together people with a concern for the many hundreds of European cemeteries, The Association was formed in 1976 and launched in Spring 1977 to bring
NOTES ON BACSA
Historical & Genealogical Societies. More members are needed to support the wide circle of interest - Government; Churches; Services; Business; Museums; There is a steadily growing membership of almost 1,500 (2011) drawn from a
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Founded by the late Theon Wilkinson, MBE
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THE BURMA REGISTER

In 1983 BACSA published the Burma Register, a partial list of Europeans buried there from the early nineteenth century to the 1950s. The Register was edited by Robin Ely McGuire OBE, CMG, a member of the Indian Civil Service, who had been Deputy Commissioner in Burma for twenty years until Independence. He also served in the Burmese Reconstruction Department immediately after the war and must have been an elderly man when he began collecting material for the Register.

‘From the outset’ he wrote in his Introduction, ‘the work has been handicapped by the destruction or loss in Burma in the 1939-45 war of many cemetery and death registers. Also many personal records had to be left behind...following the Japanese invasion.’ Gradually, through his contacts and business firms formerly in Burma, a number of inscriptions, memorial tablets and photographs were gathered, and these were supplemented by material at the India Office Library, and by contributors in Burma. It took four years to gather the information for the Register because, as he wrote, since ‘the Europeans departed, memories fade and full records are not easy to find’. A Supplement to the Register was published in 1987, following fieldwork in Rangoon, which added considerably to the list of names. The intention today is to amalgamate both Register and Supplement into one volume, update and republish it. A great amount of additional material has been collected over the last twenty-four years, and, although Mr McGuire could not have foreseen this at the time, the internet has proved invaluable in piecing together genealogical information and details of those who did not survive the trek out of Burma in 1942.

An associated find was made in the National Archives in Delhi last year. Maung Mya was the Officer-in-Charge of the Archaeological Survey of Burma in the 1920s, and he was asked to prepare a List of European Burial Grounds in Burma by the Indian Historical Records Commission. (At the time Burma was administered as part of India.) Maung Mya collected inscriptions from Commissioners, Deputy Commissioners and Chaplains, one of whom, the Revd Hosten, employed his young Arakanese pupils to record tomb inscriptions in Akyab. All the inscriptions listed date from before 1838. The first English visitors were intrepid traders from the East India Company at the beginning of the seventeenth century, but the earliest surviving stone found was to Captain John Stewart of the Cavalry Service, who was born in Scotland and died in Rangoon in 1808. His tombstone was
discovered being used as a dhobi-stone, and it was re-erected in the Rangoon Cantonment Cemetery. The earlier European burial ground, which predated the Cantonment Cemetery, seems to have been built over shortly after the List of European Burial Grounds was printed. It had provided much evidence of sea-faring, boat-building and the casualties of the first Anglo-Burmese war in the 1820s. The children of Captain Mayflower Crisp, of Messrs. Crisp & Co, Shipbuilders, were buried here, most dying in infancy between 1840 and 1854. Moving upcountry a number of early British graves were found at Moulmein, including that of Mary Moir Macqueer who died on 25 March 1828, aged thirty. Her husband was Major Macqueer of the Madras Native Infantry. Also here were the remains of the two infant children of Henry and Janet Burney, who died in 1829 and 1831. All the names from this 45-page List will be incorporated in the revised Register.

Looking through the thousands of names of the British dead in Burma is a melancholy task. So many young men died during the 19th century wars of conquest by the British for such little gain in an unforgiving country. George Orwell, whose real name was Eric Blair, spent five years working in Burma in the 1920s and captured the feeling of an isolated colonial outpost in his novel Burmese Days. Interestingly, the names of at least two of his characters are found on memorials listed in the Register. In the novel Elizabeth Lackersteen is an unmarried and orphaned English girl who arrives in Burma to stay with relatives. In reality the Lackersteens were a well-known family, whose descendants were forced to flee the Japanese invasion in 1942. There was a real Elizabeth Lackersteen, whose brass plaque in St Mark’s Cathedral, Akyab, showed she was born Elizabeth Anne Lichersteen in Montrose in 1838 and that she died in 1890. For seventeen years she was Headmistress of the Akyab Girls School. Florey, or Florey, the sad hero of Burmese Days may have been named after P.M. Florey who died in 1864 and was buried in the Daingwunkwin Road Cemetery at Amherst.

Also in the Amherst Cemetery were members of Orwell’s own ancestors, the Limouzins. They were shipbuilders too, originally from Bordeaux. It was F. Limouzin’s daughter, Ida Mabel Blair, who became Orwell’s mother, and although the young writer was educated in England, he opted Burma for his first (and last) posting in the Indian Imperial Police Force. The coincidence of the Lackersteen and Florey names has been noted before, but one curiosity may have escaped notice. In the Catholic cemetery in Moulmein lay a Mr J.W. Snowball, who was born in Rangoon in 1810 and died there in 1845. Devotees of Animal Farm may have thoughts on this.
was sacked in 1837 by Coorg rebels, protesting about taxes imposed by the East India Company. It was later restored with fashionable Gothic arches before being handed over to the Basel Mission, a German missionary society. Mr Peres, the present occupant of Belmatta, has done an excellent job of restoring the tomb. (see page 132) The inscription reads: ‘The Honorable Michael Thomas Harris/Second son of Lord Harris/and for many years/Collector and Magistrate of Canara/He was born on 13th Sept 1783/and departed this life/on the 17th May 1824/aged 40 years & 4 months/Universally respected and esteemed.’ Although we do not have many personal details about the Hon. Michael Harris, it was his great great grandson who became the seventh Baron Harris, in 1995, when the direct line of descent died out. BACSA is currently in correspondence with Mr Peres to offer help with restoring the old Mangalore cemetery.

