

REPRESENTATIONS OF SOUTH ASIANS IN EDINBURGH IN THE 1840s

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Edinburgh in the 1840s is known best for the Great Disruption of 18 May 1843. Over 200 ministers of the Church of Scotland walked the 1.3 km from St Andrew's Church in George Street to Tanfield Hall, just across the Water of Leith in Canonmills, where they established themselves as the Free Church of Scotland. The procession was a great popular event, watched and cheered on by crowds: 'it was an act of remarkable courage.'¹ Beyond its effect on Presbyterianism in Scotland, the Disruption also had a significant artistic side. The 1830s had seen a growth in the number and range of artistic activities taking place in the city. The households of the middle classes were purchasing paintings and lithographs and visiting the exhibitions at the Royal Institution (from 1851, the National Gallery of Scotland) as part of status building and maintaining.²

By a serendipitous simultaneity, the Disruption was one of the spurs to the development of photography in the city.³ The previous week, Robert Adamson (1821–1848), a chemist already skilled in the new calotype process invented by William Henry Fox Talbot (1800–1877), had moved into Rock House on the side of Calton Hill and established a calotype studio. When the painter David Octavius Hill (1802–1870) announced his intention of painting all those present at the massive gathering at Tanfield Hall, Sir David Brewster (1781–1868), a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, the founding director of the Scottish Society of Arts, and a patron of Adamson, suggested that Hill should team up with Adamson to take the opportunity of using calotype photographs to help in the task. Hill was well-established in the city, becoming secretary of the Scottish Academy in 1830. He continued in this position when it became the Royal Scottish

Academy (RSA) in 1838 and remained in it for the rest of his life, central to the artistic life of the city. His first response to Brewster's suggestion was of incredulity, but he rapidly became an enthusiastic convert.⁴ The Hill–Adamson partnership was established and flourished until Adamson died in 1848.⁵ They jointly composed the scenes for the countless photographs they took across the city, and of many of its characters and locations.⁶

Rarely noted is that within the corpus that both artists created are at least five photographs that include people of South Asian origin. One of them – Dhanjibhai Nauroji (1822–1908) – was present in the Tanfield Hall and is included in the painting that Hill finally completed in 1866 (see further below). Hill and Adamson were not alone in the 1840s in including men of South Asian origin in their artistic oeuvres. Given that the city's population in this decade was overwhelmingly European – if the census reports give an accurate account – it is worth exploring further who these men were, and why they were in the city. How did they come to be painted or photographed? Was it the case that the 1840s were different from the decades that came before and after, or is it merely chance that has led to these individuals being portrayed? What do these representations tell us about South Asians in Edinburgh in the years leading up to the 1850s, and how they were perceived? Through studying these images and their histories we hope to show that they can be a useful source to understand better the people who are otherwise invisible.

Edinburgh in the 1830s to 1850s

In the 1840s, Edinburgh was Janus-faced. It was wealthy: 'a recently "deposed" national capital, [it]

was a centre for professionals, administrators and luxury merchants. The city provided cultural and educational faculties that attracted large numbers of the gentry and aristocracy.⁷ But the city was also home to many poor people, including the immigrants, mostly from other parts of Scotland and the UK as well as from continental Europe, who played a considerable role between the 1820s and 1850s in the growth of greater Edinburgh (i.e., including Leith). Its combined population rose from about 150,000 at the beginning of this period to about 200,000 at the end of it. Many of these European migrants (especially from Ireland) were labourers who built the city, not only the railways but also notable public buildings, such as the home of the RSA. Others came as language teachers, artists, or governesses, for example. They found their accommodation in densely populated lodging houses, spread out across the city.⁸

