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Editor: Dr. Rosie Llewellyn-Jones

British Association For Cemeteries In South Asia (BACSA)

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Dr Rosie Llewellyn-Jones
135 Burntwood Lane
London SW17 0AJ
tel: 020 8947 9131
email:rosieljai@clara.co.uk

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Mr Christopher Carnaghan
42 Rectory Lane
Kings Langley
Herts WD4 8EY
email: cscarnaghan@aol.com

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 1,400 (2011) 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 *Chowkidar*, 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 The enrolment fee and subscription rates are obtainable from the Membership Secretary.

Founded by the late Theon Wilkinson, MBE

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THE LOST GRAVES AT BHOWANIPORE CEMETERY

Not everything always goes smoothly with BACSA projects. In spite of our good track record during the last thirty-five years, there have been many cemeteries that could not be saved, burial registers that could not be copied and graves that could not be found. This was sharply brought home to your Editor during a recent visit to Calcutta and time spent in one of its oldest cemeteries. 'The Military Burial Ground, Alipore' was opened in 1782 in what was then a country-like suburb of Calcutta, where the British built their houses to escape from the noise and dirt in the centre of the city. It has been suggested that some early graves were moved from Fort William to the cemetery, hence its first 'military' designation, but this now seems unlikely. The new Fort William was ready by 1773 and did not contain a graveyard. The Alipore cemetery may have been intended originally for the burial of army officers, but if so this idea was quickly abandoned as it filled up with humble private soldiers, sergeants, their wives and children and a surprising number of paupers (of which more later). Dr Henry Spry, Assistant Garrison Surgeon and Secretary of the Agri-Horticultural Society who died in 1842 was buried here, but there are few well-known names or grand monuments. The Alipore tombs had modest steeple-like tops, and iron railings around raised box tombs.

Between 1898 and 1907 there was 'a period of inactivity' and when the cemetery was re-opened, with a new, substantial gate-house it was called Bhowanipore Cemetery. Very few burials took place here now, less than one a month, for the simple reason that the graveyard was almost full. Photographs taken by Brigadier Perry of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission in 1959 show a pleasant 'small forest' of neatly whitewashed tombs with their railings intact. Thirty years later, in the 1990s the old graves were still standing, though in poor condition, and the area had become heavily wooded. BACSA member Mike Rimmer photographed the cemetery in 1997 showing numerous old tombstones in situ. But by 2005 they had virtually all gone, leaving only a handful of memorials standing. What had happened? The story is difficult to piece together because the records of the Bhowanipore Cemetery Committee, headed by the late Bob Wright, are missing. The cemetery was taken over after his death by the East India Charitable Trust. New burials have been inserted into the old plots. What happened to the old tombstones is painfully clear after inspecting the cemetery. They have been used, usually face downwards, to pave the floors and passage-ways of a number of huts erected inside the cemetery walls, where Plots A and B used to stand.

It was difficult to establish who the hut residents are. Truth is often elusive in India where land is concerned. Some might be malis, or gardeners, others, I was told were 'tenants' of the cemetery, paying rent. What is clear is that within the last decade, in a city where BACSA has good contacts, hundreds of nineteenth century tombs were removed, re-utilized to provide paving for huts, and the cemetery opened up for new burials. (*see page 12*) It is a depressing story.

Without realizing that the old tombs had gone, BACSA made a grant in 2009 to have the Bhowanipore Burial Registers digitized (copied electronically). The work was entrusted to a local computer company which was keen to carry out the task. Whereas the tombs have gone, the Registers remain in the gate-house, the earliest dating back to 1807. Unfortunately the computer company was defeated by difficult British names, in nineteenth century copper-plate handwriting, with many abbreviations and the use of the long 's' which looks like an 'f'. Photocopies of some of the Registers and partly completed spreadsheets were handed over, with many errors and omissions. Transcribers need to be familiar with British surnames and shortened forms of Christian names like Jas for James, and Thos for Thomas. I spent two days in the gate-house office, checking spreadsheets against the original Registers for 1818 and 1819, and preliminary data analysis back in London has revealed some valuable and at times extraordinary information.

The early Registers give the 'Rank/Profession' of the deceased, their 'Situation/Residence,' their age and 'Where from'. This last category is often the General Hospital in Lower Circular Road, but children came for burial from the Lower Orphan School in Alipore. Soldiers came from the Honorable Company's European Regiment and other regiments stationed in Calcutta. Seamen came from Company ships including the *Lord Eldon*, *Cambridge*, *Thalia* and the *Lucy Maria*. One sailor, the splendidly named Jabez Hanbury Hornblower was a Company Marine. The number of British paupers is surprising. One doesn't associate poverty with the British in Calcutta. But the ratio of pauper burials to others interred here is high – 9% in 1818 and 12% in 1819. Men like John Charleston, age 38, Alexander McQuin, 41, William Nelson, 45, James Clarke, 27, were all reduced to beggary. A number of girls and women are recorded too, more than we might have imagined. Some were orphans, and some the wives or daughters of soldiers. The average life expectancy was shockingly low - discounting the deaths of infants under the age of five, it was only 30 years in 1818 and 31 years in 1819.

January to April were the 'healthiest' months, when the death rate was lower compared to the rest of the year. So much can be gained from these Registers, the names for one thing, with the Flanaghans, Donellys, O'Briens, McCarthys, McDoualls giving us the recruiting grounds where the men were signed up. Work will continue on transcribing the remaining Registers, which look just as interesting. But the graves themselves are probably beyond recovery.

MAIL BOX

In the Spring 2010 *Chowkidar* we told the story of Anthony Pratt's search for the grave of his father, Donald Pratt, who died in the Muntok prison camp in May 1945, a prisoner of the Japanese. Donald Pratt was buried in the Muntok cemetery, which remained in good condition until the 1960s. An enquiry to the Commonwealth Wars Graves Commission indicated that the remains of British civilians from the cemetery had been re-interred at Bandung. Following the *Chowkidar* article, a BACSA member from Australia, Mrs Judy Balcombe contacted Anthony Pratt, telling him that her grandfather, Colin Campbell, had also died in captivity in the Muntok camp. In April last year Mrs Balcombe and Mr Pratt visited Indonesia and went together to Banka Island, where the Muntok camp had been. Both carried photographs of their relatives's graves, which were believed to have been sent by the Dutch authorities about 1948. It was learnt, partly from letters now at the National Archives in Kew, that while Dutch military and civilian and British military graves were moved to Bandung, the graves of British civilians had been left at Muntok. In the 1980s the Pertamina petrol station was built over the grave area of the British civilians. Residents in houses surrounding the petrol station showed Mrs Balcombe and Mr Pratt 'some much older graves in their garden area, one for Isabella Inster who died at sea in 1881'. So it became clear that the Muntok cemetery was already well established and had not been created specifically for casualties of World War Two.

