh was a sailmaker, also a pilot, again in Rye. The eighth, a relation by marriage named Peter Le Lacheur, of Guernsey, was a ship master (and, during the Napoleonic Wars, a privateer).

The book is generously illustrated, the Indian photographs in particular are a delight. The author describes her research visits to many of the locations, providing an interesting follow-up for the characters and events. She includes an informative section on her sources and methods, making this a valuable resource as well as very readable.

Adam Streatfeild-James

NOTICES

PAT SCULLY APPOINTED HON LIFE PRESIDENT OF FIBIS

At the FIBIS open meeting in October 2023, Chairman Beverly Hallam was delighted to announce that Pat Scully had accepted the invitation of Trustees to become FIBIS Hon President. She stated.. *"Pat was a hugely popular chairman and trustee of FIBIS over many years. He kept the society focused and was always developing new ideas to raise the FIBIS profile in the wider community. Moreover, as a team player he cheerfully lent his hand to any job that needed doing – from putting up the challenging FIBIS stand to producing the FIBIS Journal. It has been an absolute pleasure to work alongside Pat and it is reassuring that FIBIS will continue to benefit from his wealth of knowledge , talents - and dare I say, lovely sense of humour. Congratulations and a huge thank you to Pat – and we look forward to keeping in touch!"*

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
1315 – 1400 hrs: Annual General Meeting.

1400 – 1500 hrs: ***Those that stayed: British communities in India after 1947***
Dr. Eleanor Newbigin, Senior Lecturer in the History of Modern South Asia at SOAS, University of London, shares her findings from the recent Partition in India and Britain project. She interviewed British people, and their family members, about their experiences of Partition. The interviews revealed important differences in experiences between South Asian and European Britons, particularly in terms of exposure to violence and forced migration. There were also differences within the experience of European Britons who left shortly after Partition and those who stayed-on. This presentation shares some of these stories and discusses their significance for both historical accounts of the 1947 partition and of British Imperialism in South Asia.

1500 - 1530 hrs: Tea break

1530 – 1630 hrs: ***'Inspiring Scenes, Suggestive Subjects - Happy Opportunities Seized on by Clever Artists': Exhibitions of Amateur Art in British India***
Renate Dohmen, Senior Lecturer in Art History at the Open University, shares her ongoing research on fine art exhibitions in British India which blossomed from the late 1860s in Presidency towns and hill stations across the subcontinent. Organised by local fine art societies, the exhibitions showcased the work of amateur artists of both sexes, a small number of professionals, including Indian artists, amateur and professional photographers and local handicrafts. These exhibitions were important events in local and national social calendars.

** Please register your intention to attend the AGM and Open Meeting on the FIBIS website. Names are required in advance by the Union Jack Club for security reasons. **

ALL WELCOME - ADMISSION FREE

The theme of the 2024 Conference is

British India: Exploring Colonial Life and Family History

18 presentations held in 2 theatres running simultaneously over the three days

Theatre 1: Historical, Trade & Military Insights

Theatre 2: Family History, Research & Resources

Join us at our 3 day Conference to celebrate 25 years since our inception and learn how to further your own research. Many family historians have discovered that they have ancestors who spent some, or all, of their lives in the "Jewel in the Crown".

Three days of celebrated speakers - from Universities in Oxford, Paris and Toronto, as well as internationally renowned authors, professional genealogists, military and family historians. You will have an opportunity for 1:1 sessions with the Experts about your own research and time to meet like-minded researchers. Dress up for the Saturday Gala Dinner

Come and join us – a warm welcome awaits

BOOK NOW

http://www.fibis.org/25-years-conference

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

Volunteer Digital Content Manager needed

… to ensure that the content of the FIBIS website is well-structured, easy to find and meets the needs of our users

As a digital content manager, you'll ensure the content of the FIBIS websites are up to date and accurate. The content you'll manage can include web pages, images, videos and blog posts. You'll sometimes produce copy and you will edit the site yourself.

