NOTES ON BACSA

The Association was formed in 1976 and launched in Spring 1977 to bring together people with a concern for the many hundreds of European cemeteries, isolated graves and monuments in South Asia.

There is a steady membership of over 1,100 (2017) drawn from a wide circle of interest - Government; Churches; Services; Business; Museums; Historical & Genealogical Societies. More members are needed to support the rapidly expanding activities of the Association - the setting up of local committees in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Burma, Sri Lanka, Malaysia etc., and building up the Records Archive in the India Office Collections at the British Library; and many other projects for the upkeep of historical and architectural monuments.

The Association has its own newsletter Chowkidaar, which is distributed free to all members twice a year and contains a section for 'Queries' on any matter relating to family history or the condition of a relative's grave etc. BACSA also publishes Cemetery Records books and has published books on different aspects of European social history out East. Full details on our website: www.bacsa.org.uk

Founded by the late Theon Wilkinson, MBE
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THE COLONEL'S HILL

'We are a small community of local residents who love and admire the Colonel Clement Hill monument since our childhood and we are eager to protect and preserve the same. We need your immediate help...the glory of the Monument is at immediate stake.' This heartfelt plea was sent to BACSA by Mr Ravi Hedge from Uttara Kannada District in the southern Indian State of Karnataka late last year. His letter laid out in considerable detail a description of the monument that has been protected by the Rotary Club of Honnavar since 1980 and the imminent threat today from the National Highways Authority of India. It is a measure of BACSA's good reputation that an appeal like this has been made to us and has been answered.

The Honnavar monument is little known and certainly not on any tourist trail. It doesn't mark the site of a battle, but it is clearly cherished by local people. Clement Delves Hill was born in December 1781 at Hawkstone Hall, near Prees, in Shropshire, the sixth son of Sir John Hill, baronet. Three of his elder brothers were commissioned into the army, rising to distinguished positions so it is not surprising that Clement joined the Royal Horse Guards as a cornet in 1805 and also progressed through the ranks, reaching the position of Major General in 1837. During his military career Clement fought in the Peninsular War, acting as aide-de-camp to his illustrious brother General Sir Rowland Hill. Another brother, Robert Chambré Hill was also fighting alongside his two siblings. Clement was slightly wounded during an encounter, and he received a more serious injury at the battle of Waterloo when he was skewered through the thigh by a sword thrust. Luckily he survived and unlike his soldier brothers he chose to join the East India Company's Madras Army where he commanded the Mysore Division.

Late in life, at the age of sixty, he married Harriett Emma, daughter of John 'Mad Jack' Mytton, a noted Shropshire eccentric. Harriett was only twenty-three at the time, which must have raised some eyebrows, particularly as her father had died in a debtor's prison. We do not know if Harriett accompanied her husband to India, but the couple were not to enjoy married life for long. On 20 January 1845 Clement took a 'pleasure trip' to the spectacular Gersoppa Falls, some thirty-five miles from Honnavar, and here he met his death. We don't have any details, so cannot speculate on whether he drowned or suffered an apoplexy, the old term for a heart attack. We also don't know exactly where he was buried two days later - whether it was in Honnavar itself, or beneath the monument that bears his name, and is today under threat.
What we have discovered, while researching Clement Hill’s life is that his elder brother Rowland, who became Commander-in-Chief of the British Army was celebrated in his native county of Shropshire by a splendid monumental column that stands outside the Shire Hall in Shrewsbury. It is the tallest Doric column in England, taller than Nelson’s column, and work on it began in 1814, a year after Rowland’s victory at Waterloo. Clement’s monument at Honnavar was clearly inspired by his brother’s column in Shrewsbury.

Mr Hedge tells us that the Colonel Hill column is nearly 100 feet tall and stands on top of a hill. (see back cover) It was erected by the 14th Madras Native Infantry at the request of Bombay Presidency officials to commemorate this well-respected soldier. Interestingly although at the time of his death he was a Major-General, Clement is known locally as Colonel Hill. There is also some understandable confusion with the word ‘hill’ and the family name, so the site is sometimes known as the Colonel’s Hill. The monument itself is built with red laterite stone and lime mortar plaster. It is a beautifully designed massive column, an architectural and engineering marvel and in superb condition, even today, 172 years after its erection. There are two further memorials to Clement Hill. A half-length marble statue of him sculpted by Patrick MacDowell R.A. stands in Holy Trinity Church, Bangalore and there is believed to be another in St. Chad’s Church at Prees.

The threat to the Honnavar column comes from the Indian National Highways Authority that is currently widening the NH 66 road. Excavations for the new road are coming perilously close to the monument and although the Highways Authority have verbally confirmed they will leave approximately 45 feet of the hillock, Mr Hedge fears that the old structure will not be able to withstand the destruction and that this designated area will be insufficient to protect the monument. Of course India must have decent roads but surely a compromise can be reached where interesting old structures can be protected. BACSA has written to the relevant authorities: the Deputy Commissioner of the District, the Archaeological Survey of India and the National Highways Authority. As yet no answers have been received, but work has been halted for the time being on the highway running close to the memorial.

MAIL BOX

About eleven miles from the port of Tuticorin in Tamil Nadu is the fort of Panchalamkuruchi, a tourist attraction today in the lush greenery of this southernmost Indian State. BACSA member Tim Willasey-Wilsey who visited it recently tells us that ‘after 25 years of being disheartened by the state of cemeteries in the subcontinent this was a rare occasion that I was amazed by the state of preservation of both the compound and the graves themselves. This is particularly curious given that the East India Company’s behavior during the Polygar wars is widely reviled in India...and yet only a mile away is this immaculate white-washed compound standing in fields with all the graves intact and no litter or graffiti to be seen.’

Mr Willasey-Wilsey was in search of the grave of a remote ancestor, Dougald Gilchrist and he has told us about this unfortunate young man who was born in Jamaica in October 1780 on the small Montpelier Estate where his father William was trying to grow sugar. Only a week after Dougald’s birth the family home was destroyed in a hurricane and the family fell into poverty and was forced to borrow heavily from relatives. At the age of five, Dougald’s father and two of his siblings died within a week of each other, leaving the remaining family penniless. Dougald’s widowed mother, Frances then died in childbirth. Somehow Dougald and two surviving girls reached England where the young boy, then aged thirteen, was promptly sent as a midshipman on a voyage to China.

