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# CHOWKIDAR

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#### British Association For Cemeteries In South Asia (BACSA)

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#### 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 (2013) 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 © British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia

#### A SUTHERLAND FAMILY MYSTERY SOLVED?

A year ago Chowkidar published the sad story of the destruction of nearly all the old graves in the Bhowanipore Cemetery, Calcutta, which was opened in 1782. Among its early occupants were members of the Sutherland family, and BACSA member Malcolm Sutherland, has a strange story to tell, with a surprising conclusion.

I have been able to trace my ancestry back to a Sergeant James Sutherland of the Bengal Artillery, who died in Calcutta on Christmas Eve 1796, at the age of thirty-nine. His wife, Ann, had predeceased him eight years earlier. (Both were buried in Bhowanipore Cemetery.) Their son, Patrick, born in Calcutta in 1784, later became Registrar of the Military Board there. Patrick's eldest daughter was born in August 1816 and he named her Mary Harriet. When the little girl grew up, she married a man with, seemingly, the same surname - Charles Jackson Sutherland. Were they cousins? From the details recorded at his death, it is known that Charles Jackson Sutherland was born on 8 August 1810. But I have found no birth registration which would confirm this, and his two marriage certificates do not give the correct name of his father. When Charles married Mary Harriet Sutherland on 21 January 1835, he is described simply as a bachelor, 'of age'. At his second marriage, he was described as a widower son of Patrick. But that was surely an error. He was the son-in-law of Patrick and this is confirmed in Patrick's Will where he twice refers to Charles Jackson as his son-inlaw.

Since I seemed to be at a dead end, I thought I would get in touch with some second cousins who were living in England and ask them if they had any information about Charles Jackson's origins. After all, they, like me, were descendants of Charles. One of these cousins was named after him, being baptised Charles Robert Sutherland Graham, known as Bob. Bob Graham was of the opinion that Charles Jackson was born a Brownrigg and had been adopted by Patrick Sutherland. Another newly discovered cousin had a piece of jewellery bearing the Brownrigg family crest. Both these facts pointed to the likelihood that my great grandfather was born Charles Jackson Brownrigg. There were several Brownriggs living in India in 1810, when Charles Jackson was born. But eventually I came to the conclusion that the Brownrigg who fathered Charles Jackson was John Studholme Brownrigg who was the Secretary of the Military Board in Calcutta where Patrick Sutherland was the Registrar. Not only were Brownrigg and Sutherland office colleagues, they were also probably friends because a J.S. Brownrigg signed as a witness at the Calcutta wedding of an elder daughter of Patrick, by his first wife.

There is another connection between John Studholme Brownrigg and Charles Jackson which seems to be significant. Brownrigg left the service of the East India Company in 1820 and became a merchant, first in Calcutta and then in London as a partner in the firm of Cockerell & Co. Robert Howe Cockerell, who was the senior partner of the firm's Calcutta branch was a witness to the wedding of Charles Jackson to Mary Harriet. Even more significantly, the first recorded evidence of Charles Jackson's employment in Calcutta was with Cockerell & Co, one of the Agency houses. John Studholme Brownrigg was married in Calcutta in December 1812, two years after the birth of Charles Jackson. He was then described as a bachelor. If, therefore, he was Charles Jackson's father, it would seem that he did not marry the boy's mother. My theory is that the mother died when her chiid was an infant and Brownrigg subsequently arranged for his married friend and colleague, Patrick Sutherland, to adopt and bring up the infant boy as his own. The episode would have heen hushed up in view of Brownrigg's wedding and his later distinguished career. (He became MP for Boston in Lincolnshire.) Then, my theory goes, Brownrigg secured a good post in Calcutta for his illegitimate son, once he had reached manhood. John Studholme Brownrigg came from a more distinguished family than the Sutherlands. I had hoped that the extant legitimate descendant of Brownrigg, namely Henry John Studholme Brownrigg, might have documentation in support of my theory. But I have failed to get a response from him. However, I have become a friend of another Henry Brownrigg, who is on the BACSA Executive Committee. This Henry Brownrigg and I underwent DNA testing which showed that there was a 98% probability that we had a common ancestor. My conclusion is that Charles Jackson Sutherland was almost certainly the son of John Studholme Brownrigg.

Editor's note: *The Bengal Obituary* records that Charles Jackson's wife, Mary Harriet, died at Moulmein in Burma on 11 July 1846, aged 29 years, 11 months and 3 days. She left behind a 'husband and eight children to bemoan her loss.' At least two Sutherland brothers were living in Burma during the 1850s.

# MAIL BOX

When BACSA member Elizabeth Carver set off to visit the cemeteries at Shimla and Sanjauli last year, she hoped to find the graves of her great grandparents, Arthur and Clara Bloodworth. Family papers included an old photograph of Arthur's grave in the Kanlog Cemetery, Shimla showing a low, curved headstone and cross, standing tidily among small crosses. Unfortunately the tomb was not to be found, although this doesn't mean it isn't there. The Shimla cemeteries have long been a cause of deep concern, not only to BACSA, and to people who have ancestors buried there, but also, apparently, to the Government of Himachal Pradesh who have periodically announced 'cemetery tours' of its hill-stations' graveyards. Indeed, a fairly recent municipal plaque at the entrance to the Kanlog cemetery states that it was repeatedly extended until it became the town's most important cemetery, containing 'some of the people who substantially influenced both Shimla and the history of the period.' It's a pity that something more than lip-service is not paid to this historic site.