Within this overwhelmingly white population who made Edinburgh their home, if only for short periods, were a few non-Europeans. They included William Macao, a Chinese Christian who lived for over 50 years in Edinburgh from the late 1770s and worked for the Board of Excise.⁹ The National Galleries of Scotland have a drawing by David Allan called 'Edinburgh Milkmaid with Butter Churn', which shows a young woman of at least partially African descent. A woman born into slavery, Malvina Wells, lady's maid to the Maclean family, was brought to Edinburgh from Grenada sometime before 1851, and was painted with Janet Maclean and her daughters Joanna and Dorothea.¹⁰ John Edmonstone, born into slavery in Guyana, came to Scotland in the early 1820s, moving to Edinburgh from Glasgow before 1823, when he established a taxidermy business in Lothian Street; this continued operating until 1843.¹¹ Pablo Fanque (stage name of William Darby, 1810–1871), a black circus manager, performed in Edinburgh during the 1830s, 1840s and 1850s.¹² One of his sons, who died in the city in 1852, is buried in Warriston cemetery.

Amongst these non-European visitors or residents were very few people of South Asian origin. Even if they stayed for longer than a short visit, they left little in the way of records of their residence in the city. From the mid eighteenth century the 'masters' of absconding South Asian household staff placed 'runaway notices' in Edinburgh newspapers, offering rewards for those who captured or provided evidence

of their whereabouts.¹³ Advertisements such as these have, however, not yet been found for the first half of the nineteenth century. The censuses of 1841 and 1851 record only a handful of people with South Asian names.

The connections between India and Edinburgh in the first half of the nineteenth century are mostly to be found in the presence in the city of men who had worked for the East India Company (EIC) and retired to Edinburgh with their families. They are visible as members of the Edinburgh East India Club, instituted in 1787.¹⁴ Some of them appear in portraits exhibited by the RSA and its antecedents. Two portraits of men from the EIC or their families were exhibited in the 1820s, five in the 1830s, six in the 1840s and four more in the 1850s.¹⁵ Commonly, some of these men would have brought with them Indian servants, male and female. The women worked mostly as ayahs, i.e., chaperones for European children being sent back to Scotland for education or accompanying other members of their family. The ayahs often stayed for just a few months and returned to India either with the same or another family.¹⁶ Lascars (sailors, often from South Asia) also came to Britain in this way, mostly looking for a new position on ships going back to South or Southeast Asia, but some stayed long enough to become visible. The main sources on lascars report on them in London and some other ports.¹⁷ The port of Leith had very few ships that came directly from South Asia, though some lascars may have found work in the coastal trade up the east coast. By the end of the nineteenth century lascars were a familiar sight around the Glasgow docks, but no reports have been discovered referring to their presence in Edinburgh or in the early nineteenth century.¹⁸

Among those recorded in the censuses as born in India and having a European name, some were of mixed Indian and European heritage. Such residents, often known as Anglo-Indians, were visible in Edinburgh from at least 1800. Some men brought their children from Indian partners back from India with them. For example, John Borthwick Gilchrist (1759–1841) returned to Edinburgh in 1806 with four children from an Indian wife, but she did not accompany him: she may have died before he left Calcutta. Two of his daughters lived in Edinburgh until at least 1827.¹⁹

Occasionally, relatives or friends also fostered or adopted the children by an Indian wife of men

working in India. One example is that of Mary and Alexander Brunton, Professor of Hebrew in the University of Edinburgh. They had no children of their own but cared for two 'East Indian' wards, the illegitimate children of one of Alexander's friends.²⁰ Jane Cumming (1795 or 1796–1844), the Anglo-Indian daughter of a Scottish father, arrived from India with her brother and an ayah. In 1810, described as 'a dark-skinned Indian girl', she was at a private school in Edinburgh's New Town, where she was involved in a court case which brought her to the records.²¹ Colonel James Skinner, the Anglo-Indian son of a Scottish Lieutenant Colonel and a Rajput princess, brought three of his sons from an Indian wife and had them entered in the then brand-new Edinburgh Academy in 1825.²²