Thomas Coryat is well known as one of the earliest English travellers in India. He was not the first to fall sick and die there – this dubious honour goes to John Mildenhall, who died in 1614 and is buried in Agra. Coryat had already made an extensive European tour, which he described under the title of Coryat’s Crudities, when he set out on his last and most ambitious journey in 1612. His ultimate goal may have been China, but it is his Indian travels for which he is probably best known. Having walked through much of Turkey and Persia, he arrived at the court of the Great Mughal, the Emperor Jehangir, where he was introduced by Sir Thomas Roe, the English Ambassador. Coryat then travelled to Gujarat with the intention of taking a boat, but he fell ill at Surat and died there of dysentery in 1617. On his death, the English chaplain at Surat wrote a short epitaph:

‘Here lies the wanderer of his age
Who living did rejoice
To make his life a pilgrimage
Not out of need but choice.’

BACSA member John Malcolm and his wife Bini went in search of the Coryat tomb late last year. It was not just curiosity that prompted them to do so, but the fact that one of their friends, Mrs Honor Baines, had the unusual maiden name of Coryat. The Great Strider, as Thomas was nicknamed, did not marry or have children, as far as we know, but there might well be collateral descendants, particularly around Odombe in Somerset, where he was born about 1577. In any case, it was a splendid excuse for a Malcolm expedition to Suwali, once a sizeable settlement, where the Coryat tomb lies.

Driving out of Surat towards the port, the couple passed heavy industrial plants until they reached a swampy area, covered with camel thorn and isolated farmhouses. The sturdy domed tomb was soon located, and is in reasonable condition, considering its great age. On the north façade are the remains of some decoration and it is clearly a Mughal-style tomb, similar to those in the English cemetery at Surat. (see page 132) Gratifyingly it had not been vandalized, or used as a rubbish dump. The Malcolms left rose-and-marigold garlands draped over the base of the tomb in tribute.

A tomb of a different kind, in south London, yet with strong Oriental links is that of Sir Richard Burton, the scholar, traveller and translator. His coffin lies above ground with that of his wife Isabel, inside a stone tent at St Mary Magdalen’s Church at Mortlake. Since his death in 1890, the tomb has undergone a considerable number of restorations, because the Forest of Dean sandstone slabs, from which it is carved, seem particularly prone to discolouration. The tomb supposedly represents the tall, elaborately decorated tent that the Burtons used during a visit to Syria. It is certainly not an Arab tent, as was once thought, nor an Indian tent either. The latest restoration (2011) was a joint effort by HOK architects, The Friends of Burton, and the Environment Trust for Richmond upon Thames, funded by English Heritage and the Heritage of London Trust. The tomb has the distinction of being Grade II* listed and now looks pristine again. Although Burton is probably better remembered today for his African and Middle Eastern adventures, he did in fact join the East India Company at the start of his career and spent seven years in India, where he became absorbed with its culture and languages. After the British conquest of Sindh, Burton was appointed as a surveyor, when he learnt to use measuring equipment, and seems, for the first time, to have adopted Muslim dress. His facility with languages enabled him to pass himself off as a Sindhi during a pilgrimage to Mecca. It is odd to think of his restless spirit being confined to a small patch of ground in a Mortlake cemetery, but this eccentric tomb is well worth visiting today. (see back cover)
particular Magdalene Church, Lahore as 'having died in Lahore cantonments commemorated, with their comrades, on a RA tablet in St Mary's Cathedral, Lahore as ‘having died in Lahore cantonments." Their names are: Gunner A. Ralph, d. 26 June 1924, age 23; Driver T. Gray, d. 24 October 1924, age 24 and Signaller J. Cunningham, d. 18 November 1924. The tombs all bore crosses, and the badge of the Royal Artillery with its motto 'Ubique' ('Everywhere'). What makes these sad memorial photographs of particular interest is that all three were printed as postcards designed to be sent through the post. On the reverse of the photograph, printed on card, is a space for 'Correspondence' and 'Address' and the words 'Made in Belgium'. What is the connection between three army graves in Lahore and a Belgium postcard manufacturer? Were the postcards produced in bulk, or in a limited number? And who were they intended for? Did the Royal Artillery commission them? Answers, if any, on a postcard perhaps?

The cantonment town of Mhow, in Madhya Pradesh, was founded in 1818 by Sir John Malcolm and contains a fine old cemetery, now gently crumbling away. BACSA correspondent Dev Kumar recently visited the area, and became intrigued by the grave of three officers of the Bengal Army, who were killed during the Mutiny of 1857. Mhow was comparatively unaffected during the Uprising, but on the evening of 1st July sepoys guarding the Fort ‘broke into open revolt’ killing their officers and ‘revelling in their work of blood and destruction’ until they were mown down by Captain Hungerford’s Company of European Artillery. The three officers who lost their lives were Colonel John Platt, Commanding Officer, 23rd Regt. Bengal Native Infantry, Captain James Fagan of the same Regiment and Major Alfred Harris of the 1st Regiment, Bengal Cavalry.

Colonel Platt had been warned by Captain Hungerford that he should replace the sepoys at the Fort with a European Company, but he made the fatal decision not to do so, because he feared the effects of showing a want of confidence in the sepoys.' Sadly his trust was misplaced. The three officers were initially buried within the Fort itself, before being moved to the cantonment cemetery. Surprisingly perhaps, the slate inscription on their tomb is still in place (see page 133) and it records their names and the simple statement ‘The above officers were killed in the execution of their duty on the night of the mutiny of the Bengal troops at Mhow, 1st July 1857.’ Colonel Platt and Captain Fagan are also commemorated by a memorial in St Mary’s Church, Watford, erected by their brother officers. The memorial is here because there was a local connection, John Platt being born in King’s Langley in 1802, where his father was the Curate of All Saints Church. When Platt’s medals came up for auction in 2006, they were bought by the Dacorum Heritage Trust at Berkhamsted as a memento of a local hero.