Responsibilities

As a digital content manager, you'll need to:

- *manage the content of the FIBIS websites, working with developers and web hosts to ensure it meets the needs of FIBIS*

- *create and update content*
- *Source and sometimes edit images and videos*
- *stay knowledgeable about the site's subject area.*

Working hours: *Variable, but normally no more than one hour a week.*

What to expect

- *You'll work from home, with occasional Zoom meetings with FIBIS trustees to discuss website matters.*
- *You'll be expected to produce some content yourself.*

Qualifications: *You don't need any formal qualification.*

Skills: *You'll need to be:*

- *Organised*
- *An excellent writer and editor, with good spelling and grammar*

Experience with Wordpress and WooCommerce is an advantage, but not necessary as training will be given

Please contact Valmay Young, valmay@fibis.org

Graphic Designer needed

to design a high quality souvenir Programme/Brochure for the Conference on 27-29 September 2024. This is to be in A5 format and approximately 28 pages. Please contact Xandra Sherman: secretary@fibis.org if you feel you might be able to help.

SOCIETY INFORMATION

GENERAL ENQUIRIES:

Enquiries, by post or email, should initially be sent to the Membership Secretary: Libby Rice, 2 The Pines, 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 or £12 for worldwide paperless membership. Cheques (in Sterling) should be made out to 'FIBIS' and sent to the Membership Secretary (address above). Subscriptions can be paid/renewed online with a debit or credit card or by PayPal at https://www.fibis.org/store/. For special arrangements for payment by Australian members, see below.

AUSTRALIA:

For liaison with FIBIS members and with India-related family history activities in Australia contact Mary Anne Gourley - aus@fibis.org. Members may pay subscriptions in Australian dollars (A$35, or A$23 for paperless membership). Cheques should be made payable to 'Families in British India Society' and sent to PO Box 397, Doncaster, Victoria 3108, Australia; or can be paid direct to FIBIS Westpac Account No.15-0975 BSB 032-636; quoting your surname as the Reference; or by PayPal via the FIBIS website.

WEBSITE:

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

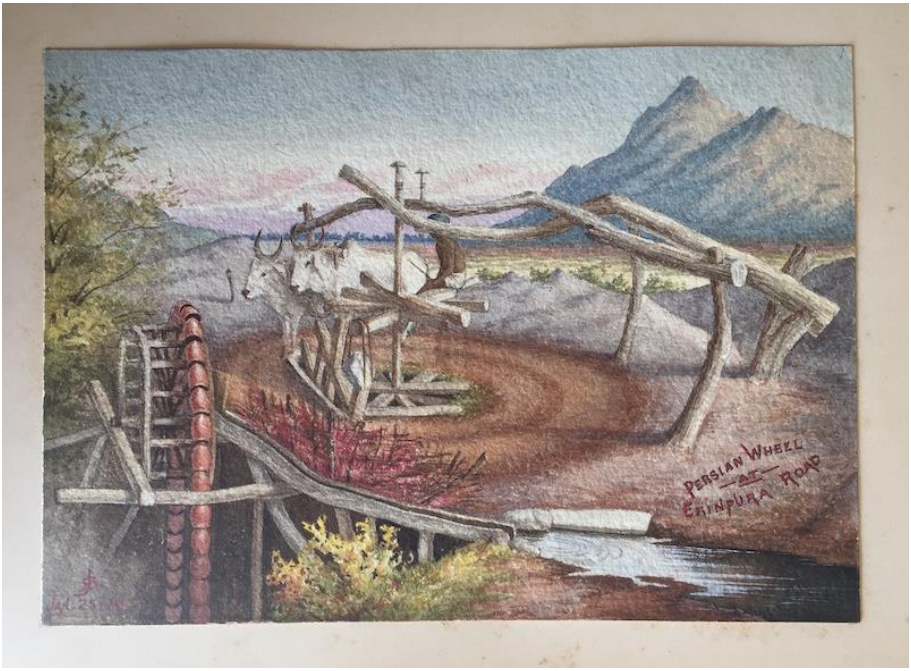
RESEARCH FOR MEMBERS:

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

TRANSCRIPTION PROJECTS:

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

FIBIS FAMILIES IN BRITISH INDIA SOCIETY



A Persian Wheel at Erinpura Road (Now Jawai Bandh Station, Rajasthan)
Watercolour by Elizabeth Ellen James, 5th January 1888