Beyond the people who came to Edinburgh, knowledge of South Asia was also spread through the material culture brought by EIC servants as memorabilia, gifted by visitors to the city, collected by institutions for teaching and research purposes or displayed for general interest. For nearly thirty years, Robert Mayne (1782–1867), a retired EIC servant, displayed his significant collection of 'rare and curious items' in his grand New Town house, before he auctioned it in 1859. Sir John Robison (1778–1843), who had served at the Nizam's court in Hyderabad, contributed an Indian deity figure to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1842, supporting the society's comparative research.²³ South Asia provided substantial parts of Edinburgh University's Natural History Museum, which was regularly open to students but also to the middle-class and upper-class public. The displays also included cultural artefacts, for example, models commissioned by Margaret Tytler (1785–1822) of machinery used in agriculture and the crafts in Bihar.²⁴

By the 1850s, we have far fewer traces of residents of Anglo-Indian heritage in Edinburgh. As far as we can tell, those who dominated the representation of people with Indian links were solely of European heritage. John Heiton (1817–1870), a light-hearted commentator on the city's social structure at the time, calls them 'Our retired Indians' in his *Castes of Edinburgh*.²⁵ He notes particularly their efforts at social climbing and their fixation with remembering – and boring their hearers with – stories of their time in India.

South Asians painted or photographed in Edinburgh in the 1840s

While the painters and photographers found their social milieu in the professional classes of the New Town, we suggest that their subjects were from the old and new areas that housed these in-migrants. The first set of images that we discuss includes such temporary or longer-term in-migrants who likely lived in the poorer areas of the city, but for whom we do not have (reliable) names. In the absence of written records for South Asians in Edinburgh in the 1840s, the extant visual depictions become important evidence that the city was not, in fact, only a white city.

UNIDENTIFIED SITTERS

A prominent example of a sitter who appears to be of South Asian heritage is depicted in a painting by Thomas Faed (1826–1900). Faed won the Edinburgh Trustees' Academy first prize in Life Study with his portrait of John Mongo in January 1847.²⁶ Life painting classes had been introduced in Edinburgh by the early 1830s.²⁷ Faed's painting (Fig. 1) shows a seated man looking to his proper right and holding on to a rope. He is dressed in a patterned loin cloth, with a plain red fabric wrapped around his head. Later generations have added the subtitle *The Punka-walla* (operator of a large swinging fan), which his pose and clothing style of a labourer may have suggested. Extant sources for John Mongo are slim. From October to December 1846, a John Monro posed for the Trustees' Academy at what is now the building of the RSA on Princes Street.²⁸ Could he have been the sitter for Faed's painting? The correspondence between the dates of John Monro's posing and the award of the prize makes a case. However, we cannot explain the different spellings of the name.

Because modelling and training were relatively newly established, recruiting models was initially difficult, and the Trustees' Academy sometimes resorted to bringing models from London. John Mongo might have been such a recruit, or he may have been in Edinburgh for other reasons.²⁹ John Mongo could also have been a servant who was part of the circular migration mentioned above. It is highly likely that the name added to Faed's painting, the 'Punka-walla', was provided by someone from the 'caste' of India-returned.



Fig. 1. Thomas Faed, *A Life Study of John Mongo* ('*The Punka-walla*'), 1847. NG 2560, purchased 1993. Reproduced with permission of National Galleries of Scotland

Unfortunately, the name Mongo and its alternative spellings of Mango and Mungo do not appear in the Edinburgh censuses for either 1841 or 1851. Though there are several John Monros listed, none is recorded as having been born in India. Neither can we find evidence of John Mongo in other sources such as newspapers and annually published directories of residents. We have therefore to consider the strong possibility that the sitter in Faed's painting lived in Edinburgh for not more than a few months and/or was called by a different name than the one he was given in providing a title for this painting.