The small town of Dagshai in Himachal Pradesh was one of the early hill stations established by the East India Company for use as a sanatorium. It was developed in 1847 on steeply terraced ground, and is just off today’s road between Kalka and Shimla. As a place where British invalids went to recover, it is not surprising that there are a number of graveyards there, perhaps as many as six, both Anglican and Catholic. The curiously named Dagshai Short Range Graveyard appears to be the earliest, with inscriptions dating from 1850 to 1887. Mrs Jean Thomas, a BACSA contact, has gathered over eighty inscriptions and photographs from this cemetery, and over a hundred from the Dagshai Nehch Gaon (Anglican) cemetery, in use between 1860 and 1930. A number of regiments have memorials here including the 85th Kings Light Infantry Regiment of Foot and the Derbyshire Regiment. There are individual tombs to men of the Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment) and the Connaught Rangers, some of whom mutinied in 1920 when they learnt of British actions in their Irish homeland. The last member of the British Armed Forces to be executed for Mutiny, Private James Daly, was buried at Dagshai until 1970, when his body was repatriated to the Irish Republic.

CANC YOU HELP?

Its always good to have a query answered, and although BACSA was not directly involved this time, readers will be interested in the follow-up story of the Sundargarh graves, pictured in the Spring 2011 Chowkidar. The double grave in Orissa State was that of Judge Herschel Christian and his wife Queenie who died in a drowning accident in 1937. Did the two graves still exist, was our question earlier this year. Now Jill Reeve-Johnson, grand-daughter of Herschel and Queenie, has learnt from the present-day Collector at Sundargarh, Ms Shalini Pandit, IAS, that the graves are indeed still there, in what used to be the Gangpur Raja’s palace garden. Ms Pandit wrote that in order to locate the graves, local church organizations and elderly citizens were contacted. The site, which is now next to the Women’s College was finally found and identified by Mr Nelson Soreng, President of the Lutheran Church at Sundargarh. The marble plaque has gone, as has most of the low wall that surrounded the graves. By 1949 the site contained two further graves, and the land was then made over to the local Christian community for use as a cemetery. The handover letter from the District Magistrate’s office confirmed that both Herschel and Queenie Christian died together, in the river, on 28 April 1937. Recent photographs show that although the tombs have weathered, they are both intact, and in a touching gesture some kind person has placed wreaths on the tombs. (see page 133) Other graves lie beyond what remains of the wall today, in the former Raja’s garden.

The last member of the British Armed Forces to be executed for Mutiny, Private James Daly, was buried at Dagshai until 1970, when his body was repatriated to the Irish Republic.
Two queries have come in about tombs at Dagshai, neither of which appears in Mrs Thomas’s lists. Nigel Roberts from Hampshire has a photograph of a little grave with a wooden cross, that marks the burial site of a baby girl born in December 1920 and died six months later on 16 June 1921. Samuel Shone was the grandfather of our enquirer, Nigel Roberts, and wonders if a more permanent memorial was erected over the grave when the Regiment moved on. The small wooden cross would not have survived for many years.

The second query is about a more substantial tomb that tells an equally sad story. The marble inscription reads: ‘In loving memory of Gillian and Daphne, beloved twin daughters of Bugle Major & Mrs Pawley. Ist Battalion D.C.L.I./ died June 1940. / Suffer Little children to come unto me.’ (Duke of Cornwall’s Light Infantry.) Nothing more is known about this double tragedy, nor whether the tomb survives today. Dagshai is certainly not on the tourist map and it’s not hard to see why. It boasts a large British-era jail (where Private Daly was executed), an Army School, a church, and one hotel. The neighbouring hill stations of Kasauli and Shimla are obviously more attractive, and yet Dagshai was home to many Britons over the years, and many still rest here in its cemeteries.

Finding British graves in Burma is not an easy task, as our first article shows. When the date of death and place is also unknown, it becomes even harder, but Richard Michael is not giving up and has been researching for many years. Now living in Australia, he was brought up in Calcutta by Anglo-Indian parents. His grandfather, William Sinclair Thom was born in Madras in 1868 and he joined the Indian Imperial Police Force in Burma in 1887, serving until his retirement in 1926. His first wife, whom he divorced in 1930, was Jessie Paton Hughes, and one child was born of this marriage. The following year William, by then in his 60s, married a Burmese woman, Ma Tin, but he had also contracted a relationship with another Burmese woman whose name is unknown. Two children were born from this liaison – Mr Michael’s mother, and his aunt. At an early age the two little girls were placed in an orphanage at Chittagong, and in later life had very little recollection of their father and mother.

When the Japanese invaded Burma in 1942, William was seventy-four years old, but he joined the trek into India, accompanied by his wife and two more children, as the Evacuees List shows. The family made for Dehra Dun, where they stayed at 39 Lytton Road, with William’s brother-in-law, Mr R.M. Aldworth, a former mine owner from Taungyi in Upper Burma.

In October 1948 the family returned to Burma with five children and there we lose sight of him. He may have settled in the old British hill station at Kalaw, where his second wife came from, or perhaps the capital, Rangoon. William seemed indestructible. In his 80s he wrote an unpublished book about game hunting in Burma, the last chapter of which was entitled ‘Administration of The Hill District of the Arakan Hill Tracts of Burma from 15 September 1906 to 26 May 1926, with a few digressions on poisonous snakes, wild dogs, etc.’ Somewhere there would have been a record of his death. The India Office Library Burial Registers do not hold it, and research in today’s Burma is difficult. But perhaps someone can advise?

A friend of BACSA member Alan Lane recently made a lucky purchase at a Norfolk auction. He got seven inscribed pewter beer tankards for a nominal price and rather neatly they tell us something about their former owner, a Mr H.M. Molesworth. He appears to have spent his working life in Calcutta as an employee of ICI. He was a member of the Tollygunge Club, winning the Office Tennis Cup in 1937, and before that, in 1935, the Calcutta Merchant’s Cup. After the war he again got this cup, together with five others. In 1953, 1956 and 1958 he was one of the winners of the Calcutta Merchant’s Cup Golf Competition and took part in the Schools Challenge Cup ‘Marlborough College’ at the Tollygunge in 1957. It should be possible to trace this sporting gentleman from the clues give above – any ideas from BACSA members?

Sir Lancelot Hare, the last Lieutenant Governor of divided Bengal from 1906 to 1911 was a founder member of the Dacca Club, which is marking its centenary this month (August). BACSA member Waqar Khan was extremely anxious to trace any descendants of Sir Lancelot, and to invite them to the centenary celebrations. Strenuous attempts to find relatives have failed, and sadly the occasion has now passed, although we would still be interested to learn of his family. All we know is that Sir Lancelot died in London in 1922, having written, in retirement, a couple of books on currency and exchange. He married again after the death of his first wife.