Dougald’s uncle, George Harris had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Madras Army, and this connection probably prompted the young man when he was seventeen years old, to join His Majesty’s 74th Regiment at Calcutta. He was to take part in the siege of Seringapatam in 1799 that resulted in the death of Tipu Sultan. Dougald emerged unscathed from this epic encounter, only to die two years later fighting the Polygars, the local chiefs in the Tirunelveli region. An attempt to seize the mud fort at Panchalamkuruchi resulted in the deaths of a number of officers and men before the fort was finally captured and destroyed in 1801. The Polygar chieftain Veerapandya Kattabomman generously donated some land for a cemetery and this is the site that survives today, surrounded by a wall. The demolished fort was reconstructed by the government of Tamil Nadu in the 1970s and now houses a small museum that pays homage to the Polygars and particularly to Veerapandya, who is hailed as a freedom fighter against the East India Company.

The well-preserved inscription on Dougald’s grave reads: Here lie the remains of Dougald W. Gilchrist Lieutenant of His Majesty’s 74th Reg. This Gallant youth who had not attained his one and twentieth year was killed on the twenty fourth of May AD 1801 in the breach of the Fort of Panjaluncourchy in the moment of Victory. By his death his Majesty’s Service lost an officer of great enterprise and valour and Society a beloved and valuable member.
It is believed that a member of his family erected the memorial stone and poor Dougald is also commemorated in St Giles' Cathedral in Edinburgh on a plaque dedicated to the 74th Highlanders who died in India. One curious feature that has not been remarked on before is that the graves of the officers differ markedly from those of the men, the non-commissioned soldiers. Clearly the Army of the day did not see death as the great leveller and the distinction in rank was preserved. (see page 108)

Political assassinations of Britons during their long occupancy of India are rare, which could be seen either as forbearance on the part of those who were being governed, or an indication that British rule was not as onerous as one might think. It could of course also mean that British intelligence was successful in thwarting potential plans to kill leading officials, or that an oppressive climate of fear of punishment simply deterred would-be assassins. The murder of the Viceroy Lord Mayo in 1872 was an exception. He was killed crossing a gangplank while visiting the convict settlement of Port Blair in the Andaman Islands. His killer, Sher Ali Afridi, who was hanged, seemed more motivated by a personal grudge rather than by any wider sense of injustice at British rule. So Chowkidar was interested to learn of the memorial to a former British Resident who was assassinated in Benares in 1799.

Charles Hickie has sent us an evocative and moving article about the old cemetery at Chaukaghat on Maqbol Alam Road that is today under the diocese of St Mary's Catholic church, Benares. The site lies beyond the old fish market on the bridge, opposite the jail. It appears at first as a small jungle with a tall obelisk peeking out but closer observation reveals a hundred or so British tombs from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Scattered obelisks and raised graves are enveloped in banyan trees and scrub. Many of the tombs are in dire need of repair and rising above them all is a 50 feet tall obelisk described as a 'colossal monument in the form of a square pointed set on an immense platform of stone ornamented at the four corners by large funeral urns'. The inscription reads:

This Obelisk was erected in memory of George Frederick Cherry esq...Captain Conway, Robert Graham esq, Richard Evans esq. Who were murdered by Wazir Ali January 14th 1799.

The size of the monument (see page 109) reflects the outrage that was felt at the murders. There was also a political undercurrent to the killings. The Nawab Wazir Ali was heir to the immensely rich kingdom of Awadh in northern India. He had succeeded his putative father, Nawab Asaf-ud-daula on the latter's death in 1797. But according to a contemporary account 'the boy fell into the hands of bad advisors, plundered the treasure of his father [and] distributed money to every soldier....' as well as a crowd of relatives. The governor general, Sir John Shore soon put a stop to this and after a brief four-month reign Wazir Ali was exiled to Benares. (There were also hints that he was plotting with the Afghans to overthrow the East India Company's rule.) Wazir Ali blamed George Cherry for his downfall because Cherry had been the British Resident at the Lucknow Court at the time. A gang of 200 of his men surrounded Cherry's house and struck him down as he tried to flee. Richard Evans was secretary to Cherry, and Captain Conway unfortunately happened to be passing by. We don't know who Robert Graham was. The magistrate of Benares, Mr Davis, whose house was also attacked, put up a strenuous defence, standing on the roof of his house with his family behind him and thrusting down the spiral staircase with a large spear. Luckily a troop of cavalry under the command of General Erskine was in the neighbourhood and was able to fight off Wazir Ali's men. The nawab escaped but was recaptured a year later and spent the rest of his life in captivity at Vellore Fort in south India.

In sharp contrast, as Mr Hickie points out, another tomb in this cemetery, half encased in a venerable banyan tree is a little obelisk to Thomas Sutton. Its inscription reads: His Highness Chatterputty Maharajah Sirfojee, Raja of Tanjore, erected the Monument to the Memory of Thomas Sutton Esquire Surgeon, Who expired near the Place on the 8th day of July 1821, esteemed and regretted by His Highness. This is a touching tribute from an enlightened ruler who took a particular interest in medicine and instigated some of the earliest cataract operations in India. One can imagine how deeply he felt the loss of his English surgeon.

'Plot V 3-W 11-S. Pottah 8410. It doesn't look much, but this information represents a burial plot and hours of research. A successful result to a quest spread over several years and much valued help from BACSA.' Margaret Murray visited Lower Circular Road Cemetery, Kolkata in November 2015 hoping to find the grave of one of her husband's ancestors - Mary Anne Booth. 'I even had the funeral card stating the time and date of her interment – 7.30 am on 30th December 1896 in the cemetery. So why was her final resting place so difficult to find? She simply had to be there, somewhere....' A search of the Burial Registers at the cemetery seemed to have no mention of Mary Booth's name, and a physical search trudging through rows of graves produced no sign either. 'Much of the cemetery was overgrown, obliterating many graves entirely. Others had sunk into the ground and many had no headstone left standing. Piles of broken stones lay all about. I contacted the Christian Burial Board to ask for advice several times, without a response. It was dispiriting, but I wasn't ready to give up.'
Mary Anne Booth, née Stephens, was born at Dinapore in 1836, the daughter of Bombardier Christopher Stephens and his wife Mary Anne Delmedick (Delmerick?). At the age of eighteen, the young woman married George Henry Booth at Chunar, the hill fort in north India. Her husband was an enterprising and hard-working man of twenty-one who pursued various occupations including assistant apothecary, hospital steward, writer, wine-merchant and clerk. His father, John Booth of Richmond, Surrey, was the first member of the family to travel to India, as a carpenter, in the East India Company’s artillery. Between 1855 and 1870 ten children were born of the marriage, although four died young. Mary Anne had trained as a midwife, presumably in India and had ambitions to study in Edinburgh, then at the forefront of obstetrics teaching.