The nearby Catholic cemetery at Kampong Menjelang was visited next, and here was a small engraved memorial which read, in translation: 'Herein lie the remains of 25 English people who died at the hands of the Japanese between 1942 and 1945, buried here in March 1981'. The remains had been uncovered during the building of the petrol station. The local Heritage Group at Muntok is in the process of setting up a museum in the Tinwinning building opposite the jail camp which was used as the hospital. During the later months of 1944 and early in 1945 there were up to four deaths a day among the 700 internees and burial

parties would carry the dead to the now-vanished cemetery. A long-standing mystery has been solved thanks to persistence, research and a visit to the site. Mrs Balcombe's account of the visit was published in the July 2011 edition of *Apa Khabar* the newsletter of the Malayan Volunteers Group, set up in 2005. The Group's Secretary, Mrs Rosemary Fell, has now joined BACSA.

The winter of 1817/1818 saw the third and last Maratha war, fought between the East India Company's Army and Maratha chiefs around Poona, the seat of the Peshwa. While the Battle of Plassey, sixty years earlier, led to British domination in Bengal and Bihar, the Battle of Kirkee at the beginning of November 1817 was to secure the British position in central and western India. The Maratha chiefs were crushed and exiled, and their allies, the dreaded Pindaris, famous for their lightening raids on villages, were decisively defeated. British losses were 86 soldiers, to the Marathas' 500 dead. So the Kirkee battleground, near the river Mula, is of no small significance in the history of colonial India. However, a recent newspaper article (September 2011) reveals that the tombs of the British soldiers, although 'protected monuments' under the 1904 Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, have gone. A concrete structure now stands on the site of the old 'Battleground of Kirkee Cemetery' as it was known. The Gazetteer of 1885 described the cemetery as important because of the architectural elements in its tombs and the fact that it was originally the Residency cemetery. The area was later developed into the present College of Engineering, and former students remember the cemetery, which was walled on three sides. An elderly resident described how he used to go boating on the Mula and sail past 'the beautiful cemetery'. It was demolished several years ago, he added, in spite of local protests. It seems that the Archaeological Survey of India has only recently woken up to the loss of the old British tombs, which are now included in a list of 'missing monuments'. Hopefully the names of the British dead will be recorded somewhere, but this doesn't make up for the loss of an historical cemetery that was protected under Indian legislation.

Mention of the Dagshai cemeteries, Himachal Pradesh, in the Autumn 2011 *Chowkidar* prompted BACSA member Nigel Woodroffe to go through his post-card collection and he asked if BACSA knew anything about the tomb of Mary Rebecca Weston in one of the cemeteries. As it happens, this is the one Dagshai tomb that we *do* know about, because *Chowkidar* published an article about it in 1988, with a contemporary photograph. To recap briefly - Mary Weston was a doctor's wife who died in childbirth on 15 December 1909.

Her grieving husband is believed to have commissioned the marble tomb sculpture from Italy at considerable cost. It showed a recumbent figure, holding a baby, with both mother and child watched over by a kneeling angel. It was an extremely fine piece of work, so fine that post-cards were made of it and sold by 'Dewan Singh, Bookseller and General Merchant at Dalhousie and Lahore' as the back of the post-card tells us. The tomb became a place of pilgrimage for local barren women, who believed that by breaking off and *chewing* small pieces from the marble figure, they would become fertile. As a result, by 1988, the angel's head and wings had gone, although the recumbent figure remained almost intact. Today, twenty-three years later, only a few lumps of the marble remain. Just how beautiful the original tomb was is seen from a copy of Mr Woodroffe's post-card. (*see page 12*)

Another death in childbirth featured in an article by P.V. Srividya published in *The Hindu* last year and sent in by a corresponding member, Mr Larsen. We are not sure of the mother's name, but she was the wife of Johannes Van Steelant, Governor of Dutch possessions on the Coromandel Coast and further east. An extremely elaborate tomb commemorates the lady who died in 1709 at the age of thirty-two, having already given birth to three sons who predeceased her. (*see back cover*) The tomb, and those of two other governors' wives lie in what is called the 'Queens' Cemetery' at Nagapattinam although the 'queens' referred to are in fact the three Dutch ladies buried here. Adriana Appels was the wife of Jacob Mossel, Governor of Nagapattinam, and died at the age of twenty-eight in 1743, her five-year-old daughter dying before her from chickenpox. Dina Maria Leydecker, wife of a third Governor, Daniel Bernard, has a smaller, less elaborate tomb, but all three are commemorated in the neighbouring St Peter's Church by mahogany memorial plaques. The Dutch arrived on the Coromandel coast at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and soon displaced the Portuguese who were already established here. Dutch tombs in the subcontinent are among the grandest of all the European, and quite different from the sober British memorials. They are often baroque structures, with openings under domed roofs, and of considerable height. There must surely be a Dutch equivalent to BACSA, and lists of their handsome tombs. We would be grateful for further information.

Although there are no graves concerned, an interesting story comes in from BACSA member Mrs Natalie Wheatley. During research for a new book, information was discovered about the Wheatley family in Burma. Alfred Joseph Wheatley was born in 1862 at Bromley, Kent and is thought to have qualified as an engineer. He was certainly being

employed as a rice-milling engineer after his arrival in Akyab, in Lower Burma. Like a number of young British men, Alfred found companionship with a Burmese woman, or perhaps women. He fathered two daughters, one of whom was baptized as Edith Wheatley on 1 June 1897 with her mother's name given as Mah Shwe Moh. Natalie Wheatley has learnt that by 1899, the two little girls had been placed in a Catholic convent. This was the year that Alfred married Kathleen Thomson at St Mark's Church, Akyab on the 15 July 1899. Did Kathleen know about the two girls, or had they been hurried out of sight before the wedding? Kathleen herself had been born in Allahabad in 1869, the daughter of Dr John (Ela) Thompson, who joined the Indian Army in 1854 as an Assistant Surgeon and rose steadily to become Honorary Surgeon General.