Kanlog cemetery dates from about the 1840s, and possibly before, although the earliest surviving grave is from 1850. It was officially closed in the 1920s, and thus covers one of the most interesting periods of British rule, when the Governors General and their staff would adjourn to the summer capital to escape the heat of Calcutta. A small portion of this cemetery has been cut into by the Shimla bypass, and the rest is in a pretty dismal condition. The oldest part is the highest, and there is a hairpin bend up a steep incline, which makes it inaccessible for many. 'It is completely overgrown, vandalised and full of rubbish', reported Mrs Carver. 'Very sad to see. I could not find the two graves that I know are there.' Arthur Joseph Bloodworth was born near Peterborough in 1852 and arrived in India with the 9th (East Norfolk) Regiment of Foot as a sergeant. He took part in the Jawaki Expedition of 1877, one of those numerous attempts to control tribal unrest in the North West Frontier Province, and the second Afghan War a year later. He retired to Shimla in 1892, where he took up the post of District Bailiff, a task carried out with 'great tact and civility,' which won him 'the respect and confidence alike of government and the litigating public'. His wife, Clara (née Knight) was born in Wiltshire, and had come out to Shimla as a governess to the son of an army officer, although at the time of her marriage she was working for a doctor and his wife in Meerut. Clara was nearly a centenarian at the time of her death in 1947. She was buried in Sanjauli cemetery, east of Shimla. Unfortunately, as Mrs Carver learnt, there are no headstones, and never have been, for the eight graves here of 1946 and 1947.

By coincidence another report has been received on the same cemetery, this time from Tony and Jane Bennett, who were there last October. They reiterate that the area is heavily overgrown, and discarded bottles indicate it is a drinking haunt for the locals. Nevertheless, the Bennetts have recorded four pages of names and dates of deaths from the upper and lower portions of Kanlog. These include a young lieutenant, Edmond Richard Purcell, of the 3rd Battalion 12th Regiment, who died of injuries from falling off his horse on 27 May 1871; Sir Alexander Hutchinson Lawrence, Baronet 'late of Simla' died 27 August 1864, and Emma, wife of George Prussia, who died on 7 November 1887, aged 45 years.

Jane Bennett was looking for a particular grave, that of Elinor Augusta Flora Beadon, who died on 21 January 1886. Although the grave was not found. Elinor's name appears in the Burial Register that still exists in the Municipal Office at Shimla. The Bennetts were taken to the Office by Mr Sumit Vashist, a local writer and knowledgeable guide, who had also assisted Mrs Carver. Where BACSA has good local contacts like Mr Vashist it can certainly smooth the way for foreign visitors. We would like to build up a list of such people, so please let us know if you have met anyone particularly helpful who would be willing to act as a contact and guide. Now that nearly everyone in the sub-continent has a mobile phone, communications are so much easier than they were even a few years ago. Chowkidar also likes to publish photographs of well-kept graves. Unfortunately we can't do so on this occasion and the picture on page 60 will give an idea of the jungle that confronts visitors to the cemetery today. Protective clothing and secateurs or a parang (machete) are recommended by the Bennetts, for determined searchers in this cemetery.

There is more gloomy news from another hill-station cemetery too. The Camel-Back Cemetery in Mussoorie probably does have a proper name, but it has long been known after the area in which it lies. A natural rock formation means that the road snaking along above a gully does indeed resemble a camel's hump. Until a few years ago, this was a large, well-kept, cemetery, with an attractive gothic gate-house. The gate-house is still there, and has been recently rather enthusiastically whitewashed. But the interior has dismayed two recent correspondents. Cindy Wilkinson from Australia emailed in August 2012 to advise BACSA of 'the marked deterioration of what was once the beautiful English Cemetery .... I have been visiting this cemetery since the mid-1970s and was there just recently and was appalled at the state it is in. It has been used for the dumping of rubbish and the cemetery itself is grossly overgrown. It was once a beautiful site with a stunning view of the Himalayas beneath peaceful trees.' Ms Wilkinson contacted BACSA because she spotted our plaque on the cemetery wall, showing that we had funded restoration in the past.

Two months later Claire Hamon emailed BACSA to tell us that her great grandparents are buried in this cemetery, and that she too found the site 'very poor and under-maintained'. The gate-house doors are kept locked, but there is a key-holder. The guide who showed Ms Hamon around was very distressed by the poor state of the cemetery. BACSA's Area representative for the hill-stations wrote to the local contact in Mussoorie about the deterioration, but has received no reply. An urgent appeal therefore goes out for anyone visiting Mussoorie in the near future to find out what is happening, or indeed for anyone living there to let us know how we can help.

BACSA member Simon Davidson recently returned from a visit to St Paul's Church and Cemetery at Dibrugarh, in Assam, This is teaproducing country and the key for the church, which has been deconsecrated, is held at the nearby Planters Club. The Bokel Tea Estate staff also keep the undergrowth down in the cemetery. A fascinating number of memorials remain in the south verandah of the church, in relatively good condition too. Perhaps the most interesting is that to Lieutenant Colonel Adam White, Political Agent for Upper Assam, and Commander of the Assam Light Infantry. Assam had been ceded to the East India Company by the Burmese at the end of the first Anglo-Burmese war, and officers made various alliances with local tribal leaders there. Not everything went smoothly and in January 1839, the Kampti chiefs killed Colonel White, after having attended his Durbar, or court, the previous day. The Colonel's inscription relates that he 'fell in repelling the attack on the Post of Sudyah [Sadiya] 29th January 1839. His remains were interred beneath when the first stone of St Paul's Church was laid 23th March 1846. This tower was erected chiefly from the funds subscribed by his Brother Officers in Assam as a Tribute of their Respect.'

Nearby stand two more sad memorials, the first in affectionate remembrance of William Warren, who resided for fifteen years in the oddly named town of Doom Dooma. Warren would almost certainly have been involved in tea planting and there is a Doom Dooma Tea Estate there today. The soil was found to be particularly suitable for growing tea, and was cleared and exploited by the early British teaplanters. William Warren was on his way home, when he died at sea on 2 August 1879. He was thirty-five years old, and must have gone out as a planter when he was just twenty. Another tragedy at sea is marked by the adjoining memorial. It reads: 'In affectionate remembrance of The Revd H.J. Allardice Late Chaplain of Dibrugarh who, with his wife and family perished at sea by the Foundering of the Steamship 'Queen Elizabeth' [in] March 1874. "I will bring my people again from the depths of the sea."' The Reverend Allardice was a missionary, sent out to Assam by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) and was returning home with his wife and three children when the ship was wrecked off the Spanish coast. Twenty-three other lives were lost too. We are grateful to Mr Davidson for this glimpse into a relatively neglected area of British Indian history.