But here the story takes an interesting turn. George Booth and his elder brother Charles, who was also working in India, happened to meet the first missionaries of the Mormon Church who were travelling east in 1853. Both were quickly converted, as was their mother Hannah, and all felt they had to emigrate to America “to walk in the footsteps of the saints” as they put it. They settled in Utah. Mary Anne, with a growing family in India, resisted the call to join her in-laws, one of the reasons being that she didn’t want to share her husband George with other women. (Polygamy was encouraged by the Mormon Church until at least the 1890s.) But George left India for good in 1886, setting himself up in Utah as a doctor and taking on second wife. He died in Salt Lake City in 1912. Poor Mary Anne, left behind in Calcutta, died in 1896 of acute peritonitis.

Last year, your Editor made one last effort to find Mary Anne’s grave and luckily was able to do so. Not only was the Burial Register found, the grave was found too with the help of the Christian Burial Board staff and it turned out to mark the resting places of four people. (see page 109) One of Mary Anne’s sons, Frederick Booth, who died in 1944, was buried with his mother. Frederick’s wife Beatrice had predeceased him many years earlier in 1918 and she lies here too. Lastly, Beatrice’s mother, Frances Stark, who died in 1910 was also interred in the grave. Once the site had been located and the shrubbery pulled away, all four inscriptions were revealed and flowers were laid on the grave. We can’t always promise such spectacular results but are always willing to try!

A chance encounter by the editor on a flight recently led to an interesting story with a twist in the tale. Roger Kingdon, a physicist and amateur family historian has been researching his great great great grandfather Lieutenant General Johnstone Napier of the Madras Native Infantry. General Napier and his wife Isabella returned to England where she married a clergyman and brought up her children in a quiet village. Johnstone junior unfortunately became an inmate of Laverstock House Mental Asylum near Salisbury where he remained until his death. And the youngest boy, William became one of the first casualties of the 1857 Uprising. As an ensign in the 60th Rifles, his Regiment, commanded by Brigadier Archdale Wilson marched towards Delhi, which had been taken over by mutinous sepoys from Meerut. Wilson’s men were encamped about ten miles from Delhi near Ghaziabad where the Hindun river was crossed by an iron bridge and it was here they were attacked on 30 May 1857. William Napier was wounded in the leg, which had to be amputated. One can imagine the rough and ready conditions in the surgeon’s tent. ‘During the operation’ it was reported ‘no sign betrayed a sensation of pain [but] when it was finished, there came from him the bitter cry: I shall never lead the Rifles again!’ He was evacuated back to Meerut where he died on 4 June 1857. After peace was restored a monument was erected at Hindun to the British officers and men of the 60th Rifles. It was made of sandstone, with four iron standposts and a chain linking them. The monument still stands although the iron posts and chain are long since
gone. In 1985, Roger Kingdon and his wife Geeta, who is an economist and educationalist visited the Hindun site and found that a modern memorial obelisk in white marble had been erected nearby to commemorate the Indian soldiers killed in the encounter. And interestingly Geeta Kingdon, who first told us about the story, is a distant relative of the late Chief Minister Banarasi Das, who got the Indian memorial erected.

There is a nice synchronicity about this story and it is fitting that the two memorials should stand side by side for no one country has a monopoly of bravery.

CAN YOU HELP?

'Bombay Gothic' is the recognized architectural term that describes much of Mumbai's exuberant 19th century built heritage. Unlike the sombre Victorian Gothic of the Houses of Parliament with its ecclesiastical references, British architects working in India were free to indulge in extravagant designs which were realised by master builders. One reason put forward, which seems quite plausible, is that a number of prominent buildings were bankrolled by wealthy Parsi and Jewish merchants, drawing on their own rich Oriental tradition. Certainly the Sassoon Mechanics' Institute fits into this category. It is described as 'a delightful riot of polychromatic ornamentation' using colourful sandstone cleverly employed to produce a striking building that reminded visitors of the great Venetian palazzos. Another building equally admired today is the High Court, which took seven years to construct and was opened in 1878, although its internal design was criticised at the time, and it was given the nickname 'Fuller's Folly'.

So who was Fuller? For a man whose buildings exemplified the best of Victorian Bombay, we know remarkably little about John Augustus Fuller. Apart from the Sassoon building and the High Court he also designed the Afghan Church, built to commemorate the victims of the first Afghan War as well as the cloisters of Bombay University. BACSA member Barry Gregson recently purchased a 'Mooltan medal' awarded to John Fuller who was severely wounded in 1849 during the second Anglo-Sikh war in the Punjab. What was an architect doing on the battlefield, one wonders. The answer lies in the origins of military engineering, when projects like bridge and road building, as well as defensive structures were essential tools particularly as the East India Company spread its tentacles into the subcontinent. Fuller enrolled as a student at Addiscombe, the East India Company Military Seminary in Surrey, whose purpose was to train young officers to serve in the Company's Army. There was an option for students to join the Royal Engineers, which had equivalent army ranks, and this is what he did.

John Augustus was born in 1828, the son of a well-connected clergyman in Sussex and he was commissioned into the Engineers in 1846. Following his war injury that possibly debarred him from further active service, he was seconded to what was to become the Public Works Department in Bombay, where he clearly flourished. His personal life seemed happy – following his marriage in 1851 to his first wife, Charlotte Wallace, three of his four children were born in Bombay. After a successful career, Fuller retired in June 1883, with a good pension, having been awarded both the CIE and the honorary rank of General, He settled comfortably into 42 Courtfield Gardens in Kensington. Here Charlotte, his wife of 46 years died in January 1897, when Fuller was seventy years old. Rather surprisingly, a little more than a year later, he married Annabel Wodehouse, a lady of thirty-three years and from a good family. No children were born of this second marriage and Annabel survived as a centenarian, dying at the age of a hundred and one in 1966.