On Alfred's retirement, he and Kathleen returned to England and he died in Battersea in 1947. Kathleen outlived him by five years. But what happened to Alfred's half-Burmese daughters? One at least grew up to have children of her own, because recently Natalie Wheatley was told that a grand-daughter is here in Britain, now an old lady of eighty-seven, whose own son is currently researching his Wheatley ancestry.

CAN YOU HELP?

A light-hearted enquiry in last Autumn's *Chowkidar* has led to an interesting correspondence touching on the Royal Calcutta Golf Club and the formation of Imperial Chemical Industries (India). Seven pewter mugs were bought at a Norfolk auction last year which had been awarded for various sporting events in Calcutta from the 1930s to the late 1950s. All bore the name H.M. Molesworth. Who was this sporting gentleman? we asked. It turns out that Hugh Mervyn Molesworth (known as Mervyn) was related to BACSA member Anne Battye, being her father's first cousin. Mervyn's sons, Roger and Donald, remember him as a very keen sportsman with 'a lot of pewter mugs around in Calcutta'. Mervyn Molesworth retired from ICI (India) in 1959, where he was the firm's Chief Accountant. Educated at Marlborough College, he had gone out in 1931 to join the firm, and spent all his working life with the same company. Another BACSA member, Lawrence Banks, tells us that his father, Dick Banks, is regarded as the 'father' of ICI (India), having gone to Calcutta in 1926 to work for a branch of Brunner Mond & Co, international manufacturers of soda. Brunner Mond was one of four companies which was combined to form ICI in 1926, and the Indian division of ICI was set up three years later.

BACSA member Brian Ritchie, now living in Oman, joined ICI (India) in 1952 as a Covenanted Assistant, where he met Mervyn Molesworth and played with him on the winning team in the 1954 Merchant's Cup. This competition figured large in Calcutta life, Mr Ritchie says, and was first played in 1906, on Tuesdays and Fridays, during three weeks in July 'when the monsoon is at its most fierce' and torrential rain swamped the course. In 1910 the competition moved to land acquired by the Calcutta Golf Club at Tollygunge, and the Club itself, the oldest outside the British Isles, got its Royal title in 1911 during the visit of King Edward and Queen Mary. 'Golf was rated highly in the qualifications needed to join ICI (India) in Calcutta and fierce rivalry ensued between it and other teams from Balmer Lawrie, Shaw Wallace and Williamson Magor. To win the Merchant's Cup carried status for the Company until the next cup a year later.' What fascinating byways old pewter mugs can lead to!

Henrietta Simpson has sent in two photographs of the tomb of Mr Carr Stephen, who was a brother of her great grandfather. The location of the tomb is not known, but it appears to be somewhere in the East and both Dacca and Calcutta have been suggested as possible places. Main databases have not come up with any information so we are starting at the beginning. Carr Stephen was the third son of 'John Stephen Esquire of Dacca' who was a landholder, or zemindar in Bengal. The family was a large one, seven in all, with two of the sons described as 'half-brothers' which indicates a second marriage by the zemindar. Carr Stephen, who was born in 1835, began his studies at Lincoln's Inn on 8 June 1864 and was called to the Bar two years later. He returned to India and became extra-assistant Commissioner of the Punjab and a judge of the Court of Small Causes. It may have been here that he met his future wife, Rosa Parry, whose father Joseph lived in Ludhiana. The couple married on 24 February 1875, when Carr would have been well established in his legal career. He is recorded prosecuting a case at the High Court in Calcutta in 1891. The inscription on the tomb is difficult to read, but it looks as if the date of death is '...February 1895'. (see page 13) On the other side of the tomb part of the wording can be made out: 'Peace perfect peace, with loved ones far away/ in Jesus' keeping we are safe and they'. What is interesting is that in the search for Carr Stephen, details of one of his brothers, St John Stephen, came up. St John was also a Calcutta lawyer and was called to the Bar in 1880. He is listed among 'Armenian Advocates at the Bar in the Calcutta High Court 1855-1893' so we assume that the family were of Armenian origin. This may explain his brother's unusual first name of Carr, possibly an abbreviation of Carapiet.

A query sent in by BACSA member Alan Lane, has a strange resonance with Natalie Wheatley's story above. Maurice William Parry Laws was a tea-planter on the Nya Gogra estate, Assam in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The Laws had long family connections with India, going back to Captain Richard Laws, buried in South Park Street cemetery. Maurice himself was born in Calcutta in 1901. Following his marriage, his wife seems not to have taken to life on the tea-estate and the couple divorced, but not before a daughter, Una, had been born to them in Britain. Maurice then took up with a local girl, known as a 'garden girl' and three daughters, two of them twins, were born of this union. Acting on a hunch, Mr Lane contacted Dr Graham's Homes, based in Kalimpong and learnt that the three Laws daughters had been at the Homes, although one twin had died in Kalimpong.

Maurice's British-born daughter, Una (now Reeves) who lives in Norfolk had originally sent a query about her father to the *Koi Hai* Group, set up in 1999 for people who have lived and worked in north-east India. After the Group sent out its initial enquiry, it was learnt that the two Laws daughters, half-sisters to Una, both live in London, and have been in touch with each other. It was Alan Lane who suggested BACSA might be able to help in finding the grave of Maurice Laws. He is thought to have died about 1952 in Calcutta. If so, this explains why the family have not been able to find his name in the Ecclesiastical Returns at the British Library, because the Returns only cover the period up to Indian Independence in 1947. Does anyone remember the Laws family and in particular, Maurice Laws?

Stefan Tetzlaff is a Phd student of modern Indian history at the University of Göttingen in Germany. He is currently studying 'Automobile Traffic and Social Change in 20th century India' and is interested in how motor transport and road development impacted on the economy, society and culture. Indian railways and motor transport businesses competed strongly with each other, particularly during the 1930s, and he has been looking at the old records of the Bengal and Northwestern Railways in Gorakhpur, as one example. However, many relevant records are now scattered or destroyed, which is why he is asking BACSA members for help. Printed material including commercial order books, pamphlets and local journals are sought. Particularly useful would be recollections from people who were connected with the motor transport sector, like businessmen, administrators, and railway engineers. If you have any leads or suggestions, please contact him at: stefan.tetzlaff@gmail.com or write to him at the Department of History, Centre for Modern Indian Studies, University of Göttingen, Waldweg 26, 37073 Göttingen, Germany.