Another painting of an unidentified man of South Asian appearance is a study of a seated, partially draped male figure, dated to c.1850 (Fig. 2). It has been attributed to the Edinburgh painter William Quiller Orchardson (1832–1910), who also attended the Trustees' Academy from 1847. Orchardson painted in Edinburgh until the early 1860s, and his paintings were exhibited in the RSA's annual show nearly every year in this period.³⁰ The study went into the collection of the Royal Academy in London in 1919 with other works by and owned by Orchardson. No mention of a South Asian subject sitting for him,



Fig. 2. Unidentified British artist, formerly attributed to William Etty, possibly by William Quiller Orchardson, *Study of a Seated, Partially Draped Male Figure*, c.1850. PL003388. Reproduced with permission of Royal Academy of Arts, London; photographer: John Hammond

or to be included in a group painting, can be found in Orchardson's biographies.³¹

Faed was not alone in portraying South/Southeast Asians in the 1840s: two more paintings, one *Portrait of an East Indian*, by William Borthwick Johnstone (1804–1868) and another, *Study of an East Indian* by James Archer (1823–1904), were exhibited in the RSA in 1842 and 1847, respectively.³² Their current whereabouts are unknown.

Hill and Adamson's portraits of men of South Asian heritage include the calotype of an unknown man, dated between 1843 and 1847 (Fig. 3).³³ Hill used calotypes as sources for paintings, and one of these, *Edinburgh Old and New*, c.1848 (Fig. 4), includes a man of South Asian appearance sitting beside the Mons Meg cannon on the Half Moon Battery of Edinburgh Castle.³⁴ With this view over the city, Hill contrasted its two parts – the Old

Town on the right, mostly in the shade and with its densely built streets almost covered in smoke, while the elegant architecture of the New Town on the left is awash with light. For the leisurely scene in the foreground, Hill used characters that he and Adamson had photographed in 1846, but not necessarily on this site (Fig. 5). South Asians were obviously perceived as belonging to Edinburgh's scenery.

Who might have acted as life models for these paintings? We can supplement the sparse evidence from Edinburgh from the letters of Sir David Wilkie (1785–1841) about sitters in London a few years earlier. Wilkie was reporting on progress in painting the South Asian men pictured in his monumental canvas on Sir David Baird finding the body of Tipu Sultan (Fig. 6). Wilkie had studied at the Trustees' Academy in Edinburgh from 1799 to 1804. In 1805 he went to London, which is where this painting was executed.³⁵ Several men and women of South Asian appearance are portrayed attending Tipu Sultan, a couple of whom are soldiers in the uniforms of the



Fig. 3. David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson, *Unknown Man 118 [a]*, 1843–7. PGP HA 3625, Elliot Collection, bequeathed 1950. Reproduced with permission of National Galleries of Scotland



Fig. 4. David Octavius Hill, *Edinburgh Old and New*, c.1848. NG 1964, purchased 1942. Reproduced with permission of National Galleries of Scotland



Fig. 5. Detail of a 'Hindoo Mendicant' (see note 34), from D. O. Hill, *Edinburgh Old and New*

EIC's army.³⁶ Wilkie had problems in finding life models for more than two years. In April 1835 he visited India House (the EIC's headquarters) and met

four soldiers he thought would be ideal.³⁷ But not all went to plan, and after an attempted sitting in August 1835 they refused to act the parts of Tipu or his soldiers.³⁸ Eventually, Wilkie persuaded some lascars to sit on a regular basis.

Lascars and soldiers from the EIC's armies are not normally visible in the world of South Asians, whether in Britain or in South Asia, so these images have a particular resonance.³⁹ 'Stranded lascars', without a return contract to South/Southeast Asia, were organised enough in the late eighteenth century to press the EIC for wages due to them, but their allowances were so inadequate that some resorted to begging.⁴⁰ Despite various changes in regulations and attempts to make ship-owners responsible for their lascar seamen when discharged in Britain, matters improved very little in the following century, with an 1823 Act that placed 'lascars at the bottom of the imperial hierarchy of maritime labour'.⁴¹

In addition to finally finding some cheap and willing subjects, Wilkie also had the benefit of many clothes, guns and swords, and a shield, all looted from Tipu's court after the massacre, some of which were claimed to have been Tipu's personal