Barry Gregson can find no record of General Fuller's burial place, nor a photograph or painting of him. One would have thought that such a prominent man might have warranted at least a statue or a bust somewhere, but nothing has been found. We know that he died in 1902, presumably in Kensington, leaving his estate to one of his sons. Can readers provide any further information about him and perhaps throw light on why this gifted man has been so neglected among the great Victorian architects working in India?

The English are not by and large great music lovers and there were fairly derogatory remarks made about Indian singing and dancing during the colonial period and earlier too. Although India was the inspiration for a number of musical works including the operas Lakmé and Le Roi de Lahore, as well as the romantic Indian Love Lyrics by Amy Woodford-Finden, these are all compositions for the western ear. Only a very few foreigners in India sought out authentic songs, so the work of Charles Trinks who published a set of 'Hindostanee Songs' about 1800 is certainly unusual. One of the songs is described as a 'Hindoo Hymn' and contains the words 'Hurry Kisono, Hurry Kisono, Hurry Kisono, Hurry Hurry,...' which will be familiar to anyone who has heard devotional chants in India. (The correct wording is Hari Krishna, etc.)

Our correspondent, Mr Raymond Head, tell us that some of Trinks's Hindoo airs were sung by Miss Jane Williams who lived in Calcutta at the beginning of the 19th century. Jane spoke fluent Hindustani and is best known as the muse of the poet Shelley, who loved to hear her singing exotic songs. Of Trinks himself we know very little. Although he died in...
from the best Authors and arranged for the use of St. John’s Church, Calcutta and must be buried there, his burial place has not been found. What we do know is that he was a native of Germany who arrived in India in 1786, having sailed from England it would seem. Trinks was an organist and Music Master and spent a number of years at St John’s Church, Calcutta, which at the time was the city’s cathedral, until it was superseded by St Paul’s Cathedral on the Maidan. Trinks’ first house was in Bow Bazar, which was a pretty rough and tumble area, but he clearly prospered and was able to move out to a mansion at Garden Reach, one of the most fashionable areas in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. He wrote a couple of books, one of which is A Collection of Sacred Music, selected from the best Authors and arranged for the use of St. John’s Church. The Church doesn’t appear to have a memorial to their long-time organist, nor indeed any record of him. Can BACSA members add anything, we wonder and is this musician commemorated in his native country?

Another almost forgotten man, Surgeon General Richard James O’Flaherty, does have a memorial. Chastely made of black and white marble it is a tablet in the Lady Chapel of St Thomas’s Cathedral, Bombay. Richard O’Flaherty was of Irish descent, born in 1811, but little else can be garnered about him at present. We don’t know where he was educated but can see he made steady progress in his chosen career, being appointed as Assistant Surgeon in January 1835. He worked his way up, becoming a full Surgeon ten years later, then a Surgeon Major, an army rank. Further promotions followed and in 1872 he was appointed Surgeon General British Forces. By this time the three separate Presidency medical departments had been amalgamated into the Indian Medical Service, covering the whole of the subcontinent, so in effect O’Flaherty was the supreme medical officer, equivalent to the Commander-in-Chief. For this he was awarded the honour of Companion of the Bath. He died in Bombay on 8 December 1874, sadly only a few months after announcing his retirement at the age of sixty-three. We know he was in correspondence with Florence Nightingale, not surprisingly given her work with British military hospitals at home and abroad. His inscription gives little away, concluding with the words: The members of his own department have placed this tablet to record their esteem both for his private character and his public worth. As before, if anyone can shed more light on Richard O’Flaherty, BACSA member Eileen Hewson would be very grateful.

Another BACSA member, Mr Richard Riddle, has an interesting query. Last year he bought a portrait at auction of Francis Smyth, Sub-Accountant General to the Board of Trade in Calcutta, who died there in 1795. Like so many in India, Francis Smyth died young, aged just twenty-seven. He was born in 1768 in Yorkshire near Kirby Knowle Castle, and because his father had the same name, our subject was known as Francis Smyth junior. His surname is sometimes spelled more conventionally as Smith, which makes tracing him rather harder. His elder brother Joseph Smyth was vicar of Kirby Moorside. The odd thing about the portrait is that Mr Riddle’s painting is a Victorian copy, made in 1883, of an original by Lemuel Francis Abbott, a well-known English portrait painter.

It was not uncommon for young men going out East to have themselves captured in oils or watercolour before they left. We tend to underestimate how important such portraits were to those left behind – sometimes the only remembrance of a loved son or brother. Francis’ portrait was painted about 1874, probably shortly before he left for Calcutta. There is a short obituary of Francis on the back of the Victorian copy that notes him as ‘having few temptations to attract him into general Society, restricting himself to his particular friends’. On his death, which took place on 3 April 1795, he was recorded in the Bengal Obituary thus: ‘To tell his virtues and useful attainments here would be a vain task,’ so that’s all we know. His death was noted in The Gentlemen’s Magazine, again with no details. Francis was buried in South Park Street Cemetery Calcutta, in Plot No. 964, but unfortunately the tomb no longer exists, having sunk into the soft earth, like many others. What Mr Riddle would like to know is where the original Abbott painting is and whether any descendants of the Smyth siblings survive. Something must have prompted the family to get Francis’s portrait copied more than a century after his death. Perhaps the family fell on hard times and had to sell the original? We don’t know, but all ideas are welcome.

The Revd. Sanjay Malaviya asks if anyone can provide information about the history of St George’s, the cantonment church at Ahmedabad. It was built in the 1880s (the precise date is not known), at a time when the Government of India was establishing a substantial military and administrative centre there, although a smaller cantonment seems to have been in existence since the early 19th century. The church stands on Camp Road at Shahibagh and it is the Army Cantonment Board that has asked the Revd. Malaviya for help, not just with the church but with the adjoining churchyard too. Perhaps readers have parents or grandparents who were married here or relatives who are buried in the graveyard? Information would be welcomed.

