

British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia (BACSA)

# SOUVENIR CHOWKIDAR

Editor: Dr. Rosie Llewellyn-Jones



British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia (BACSA)

tenth anniversary

SOUVENIR  
CHOWKIDAR

BACSA

1976 - 1986

Editor: Dr. Rosie Llewellyn-Jones

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## CONTENTS

Foreword - Sir John Lawrence	v
The Beginning of BACSA - Theon Wilkinson	1
Ground Work - Theon Wilkinson	3
South Park Street Cemetery - Maurice Shellim	4
Nicholson's Cemetery, Delhi - Theon Wilkinson	5
Kacheri Cemetery - Zoë Yalland	7
Mercara - Theon Wilkinson	9
Tanjore - Theon Wilkinson	10
The Bihar Report - Vincent Davies	12
Poems by BACSA members	15
Cemeteries in Pakistan - Alan Harfield	19
BACSA in Assam - George Walker	21
Sri Lanka - Michael Stokes	23
The Singapore Cemeteries - Alan Harfield	25
Poems by BACSA members	27
The Cantonment Cemetery, Rangoon - Maurice Rossington	28
European Funerary Architecture in India - James Stevens Curl	30
BACSA Authors - Pat Barr	39
BACSA Publications - Theon Wilkinson	44
What do they do when they don't do BACSA? - Cynthia Langdon-Davies	47
BACSA and the Wilkinsons - Sir John Cotton	52
How 'Chowkidar' began - Rosie Llewellyn-Jones	55
Can You Help? - Prue Stokes	58
The Family History Dimension - Elizabeth de Bourbel	63
BACSA Record Archives - Theon Wilkinson	64
Not just tombs - Theon Wilkinson	65

## CONTENTS continued

Annual Outings - John Wall	66
Meetings and Talks - Theon Wilkinson	67
Spinning off from BACSA! - John Wall and Theon Wilkinson	68
Enveloped in BACSA - Rosemarie Wilkinson	69
Monumental Inscriptions at Home and Abroad - Joan Lancaster Lewis	70
Wild Life in Indian Cemeteries: the Potential for Conservation - Jill Hugh Jones	72
Field Work in India - Richard Blurton	74
BACSA: the next ten years - Michael Stokes	78

## ILLUSTRATIONS

South Park Street Cemetery	16
The Old Kanpur Hearse and Fort Canning Cemetery, Singapore	17
The 'New' Cemetery, Mercara and Tanjore tomb	18
South Park Street Cemetery - Sir Hugh Casson	34
Guides Chapel, Mardan and broken tomb at Peshawar	59
BACSA Authors	60
Nicholson's Cemetery, Delhi and Rangoon today	61

## FOREWORD

There are British cemeteries all over the world, some of them are beautiful places and the public is just beginning to understand this and visit them. They all have a beauty of association, as well as very often a beauty of place. And the European cemeteries of the Indian sub-continent and the rest of South Asia stand apart from the rest, for they enshrine a human history that is often glorious, often tragic and nearly always romantic. Only a very dull or very ignorant person would fail to be moved at the sight of the Guides cemetery at Mardan, the monument to John Nicholson at the Margulla Pass, the South Park Street cemetery in Calcutta or the Mutiny tombs at Lucknow and Kanpur.

The links that bind Britain and the sub-continent together are now nearly four hundred years old. They are older than the Raj and their significance will outlast it. The meeting between Europe and India has a permanent meaning for the world and the form which it took during a crucial time was enshrined in the British Raj. Its cemeteries are, paradoxically if you like, a living part of the story. To start BACSA was a brilliant idea of Theon Wilkinson. It deserves the fullest support. Many of us have read every issue of Chowkidar from the beginning. We congratulate Chowkidar on its tenth anniversary and regret that we are not likely to see its centenary.

Sir John Lawrence



## THE BEGINNING OF BACSA

The first public manifestation of BACSA - although not then under that title - was at the Cavalry & Guards Club in London on 13 October 1976. On that day an inaugural meeting was held of seventy-six self-styled 'Friends of European Cemeteries in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh', with a further seventy-five absent 'Friends' pledging their moral support. The framework of a formal organisation was agreed under the provisional title of 'Indo-British Association', a scale of enrolment fees/annual subscriptions was fixed and the membership list opened. Brigadier John Woodroffe had the distinction of being Member No. 1. To give some idea of how small the financial base then was, it is interesting to see in the Minutes of that first meeting an announcement that '£50.50 had been received from eighteen persons and it was agreed that this should go towards the Secretary's expenses in building-up the Association'.

The next meeting took place six months later, on 30 March 1977, at the National Army Museum, Chelsea (thanks to Field Marshal Sir Gerald Templer) against the background of over two hundred paid-up members. The alternative title of BACSA was adopted and the Constitution and Rules as agreed with the Charity Commissioners formally endorsed; BACSA was launched. The tenth anniversary therefore spans a period from October 1976 to March 1987. However the germ of the idea of such an Association had been taking hold of various people with long connexions with the East for some time; for instance Vincent Davies, Robin McGuire and Major Alan Harfield were already beavering away in their own separate spheres. In my own case it was in the summer of 1972 when I took our son on a trip to India to mark his twenty-first birthday, retracing the steps of three generations of the family. One of the things that struck us was the appalling condition of many of the European cemeteries, particularly in Calcutta where a chance encounter with Dr. Maurice Shellim exposed the desperate situation of the great South Park Street Cemetery.

I began to collect information on cemeteries and tried to enlist the support of the interested parties - the State, the Churches, the British High Commission, the local community and relatives. I outlined to them a four point plan: a) to preserve a few of the historically important cemeteries as part of South Asia's heritage; b) to turn decaying and 'abandoned' cemeteries in cities to social uses; c) to record all sources of information on cemeteries and inscriptions for historical and genealogical purposes, and - most importantly d) to publish a book to draw attention to the urgent need for action; the inspiration for *Two Monsoons*. This document was dated May 1974 and the book came out two and a half years later.