With a Scottish India connection (see also page 56), Mike Snaith has sent in photographs of memorial tablets from the ruined church at Gullane, just down the coast from Edinburgh. The church, and indeed the village, were abandoned in the 17th century because both were being inundated by sand. But part of it was taken over by an influential local family as a private graveyard - a fate that befell many Scots churches abandoned after the Reformation. 'The connection with the Raj, and particularly with the Kiplings is of interest,' says Mr Snaith. 'I rather like the juxtaposition of Herne Bay, Bulawayo and India. It seems to sum up a whole era somehow.' The people memorialised were members of the Yule family, with many connections to India, including George Udny Yule, born in Luckow in 1848, the son of Robert Abercromby Yule, who took part in the first Afghan War. There is a second George Udny Yule, DSO, a Royal Engineers major who was born in Calcutta in 1881 and died in Bombay in 1916. His mother was Maria Kipling Howard (a direct connection to the Kipling family has not yet been established). Another member of the family was Henry Howard Yule, Chief Commercial Manager East Indian Railway, who retired to South Africa and died in Bulawayo in 1950. His wife, Eva, died in England, at Herne Bay, five years later. All are noted here in this bleak, windswept spot at Gullane.

# CAN YOU HELP?

Mr Dermot McCarthy, a new BACSA member from Ireland, has asked for help with an article he is writing for a local history journal about the Cox family of Coolcliffe, County Wexford. Mr William Edward Cox was killed in Wheeler's Entrenchment at Cawnpore during the defence against the Nana Sahib's troops, in the Great Uprising of 1857. His name appears on one of the memorial plaques inside All Souls' Church in Kanpur (the modern-day spelling). Mr McCarthy would very much like a photograph of this particular plaque. But 'Mr Cox' was not all that he seemed, and certainly not an entirely innocent civilian. In November 1856, at the age of twenty-one, Lieutenant Cox resigned from the 1st Bengal European Fusiliers. He had already been suspended from Addiscombe, the military college for East India Company army cadets. He had only been a lieutenant for a month when he left the Fusiliers, and his promotion was cancelled, probably on account of drunkeness. On 2 June 1857 he drunkenly aimed at a mounted native patrol and was promptly charged with firing at his own soldiers, a capital offence. But there is some doubt whether he was tried as a soldier, or a civilian. Whatever his status, he was let off, probably on account of his family's high reputation. The court ruled that he had been drunk, and that his musket had 'gone off by mistake'. BACSA member Andrew Ward, related this story in his epic book *Our Bones are Scattered* (1996). He also added that when the outraged native cavalry learnt that Cox was not to be punished, they muttered to themselves that soon 'their muskets might go off by mistake in the same way', and of course, this is what happened. Cox was killed two weeks later when a shell, fired by the Nana's troops, exploded in the trench where he had taken shelter with a number of soldiers' wives.

William's brother, Colonel James Ponsonby Cox had a more successful career, and became Chairman of the Bombay Port Trust, shortly before his death in Poona on 23 September 1880. There is a memorial to him inside All Saints' Church on Malabar Hill, Mumbai. Again, if a photograph could be provided, Mr McCarthy would be very grateful. Please contact him at: dermotpatrickmccarthy@eircom.net

John Strickland Goodall, who died in 1996, was a much loved English artist. Even if you are not familiar with his name, you will certainly recognise his gentle evocations of country life - an Edwardian Christmas, childrens' stories and the 'Miss Read' books. He also drew some of the iconic Shell advertisements. But BACSA member, Richard Riddle has drawn our attention to a water-colour by Goodall, signed and dated 1944, when he was serving in India. It shows some of the enormously grand eighteenth century tombs in South Park Street Cemetery, Calcutta, standing amid shady trees. This is possibly only the second drawing of the cemetery, and takes its place alongside a delicate pencil sketch by the late Sir Hugh Casson. Interestingly, the painting (see page 60) shows an iron railing around one tomb, which of course vanished a long time ago. None of the tombs have railings today, although the sockets where they stood can sometimes still be found. And Goodall had an interesting task in war-time India too working on camouflage. That is all we know. What was being covered up? Was it men, machines, or vital structures like docks and bridges? We tend to forget that eastern India suffered from bombing during the second world war, and comparatively little has been written about the defence of Calcutta against Japanese airborne raids.

Part of the Red Road on the Maidan was used as a temporary fighter aircraft runway, while Royal Artillery anti-aircraft guns were mounted on the roof of the Indian Museum in Sudder Street. Trucks full of American soldiers were lined up in front of New Market, on Lindsay Street. Together with the great famine of 1943, as people lay starving on the streets, it must have been a hellish time. As an artist, John Goodall left few memoirs of his time in India apart from a handful of paintings. South Park Street Cemetery would have seemed a haven of tranquillity during the dark days of the war. Any ideas on what his military work involved would be welcomed.

#### THE SCOTTISH CEMETERY, KOLKATA

BACSA has been supportive of the project set up in 2008 to restore this large cemetery. Chowkidar invited Lord Charles Bruce and Mr Ian Stein (BACSA members) to provide an update.

Established in 1820 to accommodate 'Scottish Presbyterians and Dissenters', Kolkata's Scottish Cemetery is the subject of a thorough and painstaking conservation programme led by the Kolkata Scottish Heritage Trust, a registered charity. Following the appointment of Dr Neeta Das (a new BACSA member) as project architect in March 2012, the Trustees commissioned the restoration of the distinctive nineteenth century gate-house and ensured that repairs were carried out by skilled craftsmen using traditional materials including lime mortar and plaster.

The Scottish Cemetery is an important repository of memory of the achievements of Scots in the service of the British Empire. Over a period of 150 years since it was opened, the cemetery has provided over 1,700 burial plots and accommodated around 2,600 burials. The original interment ledgers, which are kept at St Andrew's Church, are in poor condition and their conservation is a priority. In conjunction with INTACH, the Trustees are planning to scan and digitally archive all the burial records, and for the first time, to identify accurately all graves on an easily navigable plan. Such a database will be of great benefit to genealogists and historians. During the conservation phase, the original information will be cross-checked against our database and errors and omissions corrected. When this is complete, a new searchable database - together with inscriptions collected by Bunny Gupta and the late Sheila Rome in the 1980s at the suggestion of BACSA - will be made available online. In 2008 the cemetery was cleared of invasive vegetation which sadly has been the principal cause of decay to memorials and headstones.