The last issue of Chowkidar related the story of William Graham McIvor who was appointed botanist at the Ootacamund Horticultural Gardens in the Nilgiri Hills in 1848. After a long and successful career, McIvor died
above: the officers' graves near Panchalamkuruchi Fort (see page 98)

below: graves of the 'other ranks' in the same cemetery

above: the handsome memorial to the murdered British Resident (see page 101)

below: the Booth graves uncovered in Calcutta (see page 101)
in 1876 and was buried in the graveyard at St Stephen's Church, Ooty. BACSA member Mrs Phillida Purvis sent us a photograph of McIvor's well-tended tomb, with its mention of his 'little wife' who erected and paid for the memorial. We speculated on who this might be, and our query has been gratifyingly answered by two members, Geoffrey Rowson and Christopher Penn.

The modest little wife 'as she is referred to on the tombstone, was one Anne, née Edwards, whose sister was married to Joseph Rowson of Liverpool, possibly a fairly well-to-do builder or brickmaker'. And Christopher Penn has established that she survived her husband by at least ten years and lived in Lushington Hall, adjacent to the Botanical Gardens. Mrs McIvor was awarded a handsome pension of Rs1,000 per annum by the Government of India 'in consideration of the valuable services rendered by Mr. McIvor'. His widow was already a wealthy woman and Mr Penn quotes the Madras Mail of 29 November 1876 when the foundation stone for the chancel at St Stephen's Church was being laid. 'This Chancel is being erected in memory of the late Mr. W.G. McIvor with funds supplied by his widow. Mr McIvor, though a rather poorly paid officer of Government, succeeded in making a large fortune by investment in house property and coffee estates on the Hills, as well as by acting as banker to gentlemen in difficulties.' (In other words McIvor, a government employee did very well through private enterprise and money-lending.) Mrs McIvor was generous with her fortune and also donated money to St. Bartholomew's Hospital at Ooty. Anne McIvor is interred in the same vault as her husband.

Also in the last Chowkidar we told the sad story of the recent destruction of Captain George King Newbery's isolated grave near Shorapur Fort in Karnataka. The Captain was killed during a local uprising on 8 February 1858. By chance BACSA member Cynthia Versaci-Lloyd was in Holy Trinity Church Bangalore last year and of three memorial plaques that caught her eye, one was to Captain Newbery. His name is spelt thus, not 'Newberry' as we had originally been informed. The inscription reads: In memory of George King Newbery Captain of the 8th Madras Light Cavalry and commanding a Body of Mysore Horse, who fell leading a charge of his men in the attack on Shorapore on the 8th February 1858. It is good to know that although his tomb has all but vanished, Captain Newbery is handsomely remembered here.

From Australia comes the news that Clayton Roberts and Peter Moore are planning to produce a YouTube video on the AFI or Auxiliary Force India. Mr Roberts writes: 'In the wake of the 1857 Mutiny the British military presence in India was increased and over the next 20 years a number of armed volunteer units sprang up all over India wherever there was any European settlement. As railway colonies were among the most prolific and widespread of settlements, railway volunteer units were first to appear, inaugurated by the East India Railway Volunteer Rifle Corps in 1868.

Volunteer regiments, later the Auxiliary Force India were formed from British and Anglo-Indian civilians, often associated with a trade or company, and used mainly as 'aid to the civil power' in putting down sectarian riots. During the World Wars, especially the Second, some were called up for duty in India, guarding strategic positions to release regular Indian Army and British troops for combat duties. Any background material, papers, photos, referrals etc would be most welcome and acknowledged in the video. Replies via the Editor please.

VALETE

BACSA is saddened to announce the deaths of two stalwart supporters who died late last year. Mrs Merilyn Hywel-Jones, who joined BACSA in June 1990 died in October and Mr Henry Brownrigg, who joined in 1988, died in December. Both had served on BACSA's Executive Committee for many years and were a familiar and welcome sight at General Meetings. Merilyn made a point of greeting newcomers and behind the scenes helped with the packing and dispatch of second-hand books, raising money for the Association. Merilyn had compiled an extensive series of town maps of the Indian sub-continent, showing where European cemeteries were situated and giving advice on how to find them. She was an expert on Aden, having been posted there with her husband in the 1960s. One of her last contributions to Chowkidar was to tell us of the destruction of the Aden cemetery by rebel tribesmen. As a tribute we are publishing, below, extracts from an article written by Merilyn on Captain Haines and the Crater Residence.

Henry has rightly been described as a polymath and collector, both of physical items and wide-ranging stories about the East, particularly Indonesia. He came from a distinguished family, some of whom had served in India. For years Henry had a stall in Portobello Market where he sold a variety of antique goods, often of eastern origin. In 1992 Henry wrote a learned yet entertaining book on betel-nut cutters, the hinged implements used to prepare the nuts for chewing. It was the first full-length study devoted to these curious items of social prestige and reflected Henry's particular flare for imparting knowledge in a light-hearted but memorable fashion.
Henry was BACSA’s South India Area Representative for many years, visiting frequently and making lasting friendships with people there who have paid him warm tributes. He was particularly knowledgeable about the Dutch in India and Sri Lanka, liaising with the authorities over the restoration of 17th century Dutch cemeteries.

Both Merilyn and Henry will be greatly missed, not just by BACSA members but by their many friends outside the Association. Both led busy and fulfilling lives. Merilyn leaves a widower, Ian Hywel-Jones and Henry leaves a wide circle of friends. We are all the poorer for their passing.

CAPTAIN HAINES OF ADEN

Historically, Aden town in Crater had been a thriving entrepot of trade with Africa, India and China. But when Captain Stafford Bettesworth Haines seized it on 19 January 1839 on behalf of the East India Company, for use as a coaling station for ships steaming to and from India, it was a derelict village of some 600 inhabitants — Arabs, Somalis, Jews and Indians — housed for the most part in huts of reed matting erected among ruins recalling a vanished era of wealth and prosperity. For Queen Victoria, the capture of Aden was the first addition to the British Empire since her accession to the throne in 1837. Haines’s knowledge of Aden’s history made him optimistic about the possibilities for its future. ‘Scarcely two centuries and a half ago’, he wrote, ‘this city ranked among the foremost of the commercial marts of the East; the superiority of Aden is in its excellent harbours, both to the East and to the West; and the importance of such a station, offering as it does a secure shelter for shipping, an almost impregnable fortress, and an easy access to the rich provinces of Hadhramaut and Yemen is too evident to require to be insisted upon.’