In the publicity leaflets distributed as forerunners of *Two Monsoons* was an invitation to join in forming a loose association of 'Friends' to do something about the cemeteries in South Asia. One of the first letters I received was from no less than the President of the Indian Army Association (as it is now known) and Chairman of the Indian

Cavalry Officers Association, Major General G.M. Dyer ('Moti' to all who knew him), who gave his unswerving support from this moment onwards. He became our first Chairman and was the moving spirit behind the inaugural meeting. I can recall the many occasions when Moti and I discussed 'strategy' over a glass of whisky on his kitchen table, as if it was a BACSA battle map, while the memsahibs conversed in the drawing room.

I felt at that time rather like the paddler of a small canoe following a distant star through unknown waters and being unexpectedly escorted and speeded on my way by vessels of all sizes going in the same direction. I was invited to the House of Lords to meet Lord Gore-Booth who when Ambassador to Burma said 'It would be a fascinating job rescuing for posterity the surviving evidence of the British sojourn in Burma - as if someone in AD 500 had made a proper archaeological survey of Roman Britain'; to the Commons to confer with the Rt. Hon. Peter Rees and to the Foreign Office to explain my intentions. I received a summons to tea with Field Marshal Sir Gerald Templer, who was, I think, a little taken aback at first by the beard I was then sporting but soon showed his enthusiasm for the project and offered much practical assistance and advice. Enormous kindness was shown by many people in different ways, all directed towards putting BACSA firmly on the map.

The shape of BACSA soon began to emerge; a unique inclusiveness of all the varied elements which went into the making of the stratified society in South Asia - the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Political Service, the Indian Police and other Government Officers, the Services both British and Indian Army, the Indian Navy, the Business Houses, the Planters, the Churches and the local residents who expressed an interest. By concentrating on the lives of individual men and women who left their bones in a land which many of them grew to love - whether India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Burma, Sri Lanka or Malaysia - an identity of interest has developed which transcends political, racial or religious boundaries.

BACSA now stands as a meeting ground, a camaraderie of members from all corners of the world - as a glance at our membership list will reveal - imbued with a common interest in the European involvement in Asia over the last three centuries and a desire to take some positive action in the present and future for the 'preservation, conversion and registration of former European cemeteries in South Asia', BACSA's official sub-title.

BACSA's first Council was made up of the following members: Sir John Cotton, Mrs. Joan Lancaster Lewis, Sir Andrew Noble, Mr. Peter Rees, Aileen Viscountess Slim, Sir Gerald Templer. The Executive Committee consisted of: Mr. W.A. Barnes, Mr. J.R.G. Comyn, Colonel H.E.M. Cotton, Mr. V.E. Davies, Mrs. Elizabeth McKay, Mr. Peter McKay, Mr. John Raymond, Mr. S.G. Speer, Mr. G.E.D. Walker. The Chairman was Major General 'Moti' Dyer, Treasurer Mrs. M.C. Henry and myself Theon Wilkinson as Secretary.

## GROUND WORK

BACSA's projects were from the start, based on the principle of raising an appeal for a limited and specific purpose, such as repairing 200 feet of wall, restoring a particular tomb or installing a water supply. The selection of any particular project among the many hundreds calling for attention was based first and foremost on the building-up of local contacts who were willing to carry out the work on a stage-by-stage basis, oversee the expenditure and carry on reasonable maintenance afterwards. The historical and architectural importance of the cemetery was also a major consideration in determining the priorities, as was the need to spread the BACSA effort evenly over the different areas of the sub-continent; North, South, East and West. Very soon the work expanded so that members of the Executive Committee took over responsibility for particular projects in places with which they were most familiar and had the personal contacts.



The greatest temptation that had to be resisted was to see a cemetery in need of urgent restoration and mount a UK-initiative without waiting to build up a strong local group. The long term interests of preservation, particularly in lands with a recent 'colonial' past, call for patience and great sensitivity in enabling the local community to identify themselves with the work and see it in terms of their heritage. Each restoration project, therefore, tends to take a long time before it gets off the ground. The local contacts will vary in type from church leaders to army commanders, businessmen, academics and journalists. The fund raising in the UK will appeal to different sectors of BACSA's membership; the Army officers for a project on the North-West Frontier, the tea-planters for a project in Assam and much wider groups for work in Calcutta and Madras. Visits from touring BACSA members need to be organised to report on progress and bring photographs back to display at meetings to maintain interest in the developments.

Within this broad framework an infinitely flexible approach has to be adopted to get round the difficulties which invariably arise - problems over the transfer of currency, shortage of cement, the need to obtain permission from the authorities and so on - and to ensure that the work is carried through. This is well illustrated in some of the examples of projects completed during BACSA's first ten years which are given elsewhere in this Souvenir Chowkidar.

## SOUTH PARK STREET CEMETERY, CALCUTTA

Two years after the formation of BACSA, the plight of South Park Street Cemetery was brought to our attention. It was, in 1978, in a state of almost complete dilapidation. Tombs had been vandalised, walls were broken and the whole area overgrown with weeds, trees and shrubs. The grounds were used by thieves to store their loot, and vagrants lived in mausolea whose roofs were still intact. The main paths were knee-deep in tangled weeds and grass, and, in the monsoons, slushy and muddy. The employees of the cemetery who were often descendants of those employed there a hundred and more years ago, and who lived in rooms on either side of the main entrance, cared little for cleanliness or hygiene. There was no running water. There lived in the cemetery too, about forty or fifty dogs which bred continuously and most of the puppies died of starvation. The plaster on tombs still standing was often loose and every year disintegrated still further.

The South Park Street Cemetery in Calcutta - which was known as 'The Great Cemetery' - is the most important of its kind in the East. The urgent need for action led to the formation of BACSA's 'sister' organisation APHCI (the Association for the Preservation of Historical Cemeteries in India) with its main and first task the preservation of the South Park Street Cemetery. The process of restoration and maintenance on a permanent basis began in 1978 through a system of sponsorship and donations from firms and individuals in Calcutta and the UK. A sum of about £5,000 was raised and applied to restoration of the central area which comprises about half the total area. All standing tombs in the central area were restored; this was done by scraping off and removing all loose plaster from tombs and replastering the denuded areas with a mixture of sand, cement and lime in suitable proportions. Missing stones or marble plaques were replaced by new ones giving names and dates of birth and death only. Important tombs which had vanished altogether had their sites pin-pointed with the aid of the old plan and a tablet on a simple plinth substituted.