BEFORE BACSA

‘What did we do before BACSA helpfully arrived?’ asked BACSA member Anthony Greenstreet recently. He was prompted to this by finding an article from The Amateur Historian of 1953 entitled ‘Anglo-Indian Family History’ by Brigadier Humphry Bullock, an Indian Army officer. (Almost sixty years ago, Brigadier Bullock was using the phrase ‘Anglo-Indian’ in its old meaning of ‘the Englishman in India’, rather than people of mixed race.) The Brigadier was particularly well qualified to write about tracing family records through printed Lists.
Registers, and inscriptions from tombstones, because he had been appointed by the British Government in 1947 to prepare an Inventory of all British cemeteries in the Indian subcontinent. This enormous task took him two years and by 1949 he was able to present the Inventory to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, who rather rashly pledged that Britain would take on the responsibility for British cemeteries in the subcontinent ‘so far as local circumstances permit’. The Brigadier’s article of 1953 is probably the first attempt to lay out the sources available to those researching their family’s history in India which were housed in three main depositories in London – the British Library then in the Reading Room at Bloomsbury; the Library and Records Department of the former India Office, then in the Commonwealth Relations Office in Downing Street, and the Society of Genealogists, then in Malet Place, Bloomsbury. If the printed Monumental Inscriptions were not in their local library, researchers had to travel to London, or get an expensive ‘photostat’ of the pages needed. Photocopying machines were not common until the 1960s.

Another invaluable source, which is still used today, is the Percy-Smith card index. Colonel Kendall Percy-Smith, another Indian Army officer, was re-employed during World War Two, but found time to copy many Indian Parish Registers and a large number of monumental inscriptions in cemeteries. After the war six typed volumes of baptisms, marriages and burials were produced, in collaboration with Brigadier Bullock, and these were deposited with the Society of Genealogists. At the time, this was the logical place to put them. In 1953 the India Office Library and Records was still part of a Government office in Downing Street, and intense pressure on space meant that it could not house non-Governmental papers. It was this pressure that led to the creation of the India Office Library on Blackfriars Road, south London, in 1967, when the majority of the records were moved there, and the Library began accessioning new material. Ten years later, BACSA was founded and people trying to trace their ancestors’ graves in British India and beyond had somewhere to go for help. Since then of course, huge changes have taken place, not just in technology, but also in the serious research of Europeans in Asia. FIBIS (Families in British India Society) was established in 1998 and has taken some of the genealogical burden off BACSA’s shoulders, so we can concentrate more on restoring old cemeteries in the East, and less on tracing family connections. Members may be interested to learn that not all of Colonel Percy-Smith’s papers went to the Society of Genealogists. Some connected with the Bengal Pilot Services went to the National Maritime Museum and others to the National Army Museum at Chelsea. From these a selection was donated to BACSA, and are now in the Archives at the British Library.

NOTICES

Old Indian Newspapers: an unusual gift was made to BACSA earlier this year by a member, Mr Malcolm Chase. It is a collection of pages culled from English-language newspapers published in India between January 1940 and August 1947. The papers are: The Statesman, The Mail [Madras], The Civil & Military Gazette, and The Times of India. The majority of pages come from The Statesman. The collection includes a SEAC (South East Asia Command) Souvenir dated 30 November 1944. Please note that there are no complete newspapers, only pages, or parts of newspapers, and that three of the items are in poor condition. (The papers have been stored flat.) Nevertheless the pages are valuable for their intrinsic interest – the advertisements of the time, reports on Club activities, and war-time events. This was also the period leading up to Indian Independence and the creation of Pakistan. The pages are being offered for sale as a job lot for £30.00. The first written offer to The Secretary will secure them. (Do not send any money yet.) If several offers are received simultaneously a non-BACSA member will make a blind draw. It will be difficult and expensive to post the papers, but they will be available for collection either at the forthcoming General Meeting or after that date from Putney.

Oriental bric-à-brac: a few items have been kindly donated by people and BACSA is looking for more contributions for a bric-à-brac stall at the General Meeting. Members are encouraged to donate small unwanted items with an Oriental flavour. The only restriction is that they should be portable, so no furniture or very large pieces. Please contact the Secretary if you think you may have something of interest.

The Michael Stokes Postcard Collection: Members and friends learnt with great sadness of the death of Council member Michael Stokes earlier this year. Michael had been BACSA Chairman for two terms of office, before joining the Council. After retirement he built up a splendid collection of over 7,000 old postcards from colonial India, concentrating on the life of the Raj and the British soldier or civil servant and his family as depicted in the popular picture postcards. Some of these have been displayed at BACSA meetings, and Michael was always willing to share his enthusiasm with others, including writers, scholars and researchers. The collection includes postcards of churches and memorials in British India, of particular interest to BACSA. Michael’s widow, Mrs Prue Stokes, has very generously decided to donate the collection to the Royal Society for Asian Affairs in London, where it will be available for viewing, by appointment, in the Society’s Library.
top: the Hon. Michael Harris's tomb at Mangalore (see page 124)
below: Thomas Coryat's tomb at Suwali, Surat (see page 125)

top: tomb of the three officers killed at Mhow (see page 126)
below: the Sundargarh tombs today (see page 127)
THE OLD DIBRUGARH CEMETERY

This welcome news that the cemetery is to be renovated appeared in the Assam Tribune on 29 June and was sent in by BACSA member Andrew Brock. The neglected cemetery lies in the heart of the city beside the Assam Trunk Road (now National Highway 37). After a visit by the Deputy Commissioner Mr. K.K. Dwivedi to the cemetery, with other municipal officers, he gave orders for work to start immediately on cleaning, erecting strong boundary walls, and appointing a supervisor and workers to look after the cemetery. Funding of 5 lakhs (about £6,500) is coming from the zila parishad, the local organisation similar to an English district council. Mr Dwivedi says 'We're going to restore the past glory of the place. Tourists usually like to visit such places of historical importance as it provides a peek into the past. We plan to develop the cemetery as a popular tourist destination.'