Appointed Political Agent by the Bombay Presidency of the East India Company Haines served in this capacity (without leave) for the next fifteen years, presiding over Aden’s rapid expansion as a fortress (with a garrison of 2-3,000 Indian sepoys) and as a port which by the early 1850s boasted a population of some 20,000. Haines’s deep personal commitment to the revival of Aden’s prosperity, despite the parsimony and vacillation of his debt and to his death (aged only 58) in 1860. But in South West Arabia his name lived on and for decades local tribesmen referred to the inhabitants of Aden as Awlad Haines (‘Haines’s children’). The house initially occupied by Haines in Crater is said to have been rented from a local Hindu merchant and to have been situated near a Hindu temple. In his book Kings of Arabia (1923) H.F. Jacob mentions, evidently quoting from Haines’s own description that it was ‘dilapidated and parts fell down on the concussion of the 8 pm gun’. During a visit to Aden in February 1998, I set cut to look for Haines’s house with the aid of the old maps together with Jacob’s photograph. The western end of Khusaf valley is today an area of squatters’ shacks and it was impossible to carry out a detailed search without intruding into people’s living quarters. However, using the alignment of the rocky outline of the hills in the background of Jacob’s photograph, we found parts of a stone structure similar to that depicted in the photograph although partly hidden by concrete blocks, corrugated iron and bits of packing crate. On returning to London I learned that from 1948 until about 1954 Haines’s house became the headquarters of the British Agency, Western Aden Protectorate; photographs of the building taken in the late 1940s show it virtually unchanged since Jacob’s day.


BOOK REVIEWS

Bright Eyes of Danger
The Second Anglo-Sikh War
Bill Whitburn
Amarpal Singh Sidhu

The two wars against the Sikh nation (1845-46 and 1848-49) were the last to be undertaken by the East India Company’s army. They resulted in the demise of the Sikh nation and British annexation of the Punjab. Without this it is doubtful if the 1857 Uprising could have been scotched. Yet very little has recently been published about this critical period. Suddenly two excellent books have appeared to fill the gap. Bright Eyes of Danger, Bill Whitburn’s first complete book, covers both wars, their origins and aftermath in a single volume; The Second Anglo-Sikh War by the established author on Sikh affairs, Amarpal Singh Sidhu, is a sequel to his earlier The First Anglo-Sikh War now also available in paperback.

Bill Whitburn is a former British regular Army officer who was educated in India until returning to England after Partition. He retired early, earning his living in Taiwan, but clearly retained a lifelong fascination for the traditions and history of the British Army. This adds colour to the thoroughgoing research into his main subject. He has achieved a small miracle compressing such a colossal story into a single volume. The historical and political background of the Punjab up to the death of Maharajah Ranjit Singh in 1839 during the First Afghan War, occupy the first hundred pages. This is a useful summary leading to the toxic mix of palace intrigue, family and tribal rivalry and a magnificent but unemployed...
army that all boiled over until the EIC became involved in the interest of its security and the prospects for imperial expansion. The subsequent manoeuvres, ten major engagements and political consequences are told in an unencumbered and readable style. The principal characters are colourfully portrayed with touches of detail that bring them alive. He is unapologetically frank in his opinions, which adds to the enjoyment. His accounts of the actual battles are exciting, not elaborate, but detailed enough for the average reader. By his own admission: 'The background is invariably more fascinating than the actual war' and he makes it so.

By contrast Amarpal Singh's account is a comprehensive and scholarly study that delves deeply into the origin of each element of the conflict, political, personal, military and strategic. At first it appears a somewhat daunting read: over 500 well-filled pages in a smallish font. But one is led on by the perceptive portraits of the leading characters, their ambitions and aspirations, their relationships and the sense of looming catastrophe as events unfold. His version starts at the end of the First Anglo-Sikh War, the two-year period of 'peace' leading up to the murder of the newly appointed British representatives at Multan, the affair that was to polarise the Punjabi community, Sikh, Muslim and Hindu, into loyalties more complex than simple religious definition might suggest.

Bill Whitburn also takes us briefly through this incident and the consequential response leading to two sieges of that city, which engaged the various available British forces until the main army could be assembled three months later to take on the well-organised Sikh rebellion further north. His version presents the whole Multan tale as a single episode before he turns to the dramatic and concurrent campaign that eventually brought the war to an end. Amarpal Singh, on a much wider canvas, is able to split the two periods of the Multan affair to include more detailed accounts of the origins of the rebellion in Hazara and also to cover the parallel insurrections across the Indus in Bannu and Peshawar and the disconcerting Afghan interference of Dost Mohammed. The same advantage of space defines the treatment by these two authors of the main battles of the northern campaign leading up to General Gilbert's final chase to Peshawar. For instance the Whitburn account of Chillianwala occupies fourteen pages while Amarpal's is spread over fifty. Both authors end their work by following the fate of the principal players in the drama. Among these Whitburn neatly includes the East India Company itself. Amarpal adds the Sikh people as a whole in the words of Governor General Lord Dalhousie 'I like these Sikhs, they are fine manly fellows.'

Which to prefer? For the whole story between two covers, it obviously has to be Bill Whitburn. This would be a safe choice and an enjoyable read.