The central area was landscaped and planted with flowering shrubs; bouganvillea, poinsettia, oleander and other rapidly growing colourful shrubs. Paths have been relaid and treated with weedicides, water channels and drains have been repaired, running water has been laid on and benches installed. In the larger areas, bare of the original tombs - battered into disappearance by the ravages of the climate - new paths have been laid down. The Calcutta Christian Burial Board, whose Chairman Aurelius Khan is also Chairman of APHCI, has raised the walls around the cemetery, and reconstructed the imposing front entrance. Acknowledgements of the help received, both financial and in kind, have been made in the form of inscriptions on marble plaques cemented into the meeting point of the four main paths. A special plaque on the edge of a 'piazza' or tablets surrounded by a small hedge, records the resiting of the legible remains from the former French cemetery in Park Street in 1977 thanks to the Compagnie Francaise des Petroles (Total).

The first stage of restoration has thus been completed and with APHCI soundly based on a Committee of responsible permanent residents of Calcutta, the future day-to-day running is assured. For example, two Banks, two Tea Companies, an industrial organisation and a nursery gardener maintain the 'gardens' in the central area at their expense and will continue to do so. The outer areas are now also under care.

What was a dangerous, decaying, snake and wild dog infested area is now a gracious garden with tombs, monuments and mausolea restored to something of their former state. Many tourists to Calcutta visit the cemetery and marvel at its architectural extravagance and its general concept. The descendants of many who lie buried there include it on their visits to India, and many more write enquiring about the graves of their ancestors; some of which alas have disappeared but many remain. The restoration of South Park Street was one of BACSA's first major projects from which much was learnt. Now the objective is to maintain the progress which has been made so far - to establish a continuity of care and supervision of all those who live or work on the premises, to care for the tombs and deal with the plaster repair programmes. The gardens need constant planting, weeding and landscaping to maintain this lovely site now so well restored.

Maurice Shellim

## NICHOLSON'S CEMETERY, DELHI

Five years ago, reference was made to the dilapidated condition of the walls surrounding Nicholson's cemetery and BACSA made an effort to arouse local interest in its restoration. Such local interest as there was, appeared directed to its uses as a bird sanctuary and nature reserve according to recent reports in The Statesman:

'Life flourishes at the historic Nicholson cemetery in Old Delhi: what may sound even more ironic but is no less true, the dead here look after the living. Flanked by two thunderingly busy roads, the cemetery with its magnificent trees and great sprays of magenta bouganvillea is home to a host of birds who live quite cheerily among the marble tombstones and crosses. They are protected here by history itself, for it is certain that had this been just another cemetery it would have been bulldozed and built over in the cause of "development".

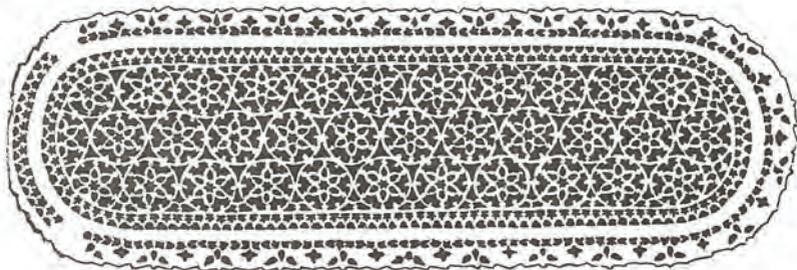
In 1983 as a result of the efforts of Father Ian Weatherall of the Cambridge Brotherhood, and the Reverend Dr. Richard Smyth, the then Chairman of the Delhi Cemeteries Committee, a local appeal was organised by Mrs. M. Devadas to enable work on the wall - raising it by four feet along some 500 feet of its length - to be completed. At the same time BACSA sponsored a three stage project: a) to clear ten acres of the 'old' area b) to provide a permanent water supply c) to install an electrical connection. Funds were sent by instalments as the work progressed and were almost entirely recouped through the Delhi Project Appeal to our members, the balance being met from

BACSA's General Account. Work began at once on the clearing and repairing of broken monuments while lengthy correspondence ensued with the civic authorities over the electrical and water connections. The need to restore the gatehouse and make the entrance large enough to take motor vehicles, resulted in a call for further funds, to which BACSA willingly contributed. Thus work on this historic cemetery in the midst of India's capital city continues. Much has been achieved in the last few years by a new sense of civic pride, with BACSA able to help on the comparatively small specific projects such as the water supply and the electricity installation, now completed. The process of clearance, wall heightening and monument restoration must go on and BACSA is anxious to share in this but, as with all administration from a distance, there are problems of communication over changes of committee officers.

We have now, after a short break, re-established contact with the new Chairman of the Delhi Cemeteries Committee, Arnold Goodwin - thanks to visits from one or two of our travelling members - and we hope to be able to report further progress in conjunction with the Delhi Cemeteries Committee on this site and also other sites in Delhi, such as at Lothian Bridge (near St. James' Church) and Rajpur (near the University, on the Ridge). The picture is not wholly encouraging and demonstrates that any restoration work to be effective in the long term must depend on the degree of importance the local community is prepared to attach to it. This is not a new problem and existed to some extent throughout the British period. It is interesting to read in Allen's Indian Mail of 29 March 1858 this complaint about a cemetery in Delhi:

'The cantonment graveyard is also, we are informed, in a most neglected condition. Not a gate, not a chokedar (sic), not a soul, in fact, to prevent the further desecration of monuments or the invasion of the precincts of the silent grave where are deposited the mortal remains of the military community of Delhi for twenty years, and where many of those who have fallen victims during the rebellion, sleep the sleep of death. The jackal wanders undisturbed amongst the rank brushwood, and many tablets are lying about which it would not have cost a day's work to collect...'

Theon Wilkinson



## KACHERI CEMETERY, KANPUR

Compared with some cemeteries the Kacheri Cemetery at Kanpur is comparatively small, shaped in outline rather like a coffin. The site was chosen immediately below the original Flagstaff Barracks and conveniently close to the first hospital and not far from the river Ganges. It dates from the time when the East India Company soldiers arrived to set up a small camp. The earliest epitaph to have survived is dated 1781. An indication of how cut-off the up-country Europeans were in those days is the fact that not until 1836 did the cemetery receive the blessing of the Bishop of Calcutta and become consecrated ground. For over seventy years the senior Europeans of this small town, with their wives and children, were buried here, until by the time of the Mutiny it was crammed full. Obelisks, flat-topped table monuments, pyramids and elaborate miniature houses were all packed so closely together it was hard to move among them.