Thereafter it has been possible to conduct a detailed archaeological survey, to assess the condition of surviving monuments and consider the most effective means of repair. Much of the survey work was conducted by RCAHMS (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic and Monuments of Scotland), whose website provides a photographic record of the cemetery. (www.rcahms.gov.uk/rcahmsrecord-scottish-cemetery-of-kolkata)

Over the last four years, the Trustees have focussed their efforts to secure the cemetery by repairing boundary walls, ensuring a 24-hour security presence and installing floodlighting to deter vandals. Having cleared the entire site of verdant jungle, the Trustees sought the assistance of the Agri-Horticultural Society of India (AHSI) to curb the re-growth of vegetation, and whose *malis* are engaged in continual warfare against perennial weeds, woody shrubs and the dreaded *musa balbisiana* (banana tree). The exigency of maintaining the cemetery landscape is a pressing concern, and the single largest element of the annual maintenance cost. The Trustees welcome advice from BACSA members. (see back cover for the BACSA Secretary's visit in December 2012)

Having directed the project through the monsoon, Dr Das confirms our view that there is little point in restoring monuments if there is a risk that the site may revert to an unmanageable state. During 2013 therefore, conservation will focus on excavating infected topsoil, removing roots systems, restoring the original datum of the site and backfilling with inert material. As this necessary landscaping work progresses, we intend to restore one or two of the more elaborate nineteenth century monuments which were originally built in locally made brick and stucco. We believe that the conservation methods used in the cemetery should be exemplary and consequently will require a high standard of supervision and skills typically found in important centres of craftsmanship such as Murshidabad. It is hoped that over time, the conservation programme could become an important facility for Kolkata, to encourage the use of appropriate conservation methods and materials, and above all, the revival of craft skills.

The Trust welcomes all enquiries, and particularly information about relatives/ancestors buried in this cemetery. Queries often lead to correspondence and the discovery of further information about the circumstances of those who are buried in the cemetery. Please contact the Trust's Treasurer, Mr Stein at: ian.stein777@btinternet.com or write to him at 8 Ochlochy Park, Dunblane FK15 0DU.

# THE PLASSEY OBELISK

Surprising as it may seem, a British obelisk monument to a battle fought in Bengal over 250 years ago still has the power to cause dissension. Calls in India for its removal ebb and flow, depending on political circumstances. They reached a peak in June 2007, the anniversary of the Battle of Plassey, on 23 June 1757, fought between the East India Company and the Nawab of Bengal. Arguments are still (2012) rumbling on. Some people see the obelisk as a shameful reminder of a defeat by Britain, aided by treacherous Indians, while others argue that it should serve as a reminder to be always alert to foreign influences today. Whatever the arguments, the facts remain that the nominal protagonists were Robert Clive (Clive of India), and the Nawab Siraj-ud-daula, whose bust was erected at the site in 2007. The significance of the battle, won by Clive, was that it led to the Company's takeover of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and the first steps to eventual British rule. For the moment, the obelisk remains, though its bronze ornamentation was stolen some years ago. It stands in a forest clearing near the village of Palashi, on the banks of the great Hugli river (see page 61). Indeed the river has washed away much of the actual site of the battlefield and consequently the graves of Clive's officers and men (estimated at only twenty-two), who fell during the fighting are unknown. Also unknown is the reason why the obelisk was placed where it stands today, apart from a hint that it may mark the site of the Indian camp before the battle. And one more puzzle - the obelisk itself was not erected until exactly a hundred years after the battle - in 1857, the year of mutiny across much of northern India. Although we know details of the battle in minute and sometimes tedious detail, it seems little has been researched on the obelisk itself, which is, after all, a war memorial to fallen British soldiers.

# WORLD WAR ONE GRAVES IN INDIA

British soldiers of a later generation in India have been rather better served recently by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, who are affiliated BACSA members. When the CWGC announced in 2007 an ambitious plan to seek out and reinstate cantonment graves of world war one soldiers, doubts were raised over the project, not least by BACSA. The difficulties seemed immense. Even by 1947, at Independence, these graves had been declared 'un-maintainable' and were scattered in some 131 cantonment cemeteries, many of them quite remote. The names of the dead, almost 2,500 in all, were therefore recorded on memorials at three sites in India – Madras (now Chennai), Delhi and Kirkee, near Poona. Richard Kellaway, former Director of the CWGC made a number of inspection tours to India, to test the viability of restoring these graves, and he became hopeful about the task ahead. The aim was to find and recover about half of the original sites, but the fact that nearly 90% have now been located shows the success of the mission. Approximately 2,270 graves have been found and marked. BACSA members, despite some initial reservations, played their part, in particular the late General Stanley Menezes, who was instrumental in establishing the project and contacting sub-Area Commanders and Station Commanders of the various cantonments.

Local CWGC staff in India found themselves dealing with every kind of terrain, from mountain, desert, jungle and swamp. Although some cantonment cemeteries, like that at Jhansi, for example, are impeccable, others like the Caldecott Road New Cemetery at Kirkee, were dire. It was not thought practical, nor desirable, to replace existing headstones, some of which were erected by relatives, so the graves have been marked by pre-fabricated concrete curb slabs, filled with gravel. (see page 61) One unforeseen benefit (apart from the fact that we know now where many of the soldiers rest), is that local cemetery boards have seen what can be achieved, albeit it with more modest funds. So far the feedback has been good, and we would welcome reports from visitors to the newly restored graves.