BACSA member Dr Miltiades Spyrou, hopes someone can help him with a specialized request. Dr Spyrou tells us that the first Greek Church in Calcutta was built in 1780/81 and stood until 1922. It was situated at Amratolla Street, almost opposite the Portuguese Cathedral and near the Armenian Church. It was also surrounded by a cemetery. Later the entire plot was sold and the present Greek Church built at Kalighat. The remains and tombstones of those buried near the old Church were transferred to a new cemetery at Nartkalanga. Dr Spyrou is looking for a photograph, sketch or painting of the old Church, described above. He believes that photographs are likely to exist in family albums of people whose ancestors lived in Calcutta at the time. Greek religious festivals and national festivals were celebrated inside and outside the Church. There may also be wedding or baptism photographs. An image is wanted for a forthcoming publication and Dr Spyrou is willing to purchase and acknowledge a suitable picture. The BACSA Secretary will forward letters.

A lovely photograph of two late Victorian tombs at Mhow came in recently from Graham Beck of Cambridge. (*see page 13*) 'It seems unbelievable now', he writes 'that the two little girls were my aunts'. Both were the daughters of the Reverend George Adam Ford and his wife Ella. Dorothy May Ford died on her second birthday on 13 October 1894, preceded in death by an infant sister Ellen Marian Ford, who survived for only a day in April of the same year. George Adam Ford was later appointed Archdeacon of the Lucknow Diocese, and it must have been hard for him to leave the place where his two daughters were laid to rest. Is there any chance, Mr Beck wonders, that the Ford headstones still exist in the Mhow cemetery? Incidentally, Mr Beck is himself a stonemason of no mean repute, and thus has a particular interest in funerary monuments.

BACSA member Martyn Webster has recently found some information about a previously unknown maternal cousin who died in India in 1929. The young man's name was Charles Percival Oakley, and after serving with the Royal Naval Air Service during World War One, he went to Calcutta where some Oakley relatives were already established. Charles became an 'up-country assistant' with Kilburn & Co. in Calcutta, who were local agents for two companies – the Indian General Navigation & Railway Company, and the River Steam Navigation Co, based in Dacca. Directories of the time show an E.J. Oakley at 3 Alipore Park, Calcutta, who was connected with Kilburn & Co, as well as being Vice-Consul for Denmark. After spending nine years in India, Charles Oakley succumbed to death on 22 March 1929,

suffering 'cardiac failure during operation for emphysema following double pneumonia'. He was buried the next day in the Lower Circular Road Cemetery, Calcutta. Mr Webster would like to know whether any memorial to Charles Oakley survives in the Calcutta cemetery, and secondly if more information can be gleaned about the two companies for which he worked. Copies of the Burial Registers are available at the Lower Circular Road Cemetery, so it should not be difficult to establish the plot number where the burial took place. However, it should be noted that in this cemetery, where graves have not been tended for many years, they are removed to make way for new burials. Mr Webster will be put in touch with the Christian Burial Board in Calcutta, who can search the Registers and the cemetery for a small fee.

To lighter matters now and it seems that the old adage about 'Bishop Cotton's socks' can finally be laid to rest (perhaps in the sock drawer). BACSA member Mr Niblett, the Honorary Life President of the Old Cottonions Association (UK) says that the story featured in the Autumn 2011 *Chowkidar* was investigated by Dr Tony Rogers, the Archivist at Marlborough College. It was traced back to a syndicated newspaper column called 'Believe It Or Not' started in 1918 by an American, Robert Ripley. It boasted 'bizarre events and items so strange and unusual that readers might question the claims.' In this case, and particularly since the Cotton family, some of whom are BACSA members, have maintained a dignified silence, we are not going to pursue the subject. The answer to 'believe it or not?' is a firm 'not'.

THE GILGIT GRAVE

BACSA members John and Elizabeth Staley read with interest *Chowkidar's* review of *Murder in the Hindu Kush: George Hayward and the Great Game* (Autumn 2011). Hayward's grave is in the garden of the former PWD rest house at Gilgit and standing over the grave is a large chinar tree (*platanus orientalis*). In 1963 the mali took a cutting from the tree and gave it to Elizabeth's mother, the late Janet Pott, who was an early BACSA member. Janet was visiting her daughter and son-in-law who were working in the Gilgit and Chitral area. Janet took the cutting home and planted it in her Kensington garden where it flourished and was still going strong when the house was sold in 1999. Meanwhile the Staleys had returned to England, and settled in Malvern where they transplanted a sucker off Janet's tree, which rooted well. Two years ago, on the third attempt, John succeeded with three 'aerial layerings' and the couple now have three fourth-generation saplings. They will grow into trees too big for most domestic gardens, so it is

planned to donate one to an institutional garden or an arboretum. Part of Janet Pott's interest in the Hayward connection was that Henry Newbolt, the poet, was a friend of her father, and Janet remembered, as a small girl, hearing Newbolt recite 'He Fell Among Thieves', the poem inspired by Hayward's ghastly death.

NOTICES

Mr Cliff Parrett, Editor of *Durbar*, the Journal of the Indian Military Historical Society, has pointed out an error in the Autumn 2011 *Chowkidar*. We should have made it clear that the article on page 135 headed 'The Old Christian Cemetery at Abbottabad' by Professor Tarin and Mr Sarkees Najmuddin, originally appeared in *Durbar*, in two parts, in 2009 and 2010. It was subsequently reprinted in the *Kipling Journal* before being re-edited for the *Chowkidar* article.

For those who have not previously heard of the Indian Military Historical Society (IMHS), the Society was formed in 1983 to bring together people interested in the military history of the Indian subcontinent and to encourage research and the exchange of information. This covers everything from aspects of general military history to specific battles or campaigns, services units engaged in India both pre- and post-Independence including details of uniforms, medals, badges, buttons and other militia. *Durbar* is published four times a year and further details are available from the Secretary Mr Tony McClenaghan at 33 High Street, Tilbrook, Huntington, Cambridgeshire PE 28 0JP.