Fig. 6. Sir David Wilkie, *General Sir David Baird Discovering the Body of Sultan Tippoo Sahib after having Captured Seringapatam, on the 4th May, 1799, 1839*. NG 2430, presented by Irvine Chalmers Watson, received 1985. Reproduced with permission of National Galleries of Scotland

accoutrements.⁴² Wilkie's painting was given pride of place in the Royal Academy exhibition in May 1839.⁴³ The painting was reproduced in engravings, as well as being exhibited in Edinburgh *en route* to the home in Perthshire of General Baird's widow, who commissioned the painting.⁴⁴

We can do little more than conjecture that the unidentified men painted by Johnstone, Archer and Faed, and possibly Orchardson, and photographed by Adamson, were, if based on life models, either soldiers or lascars.

IDENTIFIED SITTERS

We can identify the backgrounds and networks of the other South Asian men in Edinburgh captured in photographs and paintings by the city's artists. They were influential short-term visitors in higher-status positions. An early visitor, surprisingly not painted,

was the very wealthy entrepreneur, Dwarkanath Tagore, grandfather of the 1913 Nobel laureate Rabindranath Tagore, who visited Edinburgh in August 1842 as part of a tour of Britain. He was the first non-white man to be awarded the Freedom of the City of Edinburgh. Tagore also donated a collection of Ragamala paintings to the University of Edinburgh. His visit was an event worthy of mention in a centenary history of Edinburgh published in 1900.⁴⁵

Missionaries from all the Scottish churches also brought South Asian men who had converted to Christianity to Edinburgh society. Such visitors were used to garner support for evangelisation. When Dr John Wilson (1804–1875), a missionary active in western India in the 1830s and 1840s, returned on furlough to Edinburgh in 1843 he brought with him Dhanjibhai Nauroji, his 'Parsee convert'.⁴⁶ He and Wilson joined the Free Church of Scotland after the Great Disruption. Subsequently, Nauroji studied at Edinburgh's Free Church College from 1844–6. Nauroji was photographed by Hill and Adamson with Reverend John Jaffray (c.1804–1858), Secretary of the Free Church Mission Board (Fig. 7). Nauroji was included by Hill in his painting of the Disruption (Figs 8 and 9). One observer of the painting in 1864 commented: 'Portraits of Dr Duff, whose rapt and intense look the artist has perfectly caught, Dr Wilson of Bombay, and the dusky face of Dhanjibhai Nauroji, tell how she [the Free Church] cares for the heathen.'⁴⁷

Another elite visitor from South Asia was Mohan Lal Kashmiri (1812–1877), who came to Britain in 1844 to return papers of the diplomat Alexander Burnes (1805–1841) to his family in Montrose. Burnes had been sent to Kabul to represent the EIC. During an uprising in 1841, Alexander and his brother Charles were assassinated. Lal was a diplomat, author and traveller from Kashmir who had worked as a translator and diplomat with Burnes and had escaped with some of Alexander's papers. He was invited by Alexander's father to Montrose, where he passed on the papers and Alexander's journal, and then returned to Edinburgh. Though only a brief visitor to the city, he caused quite a stir. He sat for a portrait by Sir William Allan (1782–1850):



Fig. 7. David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson, *Rev. John Jaffray and Dhanjibhai [Dhanjibhai] Nauroji (Group 146)*, 1843–7. PGP HA 4956, Elliot Collection, bequeathed 1950. Reproduced with permission of National Galleries of Scotland



Fig. 8. David Octavius Hill, *The First General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland: Signing the Act of Separation and Deed of Demission – 23rd May 1843*, 1864. Reproduced with permission of the Free Church of Scotland



Fig. 9. Detail of Dhanjibhai Nauroji, from D. O. Hill, *The First General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland*

At Edinburgh he was feted by numerous friends and acquaintances with a round of parties, dinners and dances. Even the Mayor [*sic*] invited him and seated him by his side at a meeting of the Corporation. He received many invitations from the Highland chiefs, but he declined them for want of time. Sir William Allan, the famous artist of Edinburgh, requested Mohan Lal through his host, Sir John Macneil [*sic*], to give him a few sittings, and he painted a fine portrait of him, which was shown in the art exhibition in 1845.⁴⁸