# NOTICES

Museums in Britain with Indian and Oriental artefacts have had a chequered career, as Chowkidar's Autumn 2012 issue explained in an article about the closure of the British Empire & Commonwealth Museum in Bristol. It now looks as if even more items, some of them on long-term loan, were wrongly sold. But a much smaller, privately run establishment continues to give pleasure to visitors. The British in India Museum in Lancashire has been mentioned before in Chowkidar. and we make no apology for giving it further publicity. Refreshingly, it has no website - you just have to go there, and see quirky treasures like a Japanese flag captured at Kohima, E.M. Forster's Indian clothes worn when he stayed with the Maharajah of Dewas, a real tiger-skin, model soldiers, dioramas, military uniforms and much else. The Museum has no qualms about celebrating the British Raj - it simply wants to tell visitors about it in an entertaining manner. Founded in 1972, by the late Henry Nelson, it is well worth the trip to Hendon Mill, Hallam Road, Nelson, Lancashire BB9 8AD. Telephone 10282 613129 for further details or email: jimmynelson02@gmail.com



above: a barely visible tomb among bamboo at Kanlog Cemetery, Shimla (see page 52)

below: South Park Street Cemetery Calcutta in war-time (see page 55)





above: the Plassey obelisk and bust of Nawab Siraj-ud-daula, Bengal (see page 58)

below: Caldecott Road New Cemetery, Kirkee. World War One graves restored by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission (see page 59



#### Britain in India 1858-1947

Lionel Knight

It is an interesting exercise, particularly on a cold winter's afternoon, to look at the syllabus from the major examining bodies for current A or AS-levels in History. Plenty of popular subjects, including the French Revolution, Russia, the American Civil War, the Nazis, of course, a perennial favourite, and South East Asia, but where is India? Or for that matter, the Middle East? It is as though some Gulliver-like figure has strode nimbly across several countries, not finding their past interesting enough to pause. These thoughts are prompted by Lionel Knight's new book, which, its publishers tell us, is part of a series targeted at A-level pupils, first year undergraduates and an 'intellectually curious audience'. Certainly BACSA members are among the latter, but it is difficult to imagine today's seventeen-year olds seizing this book with cries of delight. And this is a great shame, firstly because it is a good, solid book that covers a hugely complicated subject lucidly and comprehensively. Secondly it appears strange that Indian, and indeed Middle Eastern history, is seemingly not taught at pre-undergraduate level. Immigration figures show that India represents the top country from which people come to Britain (more than 11% of total immigrants in 2012). These people have children, or will have children, and it therefore seems irrational to deny them a chance to learn something of their own history before they go to University, as the majority of them will.

The author notes correctly that 'British India is now a distant memory,' apart from family memoirs and nostalgic books, and states his intention to offer a modern, reliable account of the ninety years of Crown rule. In this he succeeds. The period is covered in chronological order, full of useful facts and figures, dates and names. It is told, as Dr Francis Robinson has pointed out, from the British point of view, and there is nothing wrong with this, although there are plenty of references to the work of Indian authors too. Knight's views on Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Pakistan, at the very end of the book are interesting, and perhaps provocative. There are notes on further reading, and, what really appeals, two pages of A-level type questions at the end....if only the subject were taught at A-level. Lists of Viceroys, Secretaries of State for India, a chronology, glossary and census figures - this is a reference book for anyone interested in the history of the subcontinent and will be firmly placed on the reviewer's Indian shelf. (RLJ)

2012 Anthem Press ISBN 978 0 85728 517 1 £12.99 pp214

#### Return of a King: The Battle for Afghanistan 1839-1842 William Dalrymple

This is the eagerly anticipated book on the First Afghan War, Dalrymple having temporarily abandoned India to find out what really led to that ghastly winter retreat through the Kabul Gorge to Jallalabad. For perhaps the first time, even to those over-familiar with the story, the main characters rise from the page and become figures of flesh and blood, thoughts, ambition and lust – for power, for revenge or for a lost kingdom. Instead of a bewildering parade of people with foreign names, who seemed to replace each other arbitrarily, the origin of the war is laid out right at the beginning. There were two Afghan tribes – the Sadozais and the Barakzais. It was the Sadozai chieftain Ahmad Shah Durrani who pulled Afghanistan together into something vaguely resembling its present shape, and it was his grandson, Shah Shuja, who inherited the throne in 1803. It was a Barakzai, Dost Mohammad Khan, whose grandfather had served Durrani, who pushed Shah Shuja off the throne and seized it, declaring himself Amir of Afghanistan.

So far it is a simple case of tribal warfare and Shah Shuja was lucky to escape with his life and some treasure. He fell in with the Maharaja of the Panjab, Ranjit Singh, who relieved him of the *koh-i-nur* diamond, then imprisoned him. Escaping again to British territory, Shah Shuja, the deposed king, spent the next thirty years in exile at Ludhiana, occasionally making unsuccessful attempts to regain his throne. It was his return, in 1835, aided by the East India Company, that gives this book its title.

The British believed that Dost Mohammad, the usurper, was flirting with Russian agents, and there is an exciting episode when 'Captain Vitkevitch,' who was actually a Polish nobleman, but passing as a Muslim, met both the Amir and Alexander Burnes, whom he had long admired. Lord Auckland was Viceroy at the time, living in India with his sisters Fanny and Emily Eden, but all were completely ignorant of Afghanistan, and badly advised too by men like William Macnaghten and Major Claude Wade, both Russophobes. Once Auckland had been persuaded to reinstall Shah Shuja on the Kabul throne - 'regime change' to use a modern term, the tragedy began to unfold. What many historians do not mention, but Dalrymple does, was how difficult it was to get *into* Afghanistan through the Bolan Pass and the Khojak Pass that led to Kandahar. Bogged down by an army of Indian camp followers almost as large as the army itself, women, children and baggage animals began to die from the dreadful summer heat, and lack of water. It was a foretaste of an even worse journey to come in 1842. Perceptively, a local chieftain, the Khan of Qalat, told Alexander Burnes 'You have brought an army into the country. But how do you propose to take it out again?' As the author comments, this has become a famous quotation, as apt today as it was then. Once a wing of the Company's army had reached Kabul, and installed Shah Shuja on the throne after Dost Mohammad had conveniently fled, huge logistical and personnel mistakes were made. A British cantonment was laid out in an area impossible to defend, and overlooked by Afghan qilas, or forts. The creaky old Major General William Elphinstone, walking with sticks and suffering from gout, was appointed Commander-in-Chief, and when the crisis came, and Macnaghten was assassinated, everyone except Shah Shuja was paralysed with indecision. There is much to praise in this work - the illustrations for one, the author's note on present-day Afghanistan for another, and the translations from two contemporary Persian epic poems, that tell the story from the Afghan perspective. Highly readable and recommended. (RLJ)

\*2013 Bloomsbury Publishing India ISBN978 1 4088 1830 5 Rs799 pp567

Graveyards in Ceylon: North & East Vol VI ed. Eileen Hewson

A collection of approximately 670 memorials from the graveyards of Jaffna in the north to Batticaloa in the east, which are mainly those of the Dutch who colonized the island prior to the British invasion of 1795. Many of the graveyards have vanished due to the civil war and the passage of time. However the predominantly British Protestant Cemetery at Trincomalee on the east coast remains intact and most of the memorials found in 1910 are still there.