Crossfire in the Mutiny fighting destroyed some tombs - this occurred during the action when in trying to drive the Gwalior's out of the city the 64th Regt. of Foot attempted to capture the 'heights' above the cemetery; six of their officers were killed and the body of their Colonel Wilson, reverently covered on a doolie and accompanied by Manuel Xavier de Noronha, the first of the Noronha family known to generations in Kanpur, was escorted back to the Kila or Fort. This was then Havelock's entrenchment and later became the site of the Government Harness and Saddlery Factory. But for many decades the dead slept undisturbed, thanks to a tribe of brown monkeys that took up residence and became the guardians of the cemetery. One or two brief surveys were attempted over the years but it is significant that the tombs listed were all close to the main entrance. No-one liked to penetrate further. An intrepid BACSA member, Wynne Wadell, watching her husband play hockey on the adjacent police ground, took the opportunity between chukkas to peep into an interesting tomb just inside the gate; but she was an exception. Stooping to enter she recalls that the epitaphs to the children of two marriages were lined up on either side along with their respective mothers. A blank space at the end had been left for the unfortunate husband and father. (This tomb is noted by Eric Newby in Slowly Down the Ganges but has now completely vanished.)

My own first visit was in 1970 by which time, alas, the monkeys had all disappeared, netted and sent off for medical research I was told. Vandalism and looting of the marble epitaphs had begun. In connection with my research on the British families of Kanpur, I was looking for the tomb of John Maxwell. To my delight I found Maxwell's tomb, topped by a massive slab of marble in excellent condition. Four years later it had gone! After much searching and questioning it was discovered in the chowkidar's quarters, being used to scrub clothes upon, and broken in two. How was this important memorial to Kanpur's history to be restored, I wondered? On my yearly visits to Kanpur it became distressing to see the condition of the cemetery: the boundary wall broken, trees fallen, a paan shop at the western end attracting

undesirable customers who entered the cemetery for calls of nature or to gamble. The chowkidar himself, on no salary, grazed his buffaloes and goats, chaining them to tomb pillars and drying cakes of dung on the tomb stones. Now the desecration of Maxwell's tomb was the spur to try to get something done. All efforts to get the epitaph restored to its proper place failed, so at last an appeal went out to BACSA for help. The immediate response was to try to form a representative group of interested parties in Kanpur to set up a committee, but after long negotiations this came to nothing. However we found a good friend in Mr. S.P. Mehra who for many years has taken a keen interest in Kanpur civic affairs. He raised the question with BACSA of the legal position of the cemetery and in ascertaining this the happy discovery was made that it was still under the aegis of the Archaeological Survey of India.

The first meeting with the Director of Monuments, New Delhi, took place in 1981. The ASI have worked closely with BACSA ever since and yearly contact has been maintained. The official Protected Monument board went up, the chowkidar's hut modernised into an office and room for the new Caretaker who was appointed under the Lucknow branch of the ASI. Repairs to a few tombs have been carried out each year, the wall strengthened in places, the well put in good working order and work begun on creating a pleasant park setting, with paths and flowering shrubs. This has been achieved only after five years of patient hard work; three fat files are a reminder of the time it has taken and the effort that has gone into it. Inevitably progress has been less than ideal but a beginning has been made. BACSA members visiting the cemetery report back encouragingly.

In 1980 Mr. Mehra arranged for a complete survey of the existing epitaphs to be carried out, a tremendous task. It is remarkable how much information such a survey can contribute; interesting details of where these early Europeans had come from; the marriage ties and inter-relatedness between many families; even the pathetic inscriptions of young children yield clues about their father's position or work, names that were fashionable, social attitudes, and prevalent illnesses. The tombs were also numbered for the survey and it is hoped a map will soon be available for visitors. Several 'lost' tablets have since been found, some broken ones pieced together. Only last year the oldest existing tomb was identified and repaired.

As soon as I saw Mr. Mehra's survey I realised that the material I had collected for my book on Kanpur added to what was known already about these long ago Kanpureans. With BACSA's encouragement A Guide to the Kacheri Cemetery and the Early History of Kanpur was published in 1983 and two years later it was followed by A Register of the Kacheri Cemetery - a complete list of the inscriptions.

Mr. Mehra has worked very hard to establish the Kanpur History Society and several meetings and talks have taken place including one given by Rosie Llewellyn-Jones on the occasion of the launch of her book A Fatal Friendship, Raleigh Trevelyan on his family's distinguished

connection with India and one I gave on Some Early Kanpur Bungalows. But it is still difficult to persuade busy people living in Kanpur today that what happened many years ago is also part of their heritage.

Zoë Yalland

## MERCARA

The story of the restoration project at Mercara revolves around the central character of Field Marshal K.M. Cariappa. Without him it would never have started and without his persistence it would never have been completed. But there were other important actors on the stage; the Deputy High Commissioner in Southern India at the time, Neville French; the British Defence and Military Adviser in New Delhi, Brigadier Ronnie Eccles; the British and Indian Coffee Planters of Coorg, residents and expatriates; Major Olaf Tims with his Madras Sappers that carried out most of the physical work; and BACSA as the co-ordinating agency supported by a number of members with special family links.

Mercara was the capital of Coorg, a small hilly state south-west of Mysore. It is now known as Madikeri. The British residents were mostly coffee-planters with a handful of military and civil administrators. The British cemetery was at a place known as 'Raja's Seat' on the top of a hill with a magnificent view over the surrounding countryside. In 1966 the local authorities cleared the area to convert it into a public garden, removing the gravestones to a nearby field. There were 106 identifiable gravestones, the earliest being that of Lieutenant Joseph Arthur, 36 Madras Native Infantry, died 14 January 1838, and the latest that of Alice Norma Hillman, died 4 September 1934. Another gravestone of particular interest was of Duncan Macpherson, M.D., Inspector General of Hospitals, Madras Army (a great grand-father of our first President, Lieutenant General Sir John Worsley) who died in 1867 aged fifty-four in his travelling coach between Santa Caspa and Fraserpet in Coorg and was buried at Mercara.