Allan had been Master of the Trustees' Academy from 1826 and is known as a painter of orientalist subjects inspired by his travels in Russia, Turkey, Spain and Morocco.⁴⁹ We have been unable to find a copy of Allan's painting, entitled *Original portrait of Mirza Mohun Lal, Persian Secretary to the British Mission at Cabool, and who had previously accompanied Sir Alexander Burnes on his journey to Bokhara*.⁵⁰ Mohan Lal also sat for a calotype which is now in the collection of National Galleries of Scotland (Fig. 10).



Fig. 10. David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson, *Mohum [Mohan] Lal, aged 28 in 1844 [b]*. Digital positive from negative PGP HA 1261, purchased from the estate of Sophia Finlay (Charles Finlay's Trust), 1937. Reproduced with permission of National Galleries of Scotland

Conclusion

Towards the end of 2023, a painting originally exhibited under the title *A Hindoo* by Andrew Morton (1802–1845) of a man, possibly from South Asia, holding a cup and dated to 1843 came onto the art market in London (Fig. 11).⁵¹ The possibility that the sitter was the same man as the one in Faed's painting of John Mongo led us into an initial investigation which has resulted in this paper. Morton was born in Newcastle and was a sought-after portrait painter based in London whose oeuvre does not otherwise suggest that he painted South Asian people or topics.⁵² At first glance, there are some similarities between the subject of this painting and the man pictured in Faed's painting.

If John Mongo was the same man as in Andrew Morton's painting, Morton would presumably have

painted him in London, because we have found no evidence of Morton having ever painted in Edinburgh. We are unable to say whether the sitter in the two paintings is the same man.

While somebody like John Mongo would not have been a familiar figure in Edinburgh's streets at the time, nonetheless the city's population would have been generally aware of the origins of such a person. The city – still small enough for visitors to be noticed whether in the Old or New Towns – could be provoked into excitement by more eminent South Asians who came and engaged in public activities. The corpus of artworks we have discussed here bears witness to the interest in South Asians by Edinburgh's painters and photographers, and to Edinburgh's artistic life more generally. It also suggests that Edinburgh had a more diverse population in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries than is often understood.⁵³ Nonetheless, much uncertainty remains about short-term South Asian visitors to the city in this period. Similarly, for other non-European groups we know little about how much representation took place, or what was happening at the same period elsewhere in Scotland or in England. It is therefore too early to draw general conclusions. Rather, what we have tried to achieve is to show the benefits of looking at Edinburgh's artistic production as a way of contributing new insights into the diversity of Edinburgh's people in the nineteenth century. Perhaps this paper will stimulate enough interest that others may come up with some more answers.



Fig. 11. Andrew Morton, *John Mongo/Monro Holding a Silver-Gilt Footed Cup* [originally exhibited under the title *A Hindoo*], c.1843. 2024.13, The Huntington Library, Art Museum, and Botanical Gardens, purchased with funds from the Art Collectors' Council, with additional support from the Adele S. Browning Memorial Art Fund; photo courtesy of Ben Elwes Fine Art, London