2012 Kabristan Archives ISBN 978-1-906276-36-2. £9.00 plus UK postage £1.00 Europe £2.00 Airmail £3.00 pp90

# BOOKS BY NON-MEMBERS THAT WILL INTEREST READERS

Constance Prem Nath Dass: An Extraordinary History Nina David and Amrita Dass

Something that foreign visitors to the sub-continent don't often get to see, unless they are teachers, are its prestigious private schools with their smartly uniformed students, endowed sports facilities, formidable reputations and intensely loyal alumni. To be invited to such a school is to step back into a world that has almost vanished in Britain.

The majority of these schools were established by foreigners, British, American, and in the case of La Martinière Colleges, a Frenchman. There was opposition at first, particularly towards education for girls, and when the American missionary, Isabella Thoburn opened a small class room in the Lucknow bazaar, she had just six pupils. As the school expanded it continued to be supported and governed entirely by the Methodist Episcopal Church from the USA. It was not until 1939 that Constance Prem Nath Dass was appointed as its first Indian principal, and this remarkable woman steered what had now become the Isabella Thoburn College through the difficult period of the war and of increased agitation for independence from Britain. She is known even today, more than forty years after her death, as 'the incomparable Constance', a woman who overcame prejudice from many quarters, both foreign and native. After a happy love-marriage and the birth of six children in ten years, she became a widow, but refused to let grief overcome her and began lecturing in English literature. She had already studied at Goucher College in the States, again a highly unusual experience at the time for a young Indian woman. On her return to India before World War One she enrolled at Allahabad University and stood first in its MA examination, the first woman in northern India to do so.

This biography is co-authored by two distinguished academic doctors, one of them the grand-daughter of Constance. Inevitably, it is something of a family history, but there is more than enough to interest historians of Indian education. The College was by no means isolated from the events of the 1940s and some students went to Calcutta to help at relief centres during the Bengal famine. A whole cache of photographs and letters was found during research for the book, providing added interest. Recommended (RLJ)

\*2012 Bloomsbury Publishing India ISBN 978 93 82563 31 0. Rs500 pp207

# Scots Beneath the Banyan Tree: Stories from Bengal Bashabi Fraser

In his Introduction to this book, Charles Bruce lays down a challenging statement. It can be said, he asserts, 'that many of the external influences on the development of an Indian national identity had Scottish origins, starting with the translocation of Scottish Enlightenment thinking from Edinburgh to Calcutta by pupils of the philosopher David Hume and their subsequent impact on the Bengal Renaissance.' This argument is not without merit and well worth developing into a longer article. Perhaps there was something about the two formerly autonomous areas, each with their own distinctive culture and language, but each subsumed by stronger neighbours, that led to a bond of sympathy and understanding between Scots and Bengalis. For the present, this unusual small book reinforces both the receptiveness of the Bengali mind to new ideas, and the dedication of Scots like Ronald Ross who identified the malarial mosquito and Sir David Hamilton, who chose to retire in India and alleviate poverty in the Sunderbans. It includes narrative poems, translated from the Bengali, that outline eight Scottish lives. Much of the book's charm lies in its fold-out coloured illustrations called *pata*, an ancient narrative art-form currently being revived by the Crafts Council of West Bengal. Story-tellers would visit villages and unroll their painted pata, relating the events shown in cartoon-like form. This would make a handsome present for anyone new to the subject. (RLJ)

2012 Luath Press Ltd, Edinburgh ISBN 978 0 9568081 0 3, £25.00, from the author at 49 Duddingstone Avenue, Edinburgh EH15 1SQ. B.Fraser@napier.ac.uk no pagination

Letters from India 1945-47 Peter Zuntz Henry ed. Irene Gill

This collection of well-edited letters tell of the experiences, views and hopes of a very young army volunteer, aged seventeen and a half who was sent out to India at a crucial period in its recent history. Peter Henry, aka Hans Peter Zuntz, had been born in Germany of a half Jewish family, but they all left when he was just ten and so he grew up 'English' in Oxford. His 500 odd letters home were written in both English and German - the latter well translated by his sister who compiled the collection.

Peter was clearly intelligent and well educated: his letters are remarkably thoughtful, analytical and humane; in short this book reveals a trooper bored stiff by the tedium of army life of that period but sympathetic to India and her problems. He was lively, enjoyed the company of his friends and especially admired the small vagabond children in the camps he lived in and the wild life of India. He was shocked by the dirt, poverty and diseases of India, he wrote of the hopelessness of the very poor and the games played by politicians at the time, all unusual themes for such a young recruit. His sense of humour comes through many of his letters, and when really roused by the waste and heartlessness he saw in the army administration he developed a nice line of irony to describe all that he considered was preventable, and a sensible alternative!

He was moved from camp to camp across the subcontinent (Bombay, Poona, Hyderabad, Delhi, Ranikhet, Peshawar, etc), but his various postings never involved him in having to quell riots nor did he intervene in the many racial conflicts of the time, in fact it seemed he did not even overtly keep the difficult peace across India between 1945-7. Instead he writes of repairing tanks, engaging in endless square bashing, enduring routine inspections and being engaged in meaningless tasks. As often as he could he went sight-seeing locally, and when his mother sent him a box Brownie camera, his letters home began to include snaps of famous sights. Some of these are included as illustrations, but unfortunately they are rather too small and poorly reproduced. His descriptions of the Himalayas, Risalpur and the Taj Mahal are fresh and poetic - far from the usual guidebook cliches. He presents a healthy and cheerful view on life, even whilst cursing the monotony and routine of army life with its 'time filling boy scout manoevers' (sic). He concluded just before he left, 'in over two years. we never saw any action, our only justification for being out here is internal Security Duties - certainly not much to show for two long years'.