The project, in brief, was to erect a permanent plaque at the Raja's Seat to explain the change of use and to tidy up and protect the 'New' cemetery with a cattleproof gate, erecting another plaque there to explain the transfer to future generations. The first 'alert' was a letter from General Cariappa in October 1976, the month BACSA was founded. Correspondence proceeded during the next few years with officials in Delhi and Madras and in 1979 an estimate was received for the entire project. This happily coincided with the centenary reunion of the Coorg Planters Association and an appeal was launched to them in particular and to other interested BACSA members which resulted in achieving the target; with one third contributed by the Planters, one third by the British High Commission and one third by BACSA. With financial support secured, work proceeded but with the usual hurdles to surmount such as obtaining a permit for the plaques from the Indian Department of Horticulture, finding a qualified mason to engrave the



stones and arranging their transport to his workyard. The plaques were formally unveiled with the chief participants present in May 1982. The wording and construction of the plaque at Raja's Seat was entirely the effort of General Cariappa, supported by the resident Indian Coffee Planters; it records, 'erected by the people of Kodagu (Coorg) to express their feelings of gratitude to all those British people who lie buried here for all their help and services rendered with great dedication in establishing our coffee and other plantations and communi-

cations'. The monuments and gravestones in the 'New' cemetery were considerably reorganised and tidied up, with neat paths laid out, twenty cypress trees planted and a barrier gate constructed. The plaque there, on stone set in concrete, records, 'The headstones in these grounds were transferred from the cemetery at Raja's Seat in 1966 and this plaque erected by the British Association for Cemeteries in South Asia through the generosity of local and British friends'. A number of BACSA members on tour in South India visited Mercara during this period to bring back reports and photographs, notably Major Bill Petrie-Hay, Cynthia Langdon-Davies and Richard Blurton. Attention was also given to the old Burial Registers and these are now kept at the local Government Museum, the old St. Mark's Church.

Theon Wilkinson

## TANJORE

This project arose, somewhat surprisingly from a letter a local resident addressed to 'The Hon. Prime Minister of UK, 10 Downing Street' in 1980 about the preservation of graves of the British who had died in that town and were buried in the graveyard of St. Peter's Church. The letter was passed to us through the South Asian Department of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office in the hope that we could help. That local resident was Major V.A. Ponnaiya, a retired regular army officer in the Engineers, supported by the Indian priest in charge of St. Peter's Church, the Indian headmaster of the Church School and a retired Indian officer of the Burma Civil Service who formed a committee to pursue the work with BACSA. Tanjore, now known as Thanjavur, is an important town with an ancient history situated some 220 miles south-west of Madras. We were at once able to assist the local committee in identifying some of the names of those interred there through the records in the India Office Library and Records and soon agreed priorities for restoration. One stone was erected in 1849 by

His Highness Sivajee Maharaja, Raja of Tanjore, to a Danish missionary, John Kohlhoff; another, in 1875, to the tenth Baron Hastings who died of fever (aged twenty) contracted while tiger shooting with the Prince of Wales. The earliest inscription was dated 1779; one of the most important was to George Frederick Cherry, Zilla Judge of the Madras Civil Service who died in 1827; one of the most intriguing was to Martha Sayer who died in 1844, an industrious widow of a Conductor who became an upholsterer and sent furniture to all parts of India. A spectrum of 'anglo-india' society emerged from these stones which were plotted by number on a blue-print plan by the surveyor on the local committee. When Michael Stokes visited Tanjore three years later he was taken round the cemetery by Chimbee Thomas who was the executive officer in charge of the work under Major Ponnaiya. He was shown seventy-one British graves which had then been identified and selected for preservation while research was continuing on forty-five others which were clearly old but which had not been positively identified as British. Of the known British graves, seventeen had been repaired and replastered with their inscriptions restored and picked out, thirteen more had been ear-marked for treatment, while a further seven which had subsided needed 'lifting' (a laborious process) before work on them could begin.

As an illustration of the local difficulties that surround such projects, it is interesting to record that work had been hampered by the shortage of cement. It was taking an average of two sacks to repair and restore each grave. Tamil Nadu had suffered from a serious drought for the last three years and, among other things, this affected the production of cement. The official price for a sack was Rs. 55 but none was on sale on the open market. The committee, therefore, was sensibly taking things slowly in the hope that a good monsoon might provide a solution to this, their main problem. The project continued on a stage-by-stage basis. Problems arose over the roots of trees growing into graves; one particularly unusual tomb in the shape of a Buddhist stupa which was suffering from this trouble was referred by the horticulturalist on the committee to an ex-ICI member of BACSA who was able to give technical advice on tree control, but on being opened up, also revealed a cobra which had to be removed from the depth of the tomb. As always there was something unexpected!

Restoration proceeds slowly but surely in spite of a major setback this year with the death of Major Ponnaiya, the moving spirit behind everything that was achieved. Chimbee Thomas has been elected by the local committee to carry on the good work and BACSA is planning to erect a tablet in the church in gratitude to the memory of Major Ponnaiya.

Theon Wilkinson

## THE BIHAR REPORT

Although there had been East India Company trading in Bihar from the seventeenth century, and a Factory at Patna, with a branch at Singhia, about fifteen miles north in Tirhut, the number of English inhabitants and visitors would have been very small until after the Battle of Plassey in 1757. However, from then on, the Company had very greatly enlarged responsibilities, and both civil administrators and troops moved in, very closely followed by the Free Merchants (so-called) and the adventurers (otherwise called interlopers). Numbers in all categories increased still more after the Battle of Buxar in 1764.

Little is known as to deaths and burials in the earlier years, and it must be assumed that the dead were hastily disposed of at the nearest convenient place. At Patna that was certainly in the Factory compound or in the Chief's garden (when he had set himself up with a country house). The first regular cemetery at Patna, and without doubt, the first in Bihar was opened in 1765, in the heart of the city, quite close to the English Factory and incorporating the graves of the men - civil servants, soldiers and merchants alike, who had been massacred in 1763 under the orders of Nawab Mir Kasim. None of the old burial grounds in Bihar had the magnificence of say, South Park Street Cemetery in Calcutta, or the Kacheri Cemetery at Kanpur, and indeed there is not all that number of graves of serious historical interest. This is, perhaps, due to the way in which the rule of the Company developed. Nevertheless, there are several old cemeteries which deserve to be preserved, and it is very sad that so little has so far been achieved in that direction.