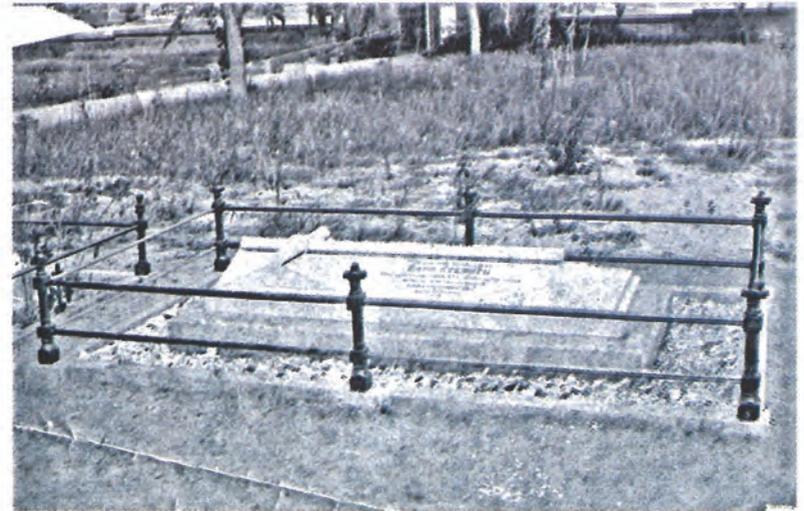
email: imhs@mcclenaghan.waitrose.com The Society's website is www.imhs.org.uk

An exhibition of the works of Johan Zoffany opens at the Royal Academy of Arts, Burlington House, Piccadilly, London W1 on 10 March and runs until 10 June. Of particular interest to BACSA members will be paintings from Zoffany's time in India, including 'Colonel Mordaunt's Cock Match' one of the best examples of the artist's work during his Lucknow period.

Anglo-Indian Reunion: the next international reunion takes place in Calcutta between 6 and 12 January 2013. Events include a symposium and conference, a river cruise, a thanksgiving service in St Paul's Cathedral, and a Grand Ball. Details can be found on the website: www.aireunion2013.org or by contacting the organizers at aireunion2013@gmail.com



above: Bhowanipore - a solitary old domed tomb is surrounded by new graves (see page 2)



above: the Carr Stephen tomb, its location not yet established (see page 7)

below: Mary Rebecca Weston's tomb at Dagshai before its mutilation (see page 5)



below: Mhow cemetery with the little Ford daughters' tombs (see page 9)



BACSA BOOKS written by BACSA members

The Amritsar Massacre: the Untold Story of One Fateful Day

Nick Lloyd

The basic elements of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre at Amritsar on 13 April 1919 will probably be known to the majority of BACSA members. Following the arrest and deportation of two nationalist leaders in Amritsar on 10 April, enraged mobs had taken to the streets murdering five European civilians, assaulting others and setting fire to banks and other buildings – ‘the worst single outbreak of disorder to be seen anywhere in India during 1919’. Brigadier General Reginald Dyer, commander of 45 Brigade at Jullunder, arrived in Amritsar on 11 April and assumed command of the situation. Who sent him there and whether he was formally handed power from the civil authorities remain matters of conjecture. On the morning of 13 April he toured the city reading out a proclamation concerning a number of restrictions being imposed. Later that day he received news that large numbers were gathering at an open site, the Jallianwala Bagh, returned with 90 soldiers and almost immediately ordered his troops to open fire on the large crowd of about 25,000 people, killing an unknown number of people – estimates vary from 200 to about 2,000, and injuring many more. That the Amritsar Massacre is one of the most emotive and contentious events in modern Indian history, and that it has polarised opinion and controversy over the intervening 90 years is acknowledged by the author – a controversy that this book is not going to settle. Indeed, for those who regard Dyer as a butcher it will be seen as an apologist view for his actions, but that would be to misunderstand the book and the approach the author has taken.

Amritsar was not the only location to suffer violent disorder in 1919 and the book serves to take Amritsar out of isolation and place it in the context of the wider picture, exploring in detail other violent disturbances in Ahmedabad, Lahore, Kasur and Gujranwala, as well as widespread disruption to railway and telegraph communications throughout the Punjab. It also explores the pre-1919 background to the troubles, beginning with First World War military recruitment fatigue, which impacted particularly on the Punjab, the Indian demand for reform occasioned by the war, and the impact of the Rowlatt Act of January 1919, intended to help maintain order in an unsettled period. This Act led directly to the creation of Mahatma Gandhi’s supposedly non-violent civil disobedience programme, or *satyagraha*, though the author offers the opinion that, while originally intended to be non-violent, the *satyagraha* was at the heart of the unrest, first, by mobilising a mass civil disobedience movement without saying how it

was to be conducted and, secondly, by failing to present an objective summary to his followers of the Rowlatt provision. The Government was equally at fault in its failure adequately to explain the Rowlatt proposals. Strikes, processions and arrests led eventually to Gandhi being barred by the British from entering the Punjab in April 1919 and this in turn sparked the first violent demonstrations in Ahmedabad.

This is a well researched and well written book that sets out to explore and explode a number of myths that have built up around the story over the years. These include: deliberate provocation by the authorities; involvement of British intelligence in planning the gathering; the use or intended use of machine guns; composition of the crowd by gender and age group; Dyer’s actions were premeditated; and events in Amritsar were the cause of unrest elsewhere in the Punjab.

It is clear, and other sources agree, that there was a massive failure of intelligence, not only within Amritsar but also in the wider Punjab. This failure led Dyer to act in the way that he did. Despite Dyer’s evidence to the Hunter Inquiry, suggesting that he was fully in control of the situation, the author suggests that the move to Jallianwala Bagh had very little planning, that Dyer expected to meet a crowd of about 1,000 but was instead confronted by about 25,000 and, shocked and convinced he was facing a rebel army, acted in the way he did. Instead of a premeditated act it was a panic reaction, and a gigantic error on his part, though given his subsequent lionisation by some as saviour of the Punjab, he could not admit to this. The book will undoubtedly fuel the debate on Amritsar, and some will find it difficult reading, but it is a well intentioned attempt to explore and unravel some of the historiography surrounding the incident and deserves to be read widely. (TM)

2011 I.B. Taurus ISBN 9781848857230 £22.50 pp295

Colonial Cousins – a Surprising History of Connections between Australia and India

Joyce Westrip and Peggy Holroyde

This book outlines the ways in which these two English-speaking, cricket-loving nations have interacted over the years. As both authors lived in the subcontinent for several years and now reside in Australia they’re well placed to have undertaken a task of this nature. To anyone with even the most basic grasp of British colonial history, the appearance of the word *surprising* in the title is the book’s first surprise. The fact that for many years Australia and India were British possessions bordering the Indian Ocean surely meant strong links between the two were inevitable. Once the narrative begins, however, surprises come tumbling from the pages at a fast and furious rate.