To relieve the mental boredom he used to send home for serious reading matter, the novel *Indigo*, and political tomes on India and Britain. He enjoyed the films of the period and analysed why. He cast a thoughtful eye on the politics of this most difficult political period between the end of World War Two and Indian Independence. His comments on British decisions in 1947 are well worth reading; on the mass exodus by trains between India and the future Pakistan, he queried in advance 'Can such a thing work?' The American presence in India had enviable 'sheer luxury in their camps'. Concerning Gandhi he noted 'he has a huge following but a bloke can't spout wisdom all day!' In observing the Anglo-Indian community, he remarked 'The Indians will certainly not carry such puppet-Sahibs around on cushions,' His views are clear, sensible and above all revealing of the period.

It comes as no surprise to learn that finally he gave up his ideas of farming for the life academic. On demobilisation he entered Oxford, read Russian and later became the professor of Slavonic Studies at Glasgow University. He would certainly have brought a warm and generous nature to generations of students there to judge from his voice and attitudes in this collection of his earliest 'Letters Home'. (CC)

2012 Yarnells Books. Please write to Irene Gill, 38 Yarnells Hill, Oxford OX2 9BE. ISBN 978 0 9563591 1 7. £10.00 including postage and packing pp126

Muslin

#### Sonia Ashmore

This is a delightful book on many levels. Not only is it beautifully illustrated, but the text gives a succinct and fascinating review of the rise and fall of muslin, a fabric now almost unknown in the west. Long before Europeans arrived in the Indian subcontinent, muslin was being exported to many parts of the ancient and medieval world. It went west, to the Roman Empire, and later to the Ottoman Empire, where the Turkish word for turban 'tülbent' was the name for muslin. It went east to Assam, Burma and Indonesia. Fine muslin was so prized that it was a prerogative of the Mughal emperors, and was presented as part of the annual tribute from the rulers of medieval Bengal, a custom continued for some years by the British governors when they took over revenue collecting in 1765. More than 500 lengths of the delicate fabric were sent yearly to the emperor in Delhi, and when one learns that it could take two men between one month and six months to produce a single piece, the relationship between provincial workers, merchants and the capital becomes clearer.

What made Bengal, and the area around Dacca, so suitable for growing *gossypium herbaceum*, the plant from which muslin is made, was the climate and the earth. Areas around the Brahmaputra river where the soil was rich in deposits of sand and saline particles produced particularly good cotton. It was also, of course, the skill of the Bengali spinners and weavers who produced muslins so fine that they were named 'running water' and 'evening dew'. The semi-transparent nature of the cloth made it very attractive to generations of purchasers. When starched with rice-paste, muslin skirts stood stiffly out over the striped paijamas of Mughal emperors, as depicted in miniature paintings. When dampened, the folds of eighteenth century muslin dresses would cling seductively to the bodies of its fair wearers.

The book explores spinning and weaving techniques. The former had to be done in the early morning or late afternoon, while the air was damp, so that the cotton filaments would stretch, and not snap. Weaving was carried out in the oddly-named 'pit-looms' where a hole was dug outside the bungalow to accommodate the weavers' legs so they could work a kind of treadle with their feet. Production also involved a number of ancillary workers, including cloth-bleachers, washermen, darners and ironers (known today as 'presswallahs'). Apart from information on production, it is useful to learn of the extent to which both Indian and British economies depended, at different times, on the import and export of muslin. The English East India Company simply couldn't get enough of it at first, and pieces were sold for huge sums in the west. Even as late as 1811, well over a century after imports to Britain began, Jane Austen admitted to her sister that she had paid seven shillings a yard for some 'check'd muslin'. Naturally its very popularity invited imitation. The Industrial Revolution had produced, among other things, Samuel Crompton's 'spinning mule' the mechanised machine that could produce large amounts of standard fine fabric, at far lower cost than that of imported cloth. At the same time, Indian craftsmen lost the patronage of the Mughal court, as the status and wealth of the emperors was curtailed by the British.

But muslin is a versatile fabric, and as imports from Bengal declined, exports from the north of England, and particularly Scotland, increased. Paisley became famous for its shawls, often patterned with Indian designs, but its looms also produced delicate patterned muslin too. Spinning and weaving was a cottage industry, with over 30,000 hand looms in the Glasgow area by the 1820s. Some work was even outsourced to Ireland, because the weavers there were paid less. Scottish trading companies like John Lean & Son, which was founded as a Lanark drapers, were exporting tens of thousands of pounds worth of muslin to India by the 1870s. European countries including France, were not slow to follow and Crompton's machine was pirated shortly after its invention. In spite of Marie Antoinette's fondness for muslin, it did not fall out of favour after the Revolution, and in fact was taken up enthusiastically by 'hyper-fashionable young men and women who danced wildly in revealing garments of the flimsiest silk and muslin'. It was the way muslin could be embellished that made it so popular for so long. Patterns could be woven into it, or embroidered on to it, with drawn thread-work, coloured thread and beaten gold wire. One extraordinary piece in the Victoria & Albert Museum (which published this book), is decorated with the iridescent wings of green beetles.

Sadly, the last fashion moment for muslin in the west was the cheesecloth revival of the 1970s. But the author finishes on a positive note. Successful attempts to revive the weaving industry in West Bengal are leading to a renewed interest in the craft. Even if we no longer dress ourselves in muslin, it does make very good curtains. Sir John Soane's family used turmeric to dye their muslin curtains for the famous yellow room in Lincoln's Inn Fields. This is a book of engrossing interest, beautifully presented, and must surely lead to an exhibition of the V&A's rich hoard of fabrics. Recommended. (RLJ)

2012 V&A Publishing ISBN 978185177 7143. £30.00 pp160

# Princely India and the British: Political Development and the Operation of Empire Caroline Keen

According to Rudyard Kipling 'God created the Maharajas to offer Mankind a Spectacle' and to observers in the second half of nineteenth century India, his words seemed to ring true. A series of Durbars, each more elaborate than the last, gave the native princes, as they were known, an opportunity to shine, if not to glitter, as they paid homage to Queen Victoria and her heirs. But the author challenges the commonly held view that this period was a 'golden age' for the princes, and instead sets out to demonstrate that it was, in fact, a time which saw significant losses of power and authority by these dazzling figures. There is the caveat that a general rule cannot be applied to every area ruled by hereditary princes. There were estimated to be over 600 such states, covering nearly 600,000 square miles, but with a great diversity in size and population. Hyderabad was the principal state, with a population of over 14 million people, while the smallest, Veja, consisted of only one village. Spread throughout the subcontinent, the princely states obviously differed enormously, not only in climate and resources, but also in customs, beliefs, and history.