That has been due partly to the virtual impossibility of enlisting help on the sort of basis that APHCI has been able to establish at Calcutta. Though, I should add that BACSA has been lucky enough to have received valuable support from three individuals in particular, Mr. Abhimanyu Singh, Mr. Satish Bhatnagar and Mr. Angus Brown. The first two are very senior members of the Indian Administrative Service, carrying heavy responsibilities and very short of time to devote to extraneous matters. Mr. Brown, after retiring from that Service, is now a Member of the Legislative Assembly representing Minority Communities. This has meant that their help has been more by way of factual reports or general advice, and does not encompass the preparing and the implementation of protection and restoration schemes.

The first few years after the Company took on its enormous new responsibilities were a period of trial and error, but gradually an administrative pattern emerged. Patna continued the important role which it had played under the Nawab's rule and the number of civil servants and soldiers steadily increased. Offices and bungalows sprang up in the Bankipore area just beyond the site of the old Factory Chief's garden and before long the substantial numbers of troops which formed Clive's Third Brigade had to be found barrack accommodation. Any who died were as likely to be buried in nearby wasteland as to be taken to the only regular cemetery, the one in Patna City, three

or four miles away, though it does seem that close friends or relations or those with one of the fine new houses were often given a grave in the garden. However, the strain was to a considerable extent reduced when, after the complete destruction of their barracks by fire, the men of the Brigade were moved into newly-constructed barracks (bungalows for the officers) at Dinapore, about six miles further west. We know that there was a cemetery there before 1771, when an ensign, Robert Downes, was buried in what is today called Dinapore Cemetery.

The collection of the land revenue was the most important consideration, and it was soon found that it would be more effective if the Mughal system of dividing up the work by districts was re-introduced. So in the years between 1780 and 1790 Collectors were appointed in what were to be known as the Districts of Saran, Tirhut, Monghyr, Bhagalpur, Purnea, Arrah and Gaya and before long the head-quarter towns attracted tradesmen such people as coach builders, carpenters and tailors and then the merchants. In the districts themselves, the first indigo planters began to plant and manufacture the dye. As the population grew so did the deaths and before long, regular burial grounds were opened. Those first cemeteries survive, but most of them are in sad decay from age and threatened, if not actually damaged by vandals and by trespass. Up to Indian Independence and possibly for a year or two longer they had been a responsibility of the Ecclesiastical Department of the Government of India and were maintained by the Provincial Public Works Department. This applied even to those in which there was no space for further burials.

Although it was agreed at that time that some of the more isolated of the cemeteries would have to be allowed to revert to nature, it had obviously been hoped that at places where there continued to be a Christian presence, the old European cemeteries would be treated with sympathy. Alas, that did not happen, and in some cases it was understandable as the Christian communities were poor and undoubtedly would have found it impossible to meet the mounting costs of repair work. But that poverty does not excuse the failure to prevent destruction and desecration. Part of the trouble is that there is no one with accepted responsibility. The Provincial Cemeteries Boards, which were mentioned in early discussions have certainly not survived and ecclesiastical authority is divided.

BACSA has let it be widely known that it wished to help with conservation and repairs, but unfortunately no proposals have been forthcoming for most of the cemeteries. Even more depressing has been the lack of interest in BACSA's mission and the apparent absence of concern. That despite the assurance given to church leaders and to those with direct responsibility for particular cemeteries that BACSA appreciates that the present congregations are for the most part relatively poor, and cannot be expected to have to undertake costly works, and that what is sought is sympathy and modest help in supplying information and suggesting ways of dealing with particular local problems. To offer praise where it is due, it should be added that the following has been achieved:

a) at Chatra, in the Hazaribagh District, help from various friends made it possible for BACSA to finance repairs to three monuments to men of HM's 53rd Regiment who were killed there in 1857 in the course of a battle against the mutineers of the Ramgarh Battalion.

b) a nineteenth century cemetery at Bettiah in north west Bihar has been cleaned up and repairs done to the boundary wall and some broken tombs. BACSA gave token aid but principal credit must go to the local Cemetery Committee of which the Reverend Mr. Paul of the Assemblies of God Mission, was Chairman until his age forced retirement.

c) at Muzaffarpur in north Bihar, the Roman Catholic Parish priest, who was also the Secretary of the Cemetery Committee, organized repairs to the boundary walls, and to some of the older tombs at the Daudpur Cemetery. Some financial support was given by BACSA.

d) Father Ziebert, the Roman Catholic Priest at Gaya, has exerted himself, despite sickness and the burden of old age, to help with the old Ramsila Cemetery. He has sent in some inscriptions and photographs of tombs and he has organised repairs to the boundary walls. BACSA has already sent him £100 and will contribute more to clear the account.

e) At Chapra, headquarter town of the Saran District, Pastor Ismail, of the Assemblies of God Church, has been most helpful over both the Karinga and Telpa cemeteries. His most important contribution so far has been to have trespassers removed by process of law, but he has sent photographs and is having prepared estimates for restoration of boundary marks, or walls, where appropriate and for repairs to some old graves.

It is at Karinga that the Dutch had buried, in 1712, the Chief of their Chapra Factory, A. van Hoorn, and erected a fine mausoleum, which still stands, though it needs extensive repairs urgently. Attempts are being made to interest the Dutch in this fragment of their history though without positive results yet.

f) A BACSA offer of money towards repair work at the Patna City and Monghyr cemeteries still holds, but no proposals for work at either have been received. At Buxar is the demolished monument to those who were killed in the historic battle in 1764. Most of the materials are still on site and the

restoration is feasible. BACSA has offered to help with money or with an appeal, but the Indian authorities have not yet taken a decision. BACSA is naturally interested also in the permanent preservation of the Burial Registers and other records. Until 1947 these had been the responsibility of the Government Chaplains. Now most of the twentieth century Registers are in the Patna Diocesan Office at Bhagalpur as are also the Muzaffarpur Registers dating back to 1858. But most of the earlier Registers are either with the clergy of the Church of North India or have disappeared. Attempts are being made to have the large number of volumes still in the custody of the Chaplain at Patna transferred to safe, permanent keeping.