Starting with the connections that arose after convicts began being transported from England to New South Wales at the end of the eighteenth century, the authors express the view that 'somewhere in the migrations of human beings there were exchanges between the two land masses, between Australian Aborigine and Indian.' (p17) Visitors to Ootacamund are often struck by the Todas' resemblance to Australian Aborigines and the authors identify a variety of cultural and linguistic similarities too. That said, just because the Todas and Aborigines have similar facial features doesn't necessarily indicate blood ties.

The flotilla carrying the first British settlers to Australia sailed into Sydney Harbour at the end of January 1788. For the next couple of decades the penal settlements they established struggled to survive but, fortunately, help was at hand: 'shipping lanes to and from Calcutta, Madras and Bombay were links of survival and much-needed quick (relatively speaking) communication.' (p30) If the supplies from India hadn't been forthcoming it's possible that Sydney might have been abandoned. Trade links between India and Australia grew rapidly. No surprises here. But one little known consequence of the creation of penal settlements in New South Wales was the appearance in Calcutta of 'petty criminals, deviants, poor Irish girls and convicts' who'd fled Sydney as stowaways. Nowadays, thousands of desperate people cross the Indian Ocean in flimsy vessels to seek a better life in Australia. How ironic that at the end of the eighteenth century something similar was happening, although in the reverse direction. However, Westrip and Holroyde are quick to point out that while some malcontents in Sydney yearned for the bright lights of Calcutta; significant numbers of East India Company soldiers were committing crimes with the sole intention of being transported to Australia.

In *Colonial Cousins* we're introduced to several individuals who left their mark in the subcontinent and Australia. Among them is Lachlan Macquarie, who, after two decades of military service in India (including being at both sieges at Seringapatam and the capture of Colombo) replaced William Bligh as Governor of New South Wales and in 10 years (1810-20) transformed an anarchic hellhole into one of the best governed of Britain's overseas possessions. During the colonial period many Indians who weren't of British stock ended up in Australia. Nowadays, an overwhelming majority of Australia's Indian immigrants gravitate to the big cities, but this hasn't always been the case. Before the coming of the railways the only practical way of transporting machinery, food and raw materials around the arid interior was by camel. The owners are usually referred to as 'Afghans' although they're more likely to have been Sindhis, Baluchis and Pushtu-speakers from what's now Pakistan.

In its early years Alice Springs couldn't have functioned without camels so it's fitting that when a rail link was built to connect the town to the outside world the passenger train was called 'The Ghan'. In addition, Sikh hawkers were once a common sight in the Outback as they visited isolated grazing properties selling haberdashery and knick-knacks to the pastoralists. The authors tracked down several descendants of these camel drivers and hawkers, and their stories make interesting reading.

People are often astonished at the way in which a relatively small number of British officials and soldiers were able to maintain control over an area the size of India. One reason that's generally overlooked (although not in *Colonial Cousins*) is the crucial role played by horses, the bulk of which came from Australia. The first recorded shipment was in 1816 and by the end of the nineteenth century the Indian Army's cavalry regiments were almost totally reliant on Australian breeds, in particular walers and remounts, both for their military campaigns and leisure activities such as polo and pig-sticking. The authors conclude their lengthy chapter about the importance of Australian horses to the British in India with this thought-provoking (but extremely apt) remark: 'It has often been said that Australia once rode to prosperity on the sheep's back. Well, the British Raj rode on the Australian back – the back of a remount horse!'

When India became independent in 1947 most of the administrators, engineers, teachers, missionaries and entrepreneurs who'd enabled the Raj to function decamped to the British Isles, but a sizeable number headed in the opposite direction and many years later Westrip and Holroyde interviewed some of them. All seem grateful that their parents opted for the likes of Perth and Sydney rather than Grimsby or West Bromwich and without exception they have fond memories of India. The authors also tracked down some of the estimated 10,000 Anglo Indians (in the modern sense of the term) who ended up in Australia and it would appear that most have thrived. The last part of the book deals with the current state of play in relations between the colonial cousins on either side of the Indian Ocean. Despite their past links Australia and India seem reluctant to embrace each other too warmly. This is partly down to the Australians' desire to cosy up to China, South Korea and Japan; and the Indians' belief that their interests are best served by throwing in their lot with the USA, Canada and the UK. *Colonial Cousins* will be of interest to anyone who has close ties to either India or Australia, and required reading for those whose families have in the past had one foot in the UK but been unsure on which side of the Indian Ocean to place the other! (MR)

2010 Wakefield Press, Adelaide ISBN 9781862548411 pp 451

The Chaplains of the East India Company 1601-1858

Daniel O'Connor

The Revd Daniel O'Connor has produced an excellent addition to the studies of the East India Company's servants. The chaplains have been largely ignored, compared with the Army and the Civil Service, although about 665 served the Company. Dr O'Connor's 'preliminary sketch' has a large cast, a long time-span, and covers the whole of India, but he achieves this in 148 pages (plus 19 pages of notes, bibliography and index), using a wide variety of sources. It is a remarkable study in scholarly compression.

One new insight is that the Company never disregarded the spiritual welfare of its servants. Chaplains were appointed for all the early voyages, and to the factories (trading stations). During these long voyages the chaplains suffered as much as the sailors, including disease, storms, warfare at sea, and the traumas of numerous funerals. They were attracted to this dangerous work by generous salaries and permission to share in the lucrative profits, if they survived. Candidates, nominated by a Director, had to preach a trial sermon on a set text before the Directors; later they had to be recommended by the Bishop of London or the Archbishop of Canterbury. Despite this selection process some early chaplains were described as 'debauched' and others had to be sent home in disgrace. Their prescribed duties were to conduct daily prayers on board ship, or ashore, and sacramental services with sermons, on Sundays.

The transition to the factories involved a new set of circumstances. They found small enclosed communities, whose morale depended on the Governor. Surat suffered from drunkenness and riotous behaviour until the arrival of a stern Governor, Streyntsham Master; he brought some order, and instilled some piety. As the Presidency cities grew, the chaplains faced increasing problems, and suffered huge mortality. At Madras one-third of the chaplains died or returned home within their first year, and there was a similar rate of attrition at Bombay and Calcutta. Nevertheless services were held, by a layman if no chaplain was available, the sick were visited, and new churches were built. Chaplains railed against the 'godless living' of the Europeans, but some took home substantial fortunes; John Evans, dismissed in 1692, took home the equivalent of £2,500,000 and became a Bishop, while a century later William Johnson, the fourth husband of Frances Watts (see *The Calcutta of Begum Johnson*, BACSA 1990), went home without her, but with a fortune based on land deals and large fees from baptisms, marriages and funerals; nevertheless he raised the money to build St John's Church.