The maharana of Mewar, based in his marble palace at Udaipur, for example, traced the descent of his Sesodia family from the sun. Fateh Singh, whose rule lasted nearly fifty years, to 1930, had very ambivalent feelings towards the British government, particularly as he regarded himself not only the ruler of Udaipur, but head of the Rajputs too. Major A.F. Pinhey had the unhappy task of Resident during this period, when the maharana sacked his *diwan* (prime minister), abolished the State Education Board, and refused to let the proposed railway anywhere near his city. In the end government officials backed down, and the maharana continued his autocratic rule as his ancestors had done before him.

There was much interference with rulers considered more malleable than the Sesodia dynasty. British Residents did not hesitate to involve themselves as marriage brokers, for example in Mysore, Bikaner, Jind and Rampur, to mention only a few. To some extent the British government itself had created problems over finding suitable partners for the princes. English tutors had been introduced into a number of states, particularly where young heirs to the throne were to be educated in the western manner to give them 'some insight into the ideas of morality and social habits'. Exposure to the West inevitably meant in some cases exposure to European women, and government was unable to prevent a few very unsuitable liaisons. The most interesting chapter is on the education of the princes, not only by English tutors, but in schools sent up specifically for the 'sons of princes' like the Rajkumar College in Kathiawar, described as an 'Eton in India', Mayo College in Rajputana, and others. Initially things did not go well, several of the young noblemen soon deserting the classroom 'for the more comfortable surroundings of the zenana', and others, who stayed the course being accompanied to their lessons 'by bands of armed retainers, strange, wild-looking creatures, who might have come out of the middle ages'. The tussle between the royal women, who wanted to rear the princes in the traditional manner, and the Oxbridge graduates appointed as headmasters, was not really resolved. It led to the princes acting as westernised in public, but remaining Indian in private, much as one would expect.

This study concludes in 1909, so events like the princes' reaction to the first world war, and their appointments to the Council of Princes in 1921 are not really touched on. There is much here of interest, although the author has a tendency to examine specific areas of conflict between the princely states and government without always giving the outcome, so one is left asking 'what did happen in the end?' Nevertheless, it is a wide-ranging book that does successfully demolish the myth of the so-called 'golden age'. It is a pity there is not a bit more fun in it. Some of the princes were fairly outrageous characters, particularly when defying the advice of their long-suffering Residents. And although authors have no control over the price of their books, nearly £60 for a book without photographs is pretty outrageous too. (RLJ)

# 2012 I.B. Tauris ISBN 978 1 84885 878 7 £59.50 pp282

# WEBSITES

BACSA's own website (www.bacsa.org.uk) is shortly to be upgraded with the appointment of a software developer. Once this is done, we shall be looking for a volunteer web-master and editor. Paypal will be introduced so people no longer have to send cheques from abroad, and BACSA extras like postcards and ties will be offered in a virtual shop.

BACSA member Eileen Hewson's website (www.kabristan.org.uk) has recently been upgraded and now carries almost 69,000 burial records from Ireland, the Indian subcontinent, and Ceylon. And FIBIS (Families in British India Society), www.new.fibis.org/ with extensive searchable databases, is particularly strong on military and maritime records and can recommend researchers too.

# THE ENGLISH CEMETERY SURAT

While Calcutta's South Park Street Cemetery is probably the bestknown among European cemeteries in the East (and features on the new BACSA leaflet), it is by no means the oldest. Britons began settling in Calcutta after it was founded in 1690, but they had long been established on the west coast of the Indian subcontinent. In fact the English cemetery at Surat predates South Park Street by some 120 years. The port of Surat became the major outlet for the Mughal Empire, with a busy trade to ports in the Red Sea, up and down the coasts of India, and soon to Europe too. Portuguese enterprise quickly established forts and 'factories' in the area but our concern is with the English cemetery here. The earliest recorded burial is of Francis Breton, who died in July 1649. Sadly, Breton, who was President of the English factory, had been planning to return home at the beginning of the year, but was told he could not leave by the Governor of Surat, who was concerned at the attitude of the Dutch traders there. It seems that land for a cemetery had already been allocated to the English by the Muslim Governor, for Breton was buried the day after his death.

The cemeteries of different European nationalities were kept separate, so there is a Dutch, a French, a Portuguese and an Armenian cemetery in the same area, to the north of the city and outside its walls. According to a survey of 2001, seventeen substantial brick monuments exist in the English cemetery, as well as a number of flat-top tombs. They are highly elaborate, and nearly all are domed, with a couple even having two storeys. Breton's tomb has an elaborate stucco moulding over the main archway, and what is interesting is that traces of red paint remain on it, opening up the possibility, never previously explored, that these seventeenth-century tombs might actually have been quite brightly coloured. Although architecturally the tombs are described as Indo-Islamic, yet there is something of the small, free-standing Hindu temple about them too. Such temples, and their statues were often painted. So why not tombs? It's a fascinating thought. Only a few positive identifications can be made. Six factory presidents are possibly buried here, including George Oxenden, Gerald Aungier, Bartholomew Harris and Stephen Colt. By the mid-nineteenth century many of the marble inscriptions had been stolen 'and used by the natives to grind curry powder for their daily repast', a familiar story until fairly recently. But what remains is well worth seeing. Surat is today a large commercial town, not really on the foreign tourist map. Chowkidar is grateful to Mr Peter Beauchamp for alerting us to a learned article about the cemetery which was published in The Antiquaries Journal in 2005.

# Notes to Members

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

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

If planning any survey of cemetery 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



photograph by Dr Neeta Das

Chowkidar's editor meets consultants at the Scottish Cemetery, Kolkata in December 2012 (see page 57)

100