The newspaper reports that 'The graveyard spreads across about 68,698 square feet. It was constructed in 1862-63 reportedly with an amount of Rs 4,812 only. Altogether 103 British nationals were laid to rest in this cemetery.' The first person to be buried here was a British corporal, Thomas Trail, who died of illness. William Alexander Mackenzie Duncan, Deputy Commissioner of Dibrugarh (then the headquarters of the erstwhile Lakhimpur district), was also interred here, dying at the early age of 29. Others include Executive Engineer William Craig, died 22 October 1860 and Thomas Walter, Commander of the steamer Rajmahal. The newspaper also reported that the bodies of a number of British soldiers who died fighting during the World War II lie here, but this is incorrect. The nearest Commonwealth War Graves Commission cemetery is at Digboi, where some 200 soldiers lie in a beautifully maintained site.

The Dibrugarh cemetery had been going downhill for many years and had become 'a haunt of gamblers, drunks and vagabonds' according to the Chairman of the Dibrugarh Municipal Board, Mr Chandra Kanta Baruah. Neat rows of white grave stones are now thickly covered with bushes, headstones have disappeared or fallen and epitaphs on those remaining are barely decipherable. The site has been encroached upon, and small shops and kiosks have been built along the boundary wall of the cemetery. Mr Baruah plans to evict the encroachers, and the owners of the illegal shops. According to local residents, relatives and friends of those buried here still come to pay their respects including visitors from England, Hong Kong and Kenya. One can see how its restoration will benefit both the city and boost tourism.

BACSA member Eileen Hewson included the Dibrugarh cemeteries in her 2005 book Assam & North-East India: Christian Cemeteries and Memorials 1783-2003. There appear to be two old cemeteries here, but they are not named. An earthquake in 1950 destroyed St Paul's Church and its cemetery, although a considerable number of tablets were salvaged and placed in the new church, which was finished in 1956 and stands near today's District Planters Club, a little way out of town. The largest cemetery, and the one this article refers to, is near the India Club and is a large square site, intersected by paths. For some time it was under the care of the Assam Branch of the India Tea Association and it seems as if the headstones may not be original. 'Each grave has a new headstone' wrote Eileen Hewson 'which has been compiled from the first memorial. From a list of the old graves it has been possible to identify the original inscriptions...'. There are 131 graves noted here, twenty more than the current estimate. Whatever the case, it is a highly commendable effort and the Dibrugarh officials must be congratulated for their initiative.

THE OLD CHRISTIAN CEMETERY AT ABBOTTABAD

Abbottabad in Pakistan has recently been in the news for all the wrong reasons. It took BBC radio announcers a couple of days to figure out how to pronounce it, until they realised the town was named after General Sir James Abbott, who founded it in 1853, after the annexation of the Punjab. Abbottabad was reckoned as a pleasant, healthy place in the hills, and was set up for climatic reasons as much as strategic. James Abbott built himself a bungalow here, to escape the hot weather on the plains. Professor Omer Tarin who lives in the cantonment there has kindly sent a copy of an article first published in the Kipling Journal last year. Written by Professor Tarin and Mr Sarkees Najruddin, it records the first five oldest identifiable tombs in the Abbottabad Old Christian Cemetery. The cemetery probably dates back to the foundation of the town, and although it came under Anglican jurisdiction about 1864, people of other Christian denominations continued to be buried there, so it was also known as the European Cemetery. It is located on Hill Road, in the old cantonment centre and very near St Luke’s Church. About sixty-five graves are still identifiable, with another twelve to fifteen in poor condition. The oldest verifiable grave is that of Captain William Wheatley Repton, of the 56th Regt. Native Infantry, who died on 5 September 1853. The cause of his death is not known. Other early burials here include that of Major Richmond Batyce, one of the famed 'fighting ten' Batyce brothers. The Major was killed during the preliminary skirmish of the
so-called Black Mountain campaign in 1888, one of those small but deadly expeditions against warring tribesmen. He and a fellow officer, Captain Henry Urmston, had fallen behind a reconnaissance group in order to help a wounded havildar, when they themselves were struck down. Richmond Battye was felled by a sword cut, then shot through the neck. He left a widow, Margaret, the daughter of General Moffat and seven young children. The couple's second-born son, George Percival, had died in 1872 at ten months, and it was next to his little grave that Richmond Battye was laid to rest. The two graves, of father and son, are enclosed in a wrought-iron grill. The history of the Battye brothers was published by BACSA in 1984 under the title The Fighting Ten, and its author was Evelyn Désirée Battye, wife of Major General Stuart Battye, who was the grandson of Major Richmond Battye.

Professor Tarin and Mr Najmuddin conclude their article by saying simply that they wish 'to highlight the presence of these graves in Abbottabad, of people who lived and died here and are very much part of our past historical "narrative", one way or the other, despite years of terrible neglect by Pakistani historians and governmental authorities'. They regret that in spite of large History Departments in Pakistan's universities, 'almost no work is being undertaken on our colonial history, especially the fascinating military history of that time.' At least two sympathetic scholars are trying to redress the balance.

BISHOP COTTON'S SOCKS

David Hobson has found a story in the Rugbean Society's journal Floreat that he thinks might bring a smile to the lips of readers of Chowkidar. George Edward Lynch was appointed Bishop of Calcutta in 1858 on the recommendation of Queen Victoria. He had taught at two of England's best public schools, Marlborough and Rugby for many years, and was strongly influenced by the educationalist Thomas Arnold. The Bishop established boarding schools in India, which are still flourishing today in Shimla, Bangalore and Nagpur. It is said that he requested donations of clothing for poor Indian children and that ladies in England spent time knitting socks to send him. He is reported to have blessed all such items received, hence the term 'socks for Cotton's blessing' or 'Cotton's socks for blessing'. It's a nice story, but is it true? Perhaps BACSA members of the distinguished Cotton family would like to comment? The kind-hearted man met his death in a tragic fashion. He had travelled to Kushtia, now in Bangladesh, to consecrate a cemetery. On his way back to his river-boat, he stumbled on the makeshift gangplank, fell into the river Gorai and was swept away. His body was never recovered.