More order came in 1813 when Thomas Middleton was appointed as the first Bishop of Calcutta, but it was an Indian Ecclesiastical Establishment with a difference, as the Company also appointed a few Presbyterian ministers to care for the numerous Scots, and paid small fees to Roman Catholic priests to minister to Irish soldiers. Over 400 chaplains were appointed between 1814 and 1858, reflecting the vast expansion of the Company's rule. Their work began to resemble English parochial duties, but some were distinctly unconventional priests. James Gray, a scholarly Scottish poet, tutored the young Rao of Cutch, and translated the New Testament into Kacchi. James Coley felt he was doing 'the Lord's work' in the first Sikh War. George Badger, 'a hookah-smoking Arabist' acted as an interpreter, diplomat and surveyor. Midgley Jennings caused a furore in Delhi by baptising two prominent Hindus, and was killed in 1857, one of five chaplains to suffer this fate. This book has many treasures, but the price is daunting. The chaplains deserve both paperback and Indian editions. (RJB)

2012 Continuum ISBN: HB: 978-1-4411-7534-2. £65 pp167

Cawnpore – its early history and Kacheri Cemetery guide Zoë Yalland

In the 1980s BACSA published two booklets by Zoë Yalland, sister of Theon Wilkinson, our Founder. A brief history of Cawnpore and its old cemetery, the Kacheri, was given, with some overlapping information. Both booklets have long been out of print, so a decision was made to amalgamate them into one volume and reprint. None of the charm of Zoë's writing has been lost, a little additional information has been added and photographs from our archives have been used. A splendid cover illustration too.

2011 BACSA ISBN 978 0 907799 92 4. £12.00 pp150

Bangladesh Burials: Monumental Inscriptions in Dhaka and other Cemeteries Sue Farrington

The third volume of the author's trilogy on European graves in Bangladesh, complementing her earlier books on Pakistan. Well illustrated and with 22 sketch maps, names are listed both alphabetically and chronologically. A feast of information, listings include Dhaka and eighteen other cemeteries. Meticulous research makes this the definitive guide to European burials in Bangladesh.

2011 BACSA ISBN 978 0 907799 90 0. £15.00 pp205

BOOKS BY NON-MEMBERS THAT WILL INTEREST READERS

A People's Collector in the British Raj: Arthur Galletti Brian Stoddart

This book has been long in the making, and is all the better for this as the author has been able to unravel the many strands and mysteries surrounding his main character, Arthur Galletti. It is a full life, well-researched with proper biographical details and references plus a useful analysis of what made Galletti such an interesting *enfant terrible* in Madras Presidency. He arrived as a particularly bright young ICS (Indian Civil Service) officer in 1900 and worked throughout his career in the Presidency to his sad and frustrated retirement in 1934.

It is well named 'A People's Collector' for Galletti's story is one of arguments with the British Raj, concerning their methods and rationale behind the government. He was supremely self confident, but alas rarely diplomatic. His impatience with the Raj led him to send off reports which detailed how to better administer the many districts he was attached to during his career. He seemed not to understand why he was overlooked for promotion, even excusing one famous occasion in Horsleykonda when he refused (in a British gathering at that) to toast the King or drink to his health. Indeed he wrote to various senior Madras Secretariat members several times (and once even over their heads to Delhi), questioning and resenting other appointments made, as he saw it, over his head. His arrogance never allowed him to accept any 'mistakes' he might have made in the Districts where he had been Collector. It is not surprising therefore that he was despatched during his career in South India to several so-called 'punishment postings' and perhaps even more surprising that his career actually ran to full term.

He certainly came near to dismissal several times, and finally retired, still spluttering and furious. Fortunately his long-suffering wife Clara Salvatori owned a house in Umbria, Italy and that was where they went on retirement. Galletti's grand plans thereafter to develop the Cassace absorbed his later energies and by the 1950s he was running it as a superior bed and breakfast and advertising in *The Times*. The author suggests that Galletti's manic activity and energy was due to a hyperthyroid problem, which led to anxiety, irritability, eye problems and headaches. He was finally operated for this after he retired; typically he chose the surgeon himself - and so went off to New Zealand.

On the other hand the book reveals Galletti as a likeable liberal, an obviously intelligent man who suffered from being a dual national, both British and Italian - hardly an easy position to maintain in the Raj of the First World War! He loved his wife but tortured her with his coldness and unemotional analyses. He spoke Telugu and Tamil fluently with Indian friends and in court work, and argued for more integration and a quicker political change, but on his own well-argued terms of course! He genuinely loved India, in particular the Telugus and wrote a Telugu-English dictionary on retirement. He operated always as an individual, being unskilled in the collaborative work that his job required and having an unfortunate genius for irritating others. In some matters he was ahead of his period, but as a vociferous and frustrated member of the Raj he was doomed to be ignored by his political masters.

The volume incidentally offers a useful resume of the last decades of the Raj in the Madras Presidency with the main characters of his time there well described and the development of Congress clearly outlined. Professor Stoddart's book would have benefited from an editor or at least better proof-reading. Missing words, incorrect dates, some uneasy sentence constructions and too many printer's devils mar the enjoyable reading of an otherwise most interesting primary historical source. (CC)

*2011 Readworthy Publications, New Delhi. ISBN 9789350180419
Rs1,295 pp316

The Last Guardian: Memoirs of Hatch-Barnwell, ICS of Bengal
Stephen Hatch-Barnwell

When India gained its independence in 1947, a few, a very few, British government servants stayed on. One such was Stephen Hatch-Barnwell who, joining the ICS (Indian Civil Service) in 1933, found himself posted to Bengal. He witnessed the turbulence of the movement towards independence before and during the Second World War, the Bengal Famine of 1943, communal rioting, the partition of Bengal, East Pakistan's struggle to support itself, martial law, and reached the highest positions of responsibility.