Vincent Davies

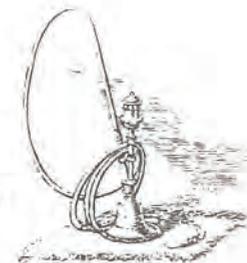
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from KURSEONG

Troops once used this early metalled road  
cleaving the green silence  
upward to Jalapahar,  
recruitment station for the Gurkha.  
General Dow  
bequeathed his name to this height.

Coolies stop here  
to draw on an acrid biri  
and swear that they still can hear  
the buck of the blue-eyed shaitans  
within the bamboo grove  
where the bakehouse once stood.

Denise Coelho

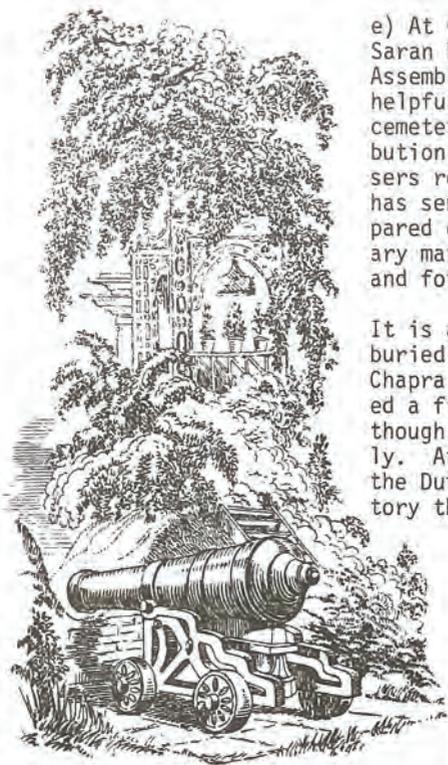


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from THE TUTOR'S TALE

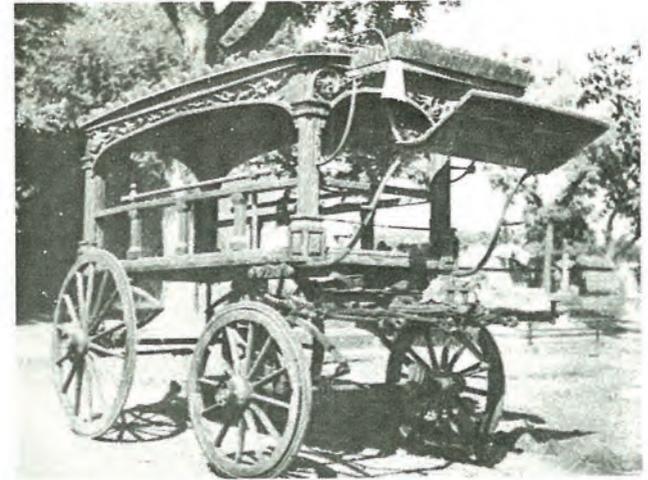
Cold would the morning be and steep the way  
When through Shillong before the break of day  
I'd climb to one whose wit was not less keen  
For all his labours, old Hissamuddin.  
And if I came at prime I'd find him there  
Bowed to the west, not heeding me, in prayer.  
At last he'd rise and greet me and we'd sit.  
'Begum', he called, 'bring tea'. A curtain-slit  
Parted, a tray appeared, a hand withdrew  
And there before us steamed the morning brew.

Martin Moynihan

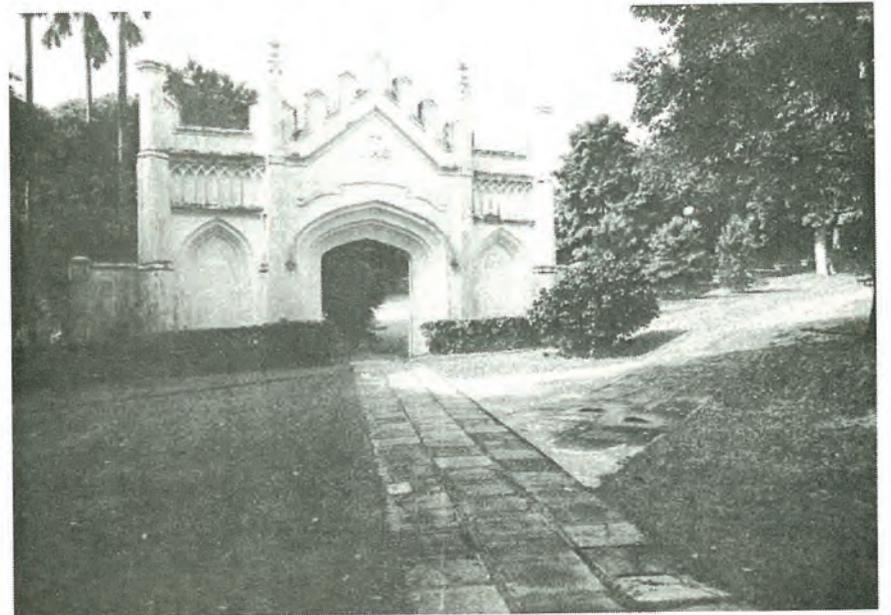




South Park Street Cemetery



The old Kanpur hearse



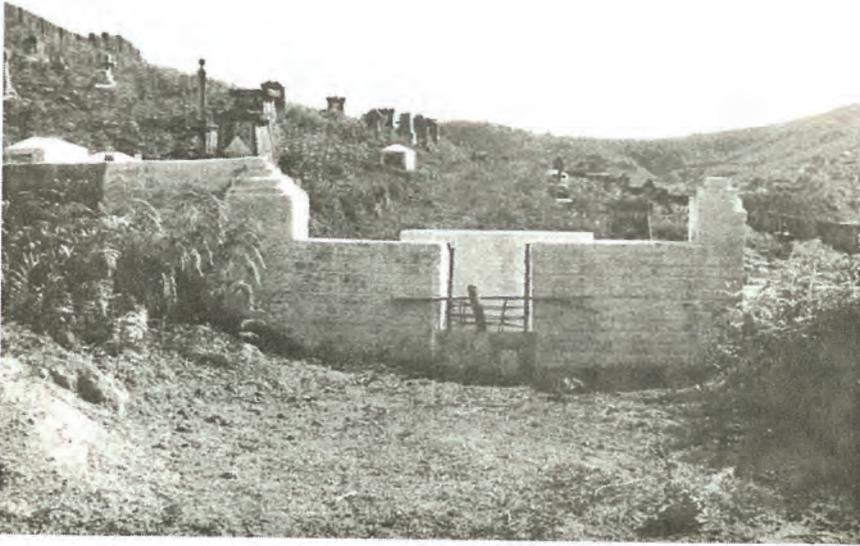
North Gateway at Fort Canning Cemetery, Singapore