BACSA BOOKS written by BACSA members

Forgotten Souls: A Social History of the Hong Kong Cemetery
Patricia Lim

BACSA has always embraced a trilogy of responsibilities relating to British cemeteries in the countries where the East India Company was active - their identification, restoration and recording. In order to assist in the latter, your Association agreed to contribute to a project conducted over a number of years by Patricia Lim, to record the burials and inscriptions on the memorials in the former Colonial Cemetery in Happy Valley on Hong Kong Island. This work has now been completed, and a link will be put on the BACSA website - in the meantime the records can be searched in four parts on http://gwulo.com/node/8738 plus 8739, 8740 and 8741. From this very useful record of some 10,000 burials, Mrs Lim has extracted a large selection of the burials to illustrate, in a highly evocative manner, the lives of the wild, diverse, philanthropic, corrupt, pathetic and astronomically successful folk who have taken up permanent residence on the green western slope of the Valley. Requiring the most extensive and meticulous research, as confirmed in the useful footnotes and bibliography, the social history of the first hundred or so years of Hong Kong, illustrated by those residents, is described in very readable style.

Commencing with an explanation of how Hong Kong came into being, despite some opposition from the Home Government and those who preferred 'colonising' Chusan, and developed from a sink of iniquity into a civilised but structured society, the book cleverly describes the community by breaking it up into its components. Thus in chapters covering Merchants, Clerks and Bankers, Professionals, Tradesmen and Artisans, Civil Servants, Merchant Navy, Missionaries, Americans etc one can learn how interesting, if hazardous, the early days were. Later chapters take us through years of consolidation, disaster, competition and changes in the cosmopolitan community and the world outside, culminating with the Japanese occupation. Gathered together in one volume is a huge amount of material and a fine selection of photographs, which are so good they should have been larger, this book is so rewarding that it can be re-read several times over with something new popping out each time. In a city where only the cathedral has survived from early days, Happy Valley Cemetery lives on as the non-betting heart of the community. A wonderful book. (DWM)

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Rammohun Roy and the Making of Victorian Britain
Lynn Zastoupil

This book has been ten years in the making. It started with an article in ‘Victorian Studies’ and has engaged the author with detailed research in both Britain and America. Zastoupil is the J.J. McComb Professor of History at Rhodes College, Memphis and his previous works on the Indian sub-continent include John Stuart Mill and India. He was a co-author, with Martin Moir of the British Library, of The Great Indian Education Debate. This present book thus continues his earlier interest in India; in political ideologies, reform and education.

It is densely written with lengthy and detailed notes (50 pages) and a wide bibliography including the main newspapers and journals of the period from India and Britain, together with modern works relating to the Raja. As always an up-to-date bibliography is of value to those interested in the career of Rammohun, but this book has a far wider and lengthier remit. It sets out to examine the growing interest in reforms across Britain in early and mid-Victorian Britain and in particular those initiated and supported by the Unitarians. They were influential out of all proportion to their numbers: the membership of the Society for the Development of Social Science for example gives a roll call of Unitarians and Dissenters. In fact Zastoupil’s book might have been better sub-titled ‘and his involvement with the Unitarians’, since so much of the book is concerned with Unitarians and their many causes. The nine chapters of the book examine the many causes the Raja and the Unitarians held in common, and how he was accepted in London via the latter’s culture of reform, to become an admired ‘insider’.

Rammohun had famously called himself a Hindu Unitarian in Calcutta during 1821, and so his sponsorship and championing by this religious group was perhaps to be expected during his later visit to Britain from April 1831 to September 1833. He would be marketed as their celebrated Unitarian, and introduced on to those in power and position. In short he was presented and championed in Britain by the Unitarian lobby. The involvement of the Unitarians in many fields of reform here happily included similar reforms to those which had been advocated by the Raja in India: rational religious reform, the rights of women, school and college education, free trade and the liberty of the Press. Rammohun hoped for Parliamentary reform in Britain via the Great Reform Act and, encouraged by the Unitarians, apparently briefly considered standing for Parliament himself, a full half century before the first Indian MPs entered the Commons in the Parsi trio of first Naoroji, then Bhownagree and finally Saklatwalla. The Raja’s courageous fight against sati caught the imagination of the British and won him considerable popular support in this country. Here was a cultured and highly intelligent visitor; polite, interested and diplomatic: small wonder he was widely admired and his opinions sought by Parliament, the social reformers and leaders of the time as well as by the curious Great British Public. Zastoupil sees him as an important figure moving easily between cultures, religions and people; a trans-cultural cosmopolitan of political importance.

This volume sits within the current examination of the journey from the colonies to the metropole: Rammohun himself planned for a longer period in Britain (and even a crossing over to America to meet his friends-by-correspondence, the Unitarians there), but unfortunately his early death from meningitis in Bristol at just 61 cut his visit all too short. Zastoupil’s last chapter ‘A Fitting statue on College Green’ (in central Bristol), brings the saga of the Raja up to 1997 and agrees that such a memorial - a full sized and lifelike statue of the Raja - is rightfully placed to recall his significance. In fact recognition of the Raja’s importance has continued to grow and develop over the 180 odd years since his death; first as a founder of the Bengal Renaissance and a social and political reformer, as the Founder of the Brahmo Samaj, as a pan-Indian figure and Founder of Modern India. In Britain he is admired as a man of undoubted stature by both native British and those of Indian origin, who may find in him an earlier role model. In short the influence of the Raja was not felt only during the Victorian period but continues to develop and be experienced across Britain today. (CC)

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The First Anglo-Sikh War
Amarpal Sidhu

Whilst this may not be a great book, Amarpal Sidhu’s The First Anglo-Sikh War is definitely an excellent guidebook to the battlefields of this war. For those who are interested in the Anglo-Sikh wars this book is a ‘must read’ and for those who are contemplating a visit to the area, this book is an essential companion. Days before my own visit to the war area I was fortunate enough to see and buy this book at the National Army Museum. Armed with my GPS and the book I was able to get a real feel of the events of the day, despite the significant changes to the topography.
Amarpal Sidhu brings to life the battlegrounds of a hundred and sixty years ago, the distances involved, shortage of water, dust, heat and the difficulty of communications. No student of this war should visit the area without this book in his knapsack.