Hatch-Barnwell first learnt his trade in Rajshahi and Rampur, carrying out land settlement work which took him away from dusty files to the countryside and the peasant farmers. He delighted in the outdoor life - touring on horseback and camping - and whiled away his solitary evenings by teaching himself to cook. As subdivisional officer at Serampore, HB, as he is remembered, had to bear a 'special cross':

the nearby French enclave of Chandernagore which provided a refuge for the criminal fraternity of Serampore. Promoted to assistant district magistrate at Comilla in Eastern Bengal, he bought himself a motor-boat in which he toured the area, and later at Malda, famous for silk and mangoes he gained an insight into the Santhal aboriginal tribes. It was also at Malda that HB came face to face with the catastrophe of the 1943 famine which he concluded was a casualty of war. This experience led him to be given responsibility for organising the rice trade in a region of six thousand square miles, but he made time to develop an interest and, later, an expertise in the orchids of the Darjeeling area.

As independence neared and partition seemed inevitable, HB decided to continue his career and opted for Pakistan not least because there would be a grave shortage of experienced civil servants in what would be East Pakistan. Now a member of the Civil Service of Pakistan and transferred to Barisal where all movement and transport was by water, HB administered an area subject to the cyclones that claim tens of thousands of human and animal lives and decimate wide coastal areas. His initiative led to the unique Sunderbans coastal forest with its Bengal tigers being declared a protected area. In the following years HB was at the forefront of setting up a new administration from scratch, holding several senior positions: head of grain procurement, the top civil servant in the department of health and local self-government, and provincial transport commissioner. These and other senior posts brought him into direct contact with senior politicians such as H.S. Suhrawardy and A.K. Fazlul Huq, and with General Ayub Khan under whom he had to work within the constraints of martial law. As head of the Board of Revenue, he had the sensitive responsibility to resettle some 75,000 tribal people in the Chittagong Hill Tracts displaced by the construction of the Kaptai dam. His experience of food procurement and distribution led to the chairmanship of the Agricultural Development Corporation, before he retired in 1966.

In writing his memoirs, HB's first intention was to picture the life of a young ICS officer in the autumn of the Raj. This he does successfully, describing the burden of responsibility on young, solitary shoulders, and his growing understanding and appreciation of the Bengali character. The chapters covering his later career encompass professional and technical subjects of greater interest to the specialist, but they are leavened with amusing anecdotes. The whole will interest students of the Raj and those who wish to learn more about the early days of what became Bangladesh, as well as how a foreigner could serve another country without fear or favour.

HB's son, Philip, brought these memoirs to the attention of BACSA member Waqar Khan of the Bangladesh Forum for Heritage Studies. They and Khalid Shams, who provides a foreword, are to be congratulated on bringing to a wider audience what may be a unique story. HB exemplified the professional and politically neutral civil servant, and had such a deep respect and affection for the Bengali people that he continued to serve them in difficult and trying circumstances. He never regretted his decision to 'stay on.' (PB)

* 2011 The University Press Ltd, 61 Motijheel C/A PO Box 2611, 1000 Dhaka, Bangladesh. Email: upl@bangla.net ISBN 978 984 506 025 7. Rs700 pp354

A Glimpse of Empire

Jessica Douglas Home

Lilah Wingfield is the engaging heroine of *A Glimpse of Empire*. Born in 1888 to an aristocratic family based at Powerscourt in Ireland, she is 23 by the time of the Imperial Durbar in Delhi which took place in 1911, the year after George V's coronation Lilah is singularly free of prejudice, largely owing to her parents' seeming indifference to their young daughter (and her siblings) till she was in her teens, and to her Irish awareness of colonialism without hierarchy. Inspired by an advertisement in the *Illustrated London News* to take part in an expedition to India for the Durbar, she enterprisingly escapes from a stifling relationship with her widowed and deeply conventional mother into a wider and more fulfilling world.

The author, Jessica Douglas-Home, is the grand-daughter of the feisty and intelligent woman whose diary and photographs form the basis of the book. The photographs were already in the family, but the diary was found by chance, and both give a uniquely personal and individual flavour to this story. Lilah and her friend Sylvia Brooke are accompanied by two chaperones, Judy Smith and Arthur Brodrick. The one had supported Lilah in winning her mother's agreement to the trip, and the other had numerous contacts with the Indian Civil Service and the Army which facilitated both her stay in the accommodation prepared for the Durbar in the Tented Camp outside Delhi and her independent travel afterwards. Many of the photographs were taken by Lilah herself, and they reflect her pleasure in the everyday experiences of her trip, the friendships she made on board both with other British and with Indians travelling home for the Durbar, such as the young Maharaja of Jodhpur and his guardian, Thakur Dokhal, and later when she travels north to Peshawar and beyond, and south as far as Colombo in (the then) Ceylon. There is a map to show the extent of her travels, and also a plan of the Tented City.

She revels in her encounters with Indians such as the Begum of Bhopal, already active in encouraging education for Muslim women in her State, while also appreciating the opportunities her army contacts gave her to reach outflung areas normally not available to travellers, such as the North-West Frontier, beyond Ali Musjid. In the Tented City she is taken to see the tents of various maharajas and notices the craftsmanship displayed by Sikkim and Bhutan with their embroideries and tapestries, Jammu and Kashmir with carvings, as well as the precursor to bling of Ranjitsinhji of Nawanagar. She is present at the potential PR disaster of George V's anticlimatic ride through Delhi at the Durbar, and the triumph of his subsequent acclaim.

There are mistakes which should have been picked up by an editor, if not by the author herself: George V was Queen Victoria's grandson, not her son (page 54); and the Gaekwar of Baroda seems to have lost ten years of his age, being 48 not 38 by 1911 (page 39). But this book is an enlightening and vivid account of a once-in-a-lifetime journey by a young woman of integrity. It is a memoir, not a history. There is historical background appropriate for Lilah's developing awareness of the relationship between the Raj and its components, her own travels bring her to a closer awareness of both sides of the story, as when she sees for herself the site of the events of the Mutiny at Cawnpore, and hears an account of the slaughter from a Gordon Highlander.

Her 'relationship' with an old friend. Colonel Barnes, acts as a microcosm for what she was escaping from in leaving England; we see the logistics of organising an epic event such as the Durbar through British eyes, and the assumptions at its base. Lilah is resolutely oblivious to his feelings for her but painfully aware of their effect on her contacts with other army officers. In the end, 'what the Colonel failed to realise was that what he offered her could never be enough. It was India, not Anglo-India, that she wanted'. (VB)

2011 Michael Russell Publishing 978-0-85955-321-6 £17.95 pp

STOP PRESS

Graveyards in Ceylon, North & East Eileen Hewson

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If planning any survey of cemetery MIs, 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

The Editor's email address is: rosieljai@clara.co.uk



Dutch tomb at Nagapattinam (see page 5)