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 - 30 Hilda Orchardson Gray, *The Life of Sir William Quiller Orchardson* (London 1930).
 - 31 James Stanley Little, *The Life and Work of William Q. Orchardson, RA* (London 1897); Gray, *Life of Sir William Quiller Orchardson*.
 - 32 Rinder, *Royal Scottish Academy*, pp. 18, 192. Archer may have painted the same model as Faed, given the proximity of dates. We have not checked the list of sitters for 1842 when Johnstone painted his portrait.
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 - 34 In a key to the engraving of Hill’s painting by William Richardson (*fl.* 1847–1860), held by the British Museum (2010,7081.7449), this figure is described as a ‘Hindoo Mendicant’.
 - 35 Hamish Miles, ‘Wilkie, Sir David (1785–1841), Painter of Genre, Historical Subjects, and Portraits’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004), <https://doi-org.eux.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29413>.
 - 36 Tipu Sultan was a popular theme of recurrent interest in Edinburgh in the first half of the nineteenth century, almost amounting to ‘Tipu mania’: Anne Buddle, Iain Gordon Brown and Pauline Rohatgi (eds), *The Tiger and the Thistle: Tipu Sultan and the Scots in India, 1760–1800* (Edinburgh 1999).
 - 37 Allan Cunningham, *The Life of Sir David Wilkie: With his Journals, Tours, and Critical Remarks on Works of Art; and a Selection from his Correspondence* (London 1843), 3, pp. 98–9, 110–11; Fisher, *Counterflows*, pp. 378–9, identifies three of these men as dismissed cavalry soldiers, and names one of them as Khwaja Buksh.
 - 38 Cunningham, *Life of Sir David Wilkie*, p. 97; Fisher, *Counterflows*, p. 379, notes that they left London in June 1835.

- 39 <https://www.ourmigrationstory.org.uk/oms/the-lascars-britains-colonial-era-sailors> is a relatively rare example.
- 40 Visram, *Ayahs, Lascars*, pp. 35–54.
- 41 Ibid.
- 42 Cunningham, *The Life of Sir David Wilkie*. Tipu's amulet was painted from the original, held by the widow of Captain Young, of Inverness, who lent it to Wilkie; Nicholas Tromans, *David Wilkie: The People's Painter* (Edinburgh 2007).
- 43 *Morning Post*, 7 May 1839, p. 5.
- 44 *Perthshire Advertiser*, 12 May 1842, p. 3.
- 45 William Matthews Gilbert (ed.), *Edinburgh in the Nineteenth Century: Being a Diary of the Chief Events Which Have Occurred in the City from 1800 A.D. to 1900 A.D.* (Edinburgh 1901).
- 46 *The Missionary Repository for Youth, and Sunday School Missionary Magazine* (1844), p. 79. In 1993, Radio Scotland broadcast a play by George Rosie which focused on Dhanjibhai Nauroji to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the Disruption of the Church of Scotland: *Scotsman*, 29 May 1993, p. 57.
- 47 'The Disruption on Canvas', *John o' Groat Journal* [from the *Free Church Record*], 22 September 1864, p. 4.
- 48 Hari Ram Gupta, *Life and Work of Mohan Lal Kashmiri, 1812–1877* (Lahore 1943). The portrait was exhibited at the RSA: Rinder, *Royal Scottish Academy*, p. 14. Sir John McNeill (1795–1883), with an MD from the University of Edinburgh, was employed by the EIC and served in its legation in Iran from 1824 to 1842: H. M. Chichester and H. C. G. Matthew, 'McNeill, Sir John (1795–1883), Diplomatist and Surgeon', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (4 October 2008), <https://doi-org.eux.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/17714>.
- 49 Jeremy Howard, 'Allan, Sir William (1782–1850), Painter', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004), <https://doi-org.eux.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/360>.
- 50 Sir William Allan's interest in the subject seems to have been personal rather than being the result of a commission since he kept the portrait in his private collection which was only sold after his death: Adrian D. H. Bivar, 'The Portraits and Career of Mohammed Ali, Son of Kazem-Beg: Scottish Missionaries and Russian Orientalism', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 57, 2 (1994), pp. 283–302.
- 51 We are grateful to Rachel Elwes, Director, Ben Elwes Fine Art in London, for bringing this painting to our attention.
- 52 L. H. Cust and Emily M. Weeks, 'Morton, Andrew (1802–1845)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004), <https://doi-org.eux.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19359>. Morton seems to have painted a few other non-European people. At least one is described as 'oriental'. As we are unable to verify a South Asian ethnic origin of the sitter, we are not considering this painting here. We aim to break with the generic use of the term 'oriental' in art history.
- 53 Jeffery (ed.), *India in Edinburgh*.