Sidhu must be commended for the depth of his research and the pleasing way in which he has presented the results of his effort. The book is in three parts. In the first seven pages of the Introduction he gives a concise and unbiased account of the background and build-up to the war. In the middle of the 19th century the Sikh Khalsa Army, trained on European lines and armed with high quality artillery, was the only remaining fighting force in India capable of challenging the might of the East India Company's Bengal Army and its seconded British regiments. The brilliant Maharaja Ranjit Singh created the Sikh Kingdom with this army and forever put a stop to invasions from the north. Sadly, none of his successors were capable of controlling this fighting machine and most of Ranjit’s great generals were also dead. The Khalsa army became politicized, greedy and rapacious and the Sikh leaders, alarmed by their army's dominance, sought to break its power by throwing it against the British, possibly to win, but most probably to leave its bones on the battlefield. The Governor General, Sir Henry Hardinge, did not cherish a war with the Sikhs during his tenure, but events over-took him and on 18 December 1845 he declared war, which was to last for fifty-four days over the winter of 1845-46 with a casualty bill of 6,405 dead and wounded. The British force was led by the popular, incredibly brave, but tactically inept General Sir Hugh Gough, who in his white ‘fighting coat' caused his men to be slaughtered in futile bayonet charges.

In the second part, Amarpal Sidhu walks us through, in great detail, each of the five battles, albeit the British never accepted that the Bhudowal engagement with the enemy was a battle. For each battle, Amarpal Sidhu gives us a detailed account of the approach, the strengths of the opposing forces, the disposition of formations and guns, how they were employed and the results, in addition this part of the book includes carefully selected and appropriate quotations from officers and men who were there fighting and surviving. The Sikh Khalsa army proved not to be a rebellious ‘ragtag' rabble that Sir Hugh expected to encounter and in a special despatch, read out in Parliament, he paid tribute to these gallant soldiers, who, had they been better led, could well have brought an ‘end of British power in India'. In the final part, Amarpal Sidhu, provides us with the grid references of key locations such as the Harike Ford and the wells at Ferozeshah.

This could be a first and is a manifestation of the tremendous amount of research that the author has put into this work. It was a joy both to read and use this book. Let's hope that Amarpal Sidhu is able to accomplish as good a result with his account of the Second Anglo-Sikh War, on the other side of the Sutlej and now in Pakistan. (IEW)

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The Last Post: Inscriptions on French Graves in India
K.J.S. Chatrath

There is no equivalent association to BACSA in France, but after reading this book French people may well be moved to set up a similar organisation. The author, a retired IAS officer, has published a number of books on Franco-Indian topics and was inspired to write this delightful book after a visit to the French cemetery in Pondicherry, some two decades ago. France was the most serious rival to Britain in the eighteenth-century struggle for domination in India. Had the Comte de Lally not surrendered Pondicherry in 1761 after a British siege that lasted nearly a year, and had that fine General, Joseph Francois Dupleix received proper support from his homeland, India would today be a Francophone country. Perhaps, because their country ultimately lost the battle for control, the French have always had a different relationship with India to the British. It is a softer relationship, more romantic, more cultural, and somehow more intuitive. Freed from the possibility of actually having to run the country, France began to explore it in ways that the British could not do. And yet there has been little written in English, about the French role in India. Almost single-handedly Professor Jean-Marie Lafont has explored the French contribution in a number of books including Indika; Essays in Indo-French Relations 1630-1976, published in 2000, but little else has appeared. All the more reason then to welcome Dr Chatrath's book, which is both a straightforward listing of French graves in five cities - Chandernagore, Karaikal, Pondicherry, Mahe and Yanam and a learned look at other French graves in India.

Theon Wilkinson's book Two Monsoons, the inspiration for BACSA, is given full credit as the first book of its kind to go ‘beyond the mere listing of the graves and the epitaphs'. The long introductory chapter in The Last Post is similarly discursive, opinionated and readable. The oldest French grave found is that of Jacques L'Huyer, who may have come from Dunquerque. He died after a long illness, borne with much patience, and after having been received into the Church, on 24 August 1703 at Pondicherry.
Under the heading ‘Inscriptions brimming with Agony and Sorrow’ is the wording on the Chandernagore tomb of a baby of five months, Alfred Sylvain. He was the son of Alfred Hilleau de St Hillaire, Chevalier of the Royal Order of the Legion d’Honneur, Administrator of the French Settlements in Bengal, and his wife Adèle Hyacinthe Marie, Duchess of Villeneuve. The little boy died on 4 May 1843. ‘Oh Mothers! Shed a tear for this angel’. The loss of this child must have been particularly hard for his father, who would have been an elderly man at the time of the birth, because the term ‘Royal Order’ was abolished by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1802. A similarly sad story is related on a Pondicherry tombstone to the Vardon family, who lost three children in three years after the early death of their mother.

‘What happened to these children?’ asks the author ‘What ailments did they suffer from? What a catastrophe it would have been for the parents.’

Well-known French people who died in India are also noted — the botanist Victor Jacquemont who died in Bombay on 7 December 1832 and whose large botanical collection is preserved in the Natural History Museum in Paris; Jean Baptiste De Warren, the astronomer who was appointed Judge at Pondicherry, where he died in 1830; General Michelle Marie Raymond, who died in Hyderabad in 1798 and the Frenchmen who worked for Maharaja Ranjit Singh, like Jean-Francois Allard who is buried in Lahore next to his daughter Marie-Charlotte.