However, the quality of the product is short of perfect. There are more than a few minor textual errors and the full-page colour illustrations on the same paper as the text are disappointing apart from some simple maps and plentiful small portraits. For those who would prefer a deeper treatment, Amarpal Singh's absorbing version will certainly answer, albeit for the second of the wars only. It is a quality product, excellently illustrated. The maps are a little sketchy, the index has some limitations but overall it is very impressive. The arrival of both these titles is a most welcome event, prompting thoughts as to how Britain held on to India so long, let alone participated successfully in two world wars without this 'humane piece of rascality' as Sir Charles Napier once referred to the earlier annexation of Sind. (GN)

The Second Anglo-Sikh War 2016 Amberley Publishing ISBN 978 1 4456 5023 4. £25.00 pp513

Imperial Violence and the path to Independence: India, Ireland and the Crisis of Empire
Shereen Ilahai

The theme of British government in Ireland as a template for British policy and governance in India has long been recognised. British theories of the origin and principle of land tenure and property rights in the 19th century were commonly based on supposed similarities between the 'peasant economies' of India and Ireland. Measures of land reform in both Ireland and India drew on the parallels. Scholarly studies have focussed on the links between Irish and Indian radicals. Bengali revolutionaries have been compared to the Irish revolutionary nationalist movements of the IRA and Sinn Fein. Erskine Childers, president of Ireland in the 1970s had 20 years earlier identified an influence of Irish nationalism on India's freedom movement. His more famous father, the writer and radical nationalist - also Erskine Childers - had been executed for possessing an illegal weapon, not, incidentally by the British but in the Irish civil war that followed the establishment of the Irish Free State. The Indian-Irish Independence League, formed in 1932, set out to promote the independence of both countries through a boycott of British goods and a propaganda campaign. In drawing up India's post-independence Constitution of 1950 some provisions were based on the 1937 Irish Constitution. More whimsically it was not the Bengalis or other Indian nationalities but the Burmese who used to be known as 'the Irish of the East', on the stereotypical and in modern terms perhaps 'racist' grounds that both peoples were supposed to
Shereen Ilahi’s deeply researched and excellently written study of the British use of armed force and collective punishment in the face of revolutionary extremism is anything but whimsical. She takes two key events, one in India and one in Ireland, where British troops used what today is almost universally acknowledged as excessive force to establish order in the face of a real or imagined threat. Both of them provoked liberal and nationalist outrage and vocal conservative support at the time, and this book recalls vividly the stormy debates that they caused in England, Ireland and India. The Jallianwala Bagh shootings in Amritsar in 1919 radicalised much Indian opinion at the time. In Ireland in the first of the notorious Irish ‘Bloody Sundays’ at least 16 people were killed in a crowd at a Gaelic football match at Croke Park outside Dublin in November 1920. Although the casualties did not approach the 400 or more killed in Jallianwala Bagh, the Croke Park incident had a similar effect of galvanising political protest and opinion against the use of armed force - or ‘violence’ - to quell or suppress political protest. This with the second ‘so-called Bloody Sunday’ in 1972 came to figure so large in Irish nationalist memory and civil rights protest through the 20th century.

Shereen Ilahi does not argue that in either country these were unique events nor does she adopt the position that all state force should be characterised as violence. She thinks British imperial violence was not as bad as German, French or Japanese. But she argues that these two incidents did more than any other to undermine the British belief, or as she puts it the ‘myth’, of benevolent British intentions, and the feasibility of a peaceful path towards independence. The reaction to the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, the controversy that surrounded General Dyer’s motives and personality, the contested verdict of the Hunter Commission which reported on the incident, had shown the weakness of attempts to put the blame on a single commanding officer rather than (as Dr Ilahi argues), the inherent violence of the imperial system. She argues that Punjab was not on the brink of a general uprising, as some supporters of General Dyer had argued. The general revulsion against the massacre weakened Britain’s moral case for maintaining its rule in India.

In the case of Croke Park the shooting looked suspiciously like an act of reprisal, following as it did immediately on a spectacularly successful operation masterminded by the IRA leader Michael Collins in assassinating a dozen British intelligence agents. There was no doubt that the IRA were a violent and effective opponent of the British state.

But the longer term lesson was that trying to suppress a nationalist movement by force was counter-productive. This book’s account of the press and parliamentary debates illustrates the dilemmas which were recognised and argued at the time. Today there are few people who would wish to turn back the clock on Irish freedom or Indian independence though there may be many legitimate regrets about how they came about. They are the same dilemmas for countries which face a terrorist threat today. But was this really the ‘crisis of imperialism’ as Dr Ilahi maintains?

State violence continued in the Irish civil war after the 1922 Treaty with even greater casualties than when the Irish police, the British army, or the hated British auxiliaries - the Black and Tans were the enemy. In sovereign India in 1984 the storming of the Golden Temple in the face of a real Punjabi Sikh armed insurgency was as violent as any act of British imperial power, but deemed necessary for the protection of the state. In India and Ireland a common feeling of having been victims of British imperialism today probably arises more from the shared trauma of partition than a shared radical ideology. It is noteworthy that Mahatma Gandhi did not think that Ireland was a useful model for India’s struggle for independence. When Sinn Fein adopted violent methods Gandhi rejected them as an example for India’s freedom movement to follow. But it is a great merit of this book that Dr Ilahi does not require us to believe in villains and heroes. The debates on how much force, or violence to use in combating acts of armed resistance remain lively and relevant today. (WFC)

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William Simpson’s Afghanistan: Travels of a Special Artist and Antiquarian during the Second Afghan War, 1878-1879

ed. Peter Harrington

We think today of the Khyber Pass and the route through it to the Afghan capital Kabul, as an entirely Muslim-dominated area but this has not always been the case. Before the rise of Islam this area was home to Buddhists who left numerous stupas or burial chambers scattered about the mountains and plains, nearly always with adjoining temples known as vihars. The rediscovery of Buddhism in Afghanistan is a surprising and welcome theme in this book which at first glance looks like another routine account of the second Afghan war. What also came as a surprise was the amount of time and energy that soldiers of the Peshawar Field Force devoted to excavating, or in some cases, plundering, these stupas. A third revelation is the character of Simpson himself, an extraordinary man who was born in a Glasgow slum, and who was barely educated until his teens,
but who rose to be on nodding terms with a number of great Victorians, including the Queen herself who intervened to stop him being sent to sketch a war in 1859 for fear he might be killed. But Simpson, a favoured artist of the Queen, already had war experience. He had been sent to the Crimea in 1854 and remained there for nearly a year. So popular were his sketches and water-colours which were subsequently published, that he earned the nickname of 'Crimean Simpson'. In 1859 he was commissioned by the Queen to record sites associated with the Indian Uprising that had been quelled only a year earlier. When the Prince of Wales visited India in 1876, Simpson was invited to accompany him. So it was understandable that at the beginning of the second Afghan War he was employed by the Illustrated London News and later the Daily News to send back reports and sketches from the front in eastern Afghanistan.