‘Where are the bad people buried?’ is another endearing heading. ‘Have you come across a single inscription...where any negative quality of the deceased was mentioned or even hinted at?’ After much searching Dr Chatrath found the tomb of Joseph Rondo, born near Nantes in 1767 and died in Chandernagore on 13 November 1846. His inscription reads: ‘He had the virtues but those could not erase his faults, which he tried to correct instead of hiding them.’ The author tells us how he himself nearly came to a sticky end in the Pondicherry cemetery, when a long-horned cow charged him — ‘my reflexes were rather quick for a sixty-plus man’ he says modestly. And what a good thing too, otherwise we would have been deprived of this splendid work. All right, there are one or two niggles — it could have been better proof-read; some of the French transcriptions are a bit doubtful, and by some computer quirk there are no grave or acute accents (which will really wind French readers up), but it is a thoroughly recommended book. (RLJ)

Murder in the Hindu Kush: George Hayward and the Great Game

Tim Hannigan

Most people who recognise the name of George Hayward, the maverick nineteenth century explorer in Central Asia will know him through Sir Henry Newbolt’s poem ‘He fell among Thieves’. Tim Hannigan has no time for Newbolt, calling him a ‘quivering champion in rhyming doggerel of public school values, imperialism and honourable deaths’. This is a bit hard on Newbolt, but in fact the poet’s mawkish rhyme about Hayward has done the latter a mis-service. The middle-class lad from Leeds never experienced the School Close, College Eight and ‘Dons on their dais’ of Newbolt’s imagining. And Hayward’s death by beheading was certainly not the ‘poetically smooth single stroke of a shimmering blade’. This book sets out to tell the real story of the man who perhaps, in the end, was his own worse enemy and who admitted, prophetically ‘I shall wander about the wilds of Central Asia, still possessed with an insane desire to try the effects of cold steel across my throat.’

Hayward was inspired by the tales of Colonel Alexander Gardner, a ‘gloriously disreputable figure’, and the oldest and longest standing resident of Srinagar. Among his many exploits, Gardner claimed to have crossed the Pamirs to Yarkand, travelling onwards to the Kandoram and then west to Kafiristan. If true, this would have taken place in the early years of the nineteenth century, when such adventures were (just) possible. But by the time Hayward set out, ‘most of the independent rulers west and north of the Punjab knew all about Britain and resented its increasing dominance’. Having served in the British Army in India as an officer (his commission paid for by his father’s former employer, the Earl of Cardigan), Hayward persuaded the Royal Geographical Society to sponsor him on a journey to the Pamirs in 1868. The area was little known to foreigners and even the source of the Oxus had not been positively established. For Hayward, the Pamirs, which are still one of the most inaccessible places on earth, became something of a Holy Grail. Unlike his contemporary, Robert Shaw, who intended to be the first Englishman to reach Yarkand and Kashgar, Hayward travelled exceedingly light, often tent-less and dressed as an Afghan, with a few native companions. He had failed to reach the Pamirs on his first expedition, and had been put under house arrest, like Shaw, for several months in Yarkand and Kashgar by the warlord Yakub Beg. Both men were released when Yakub Beg felt that the British might prove a better ally than the Russians during the Great Game. Nevertheless Hayward had managed to do some solid surveying work and exploration for the RGS.

*2010 Pohti.com No ISBN. Rs 800 with black & white photographs, or Rs 2,750 with colour photographs
Had he stopped then, he would have been remembered today as a regular Victorian explorer, but it was the sight of the distant Pamirs, seen from the roof of his temporary prison in Kashgar, that was to lure him back, ultimately to his death. Hannigan has not only followed in Hayward’s footsteps, right to the Yasin Valley, where the killing took place, but he also painstakingly pieced together the motive for the murder, and the probable instigator of the murder. An investigative party was sent out months later and Hayward’s body brought back from its temporary grave to be properly buried at Gilgit. A marble stone was placed over the spot with the inscription ‘Sacred to the memory of Lieut. G.W. Hayward, Medallist of the Royal Geographical Society of London, who was cruelly murdered at Darkot, July 18th 1870, on his journey to explore the Pamir steppe…’ This is a good story, and well told. Hannigan’s training as a journalist is evident and he is not afraid to use modern parallels to make a point. Recommended. (RLJ)


Three Months in Cashmere ed. Patrick Pinches

This is the travel diary of Mary Sykes, wife of Thomas, who was the Principal of La Martinière College, Lucknow for thirty years. Husband and wife set out to trek in Kashmir during a long leave in 1887. It had been the ‘dream of our life to visit the Happy Valley’ wrote the diarist and ‘we determined to realise our dream’, which makes them sound like a very modern couple. It was a well-planned expedition, with an enormous amount of gear – tents, tables and chairs, carpets, baths, cooking pots etc., which combined with their own baggage weighed in at 9 hundredweight. But Kashmir, at that time, was almost undeveloped for visitors and in spite of all the camping equipment there were several nights spent in miserable huts and completely unfurnished dak bungalows. An oil-lamp seems to have been forgotten, and some evenings were spent lit only by a solitary candle. But it was a cheerful, if tiring, tour, and the author’s curiosity and gentle good humour bring those distant days, and places, vividly to life. The editor is married to the great grand-daughter of Mary and Thomas Sykes. (RLJ)


Note: The distributor for Women of Anglo India, reviewed in the Spring Chowkidar is Frank Bradbury, 14 Cheriton Court, 130 Selhurst Road, London SE25 6LW. Earlier CTR publications can also be obtained from Mr Bradbury.

Notes to Members

When writing to the Secretary and expecting a reply, please enclose a stamped addressed envelope.

If wishing to contact a fellow-member whose address is not known to you, send the letter c/o Honorary Secretary who will forward it unopened.

If planning any survey of cemetery Mls, either in this country or overseas, please check with the Projects Officer or the Honorary Secretary to find out if it has already been recorded. This is not to discourage the reporting of the occasional MI notice, which is always worth doing, but to avoid unnecessary duplication of effort.

*Books from India:* where prices are given in rupees, these books can be obtained from Mr Ram Advani, Bookseller, Mayfair Buildings, Hazratganj PO Box 154, Lucknow 226001, UP, India. Mr Advani will invoice BACSA members in sterling, adding £4.00 for registered airmail for a slim hardback, and £3.00 for a slim paperback. Sterling cheques should be made payable to Ram Advani. Catalogues and price lists will be sent on request. Email: radvanilko@gmail.com

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above: the restored tomb of Sir Richard and Isabel Burton, Mortlake (see page 125)