Leaving Holborn Viaduct at 8.15 pm on Tuesday 15 October 1878 he travelled swiftly by train to Brindisi (those were the days) and boarded the Mongolia bound for Alexandria. From here it was a short overland journey to Suez then on board the Bokhara to Bombay. The whole journey took just over three weeks. Then, rather oddly he takes a train eastwards to Allahabad, before heading westward to Lahore. This four-day journey is not explained by the editor, Peter Harrington, who one senses is not familiar with India, so the reader has to suppose that at this period there was no direct rail-link between Bombay and Lahore, although it would be nice to have this confirmed. Simpson makes his way through the Khyber Pass on camel-back and joins the Peshawar Field Force under General Sir Sam Browne who had been tasked with establishing the best route from Jallalabad to Kabul. This was in anticipation that it would be necessary once more for the British to enter Kabul as king-makers, inspite of their disastrous attempt nearly forty years earlier. Simpson finds a veteran of the first Afghan war who points out significant features including the old British cemetery at Jallalabad now almost entirely covered by a 'mujid' because the spot where the bodies of those who fell were deliberately concealed 'with the strong probability...that the bodies were not disturbed'.

Apart from an encounter at Ali Musjid towards the end of November 1878 it was really a phoney war while Simpson was there. A peace treaty of sorts had been signed at Gandamack and Simpson left Bombay for home on 27 June 1879. It was only later that year that real hostilities began with the murder of Louis Cavagnari, the British representative to the Kabul Court in September. Simpson had become friendly with Cavagnari, who encouraged the artist's archaeological digs while the Field Force marked time. As Harrington points out, these excavations, which were really more treasure-hunting than serious archaeological explorations, were a welcome diversion for bored officers waiting for something to happen. And there was also plenty of man-power available to help with the heavy lifting once a tope had been broken into. Engineers with the Field Force who were there to ford rivers and set up picquets were adept at propping up the walls of Buddhist burial chambers so Simpson and his pals could dive in and see if there was any treasure to be found. Their methods and their attitudes horrify us today. Simpson boasts about 'bagging topes' as if they were some kind of exotic bird rather than the resting places of cremated remains and reliquaries. The fact that one of his first excavations at Ahin Posh Tope at Jallalabad did uncover gold coins and a golden relic holder spurred him on to examine many similar sites. Buddhist topes, or stupas, were usually signified by a dome resting on one or more platforms and treasure hunters appear to have simply sliced off the tops of the domes rather as one would decapitate a breakfast egg. But Simpson can be somewhat excused because he did at least appreciate the value of his finds, sending the Ahin Posh treasures to the Viceroy at Calcutta for transmission to London. He also sketched many of the sites found and he reported on Buddhist statues with strong Grecian sculptural influences which were later to be classified as the Gandharan school.

This is a more interesting book than appears at first sight. It has a number of sketches in colour, showing how skilled Simpson was at capturing exotic people like the Afghan chief Yakooob Beg as well as the desolate hills around Jallalabad and soldiers in camp. The Appendices include a useful 'Index of Persons' whom Simpson met or mentioned during his travels and a catalogue resume of his original sketches together with the dates they were published in the Illustrated London News. It has Simpson's comments on his sketches, which were not included in his diary and a number of letters to his friend Harry Rylands in which Simpson reveals himself as a busy, always curious man, with a sense of humour and the Victorian love of awful puns. Recommended. (RLJ)

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PREVIOUSLY REVIEWED

Last Children of the Raj: British Childhoods in India  Laurence Fleming

This book, edited by a BACSA member, was first published in two hardback volumes in 2004, and was given an enthusiastic review in the Spring 2005 Chowkidar. This was not surprising since a number of BACSA people had been interviewed for the book, including our founder Theon Wilkinson and his sister Zoe Yalland. Both had been brought up in Cawnpore where their father was manager of the Elgin Mills. Volume One...
covers the period 1919 to 1939 and the second up to 1950. Sir Mark Tully, himself a child of the Raj, wrote the introduction. With the passage of time since the original publication, many of the contributors are now gone and their memories with them, so this is an important book that recaptures an unique era in colonial history. Usefully there are brief biographies of all those interviewed, and it is interesting to trace their careers in later life. Many worked in Britain or its remaining colonies - Kenya and Australia were popular choices - and a handful returned, or chose to stay in independent India. A nostalgic read but none the worse for that. (RLJ)


NOTICES

BACSA visit to Norwich  Mrs Valerie Robinson, Events Officer, reports that a small group of BACSA members visited the South Asian Decorative Arts and Crafts Collection (SADACC) on Thursday, 24th November 2016. Housed in a beautifully restored former Victorian skating rink, this is a magnificent collection of oriental richness which is a delight. The collection was assembled in the 1970s by Mr and Mrs Philip Millward who were on hand to explain it to us. Focused primarily on India and Pakistan, the collection includes paintings, prints, textiles and metal work. In addition, there is a shop selling everything from oriental rugs and furniture, carvings and ceramics to clothes and jewellery.

Forty Years On  The first meeting of what was to become BACSA took place in October 1976 at the National Army Museum in Chelsea. The fledgling group was provisionally entitled The Indo-British Association, but at its second meeting in March 1977 it was renamed the British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia, so it is from this date that we officially mark our establishment.

Chowkidar plans a bumper Autumn issue, so if readers have any suitable anecdotes, reminiscences or photographs, please send them to the Editor.

Congratulations to Squadron Leader (ret’d) Rana Chhina of the United Services Institute, Delhi (a reciprocal BACSA member) who has been awarded an MBE for his work on Indian soldiers in World War One. Setting up a four-year project to research and commemorate the volunteer soldiers who fought in France and Mesopotamia, Squadron Leader Chhina has uncovered a number of village memorials to mark the men who did not return home. Currently he is Secretary and Editor of the USI Centre for Armed Forces Historical Research and vice-president of the Indian Military Historical Society.
above: Colonel Clement Hill’s column at Honnavar, Karnataka (see page 97)