## CEMETERIES IN PAKISTAN

As far as projects are concerned, Pakistan has never been the brightest jewel in the BACSA crown. It does, however, have other claims for distinction and can stand with the other countries which fall within BACSA's terms of reference. But before divulging this, perhaps we should summarise the efforts of the past ten years. With the exception of Karachi, the area now known as Pakistan really only became a part of British India in the late 1840's after the Sikh Wars in the Punjab. One would imagine that as a result the cemeteries might be in better condition, having had less time to deteriorate than its bigger neighbour to the east, India. The climate on the North West Frontier is particularly severe and ranges from the great heat of the Scind desert, to the snows of the Murree Hills and the northern areas. Another problem associated with the cemeteries in Pakistan is that many of them originated as a result of military cantonments and camps and with the decline of the area as a training ground a large number of the cemeteries have become abandoned. Such cemeteries were not sustained by a civil population which continued to flourish in the towns and cities of India.

Alan Harfield originally assumed responsibility for the cemeteries in Pakistan when he joined BACSA in 1978 and during his time in office he maintained contact with Dr. Ruth Coggan OBE at the Mission Hospital at Bannu. It was due to this contact that a successful campaign was launched to raise money to repair the cemetery wall at Bannu, and the repair work for this project was completed in 1980. Travellers to Pakistan were few and far between but whenever possible they were asked to complete a questionnaire that had been designed to deal with the peculiarities of the Pakistan cemeteries and slowly an archive was created in the India Office Library and Records. He handed over the responsibility for the Pakistan area to Sue Farrington in 1982 although Alan still acts as a military adviser on the Pakistan cemeteries when required.

Now we come to the Pakistan jewel. Over a three year period Sue Farrington was able to travel extensively in Pakistan and has surveyed almost all the churches and cemeteries in that country the only exception being a few cemeteries that were 'out of bounds' due to the troubles in Afghanistan. As a result of her travels and tireless work in the area a total of over 16,000 names have been logged. Any enquiries, therefore, on the whereabouts or existence of head stones in the Punjab, Scind, Baluchistan, NWFP or Northern Areas can be answered thereby providing a unique service which can now operate without there being an active infrastructure on the ground. This latter is still of vital importance although in a strictly Islamic country this is not an easy goal to achieve. In the main expatriates move on after a limited stay, and the means of local Christians are stretched so that they are generally unable to provide help. However, in addition to the survey, much has been achieved. Thanks to Mr. Vernon Rowland the memorial to W. Havelock at Ramnagar has been restored. The walls at the cemetery at Bannu repaired and burial registers copied



Entrance to the 'New' Cemetery, Mercara

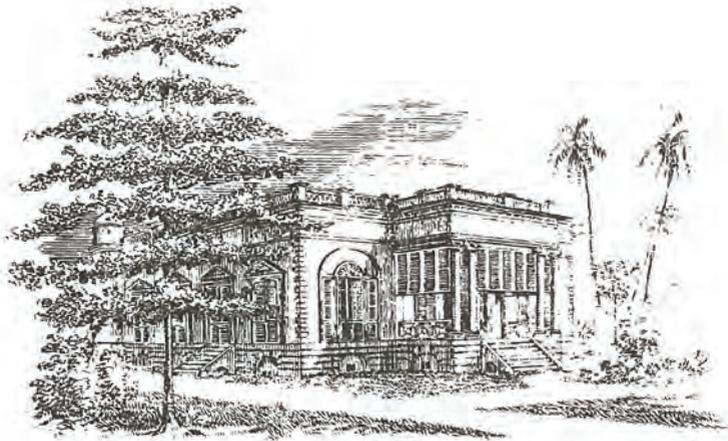


Tanjore - eighteenth century tomb showing brick work construction under stucco.

in various locations around the country. Hopefully for the future, Pakistan appears to be at least finding itself on the tourist map. The more this can happen, the more interest can be generated and support for permanent local committees be established. In April 1987, the Guides Chapel at Mardan will be celebrating its 100th anniversary and BACSA has been encouraging donations towards the restoration of its roof.

Over the past ten years it can be concluded that the situation in Pakistan is improving. There are still cemeteries close to the Afghan border that are virtually impossible to visit and these will probably have to be abandoned unless there is a marked improvement in the security situation in the border areas. Frequent visitations to the cemeteries appear to be inspiring local people to once again respect the origins of the sites, and already in some places clearance has taken place by mysterious unknown helpers which is most encouraging. Of all the countries and areas that are under the care of BACSA, Pakistan must now rate as the best documented area and this is entirely due to the dedication, hard work and enthusiasm of the committee member now responsible for that area - Sue Farrington. Her work is a model for others to follow. On to the next ten years.....!

Alan Harfield



## BACSA IN ASSAM

Some eight years ago our attention was drawn to the existence of a number of commemorative plaques which were being removed from the walls of the old Anglican Church in Silchar, Assam when the building was made redundant and sold. The plaques noted the deaths of former residents of the Cachar district and among them was that of James Winchester, father of Mary Winchester who was abducted by Lushai tribesmen after James had been killed in the raid on Alexandropore Tea Garden in 1871. His murder and the abduction of his daughter led first to the Lushai Expedition in which Lieut Roberts VC, later Field Marshal Lord Roberts, took part and secondly to the annexation of the Lushai Hills. James Winchester is buried in the nearby Protestant Cemetery and it is interesting to note that his grave is something of a place of pilgrimage for the Lushais (now called Mizos) many of whom are Christians. BACSA is at present considering whether help can be given to preserve this cemetery. Interestingly enough the appeal for help came from a local Mizo pastor.

Among the other plaques, (there are thirteen in all), is one to the memory of William Loraine, son of Sir John Lambton Loraine, Bart. of Kirkcubright, Northumberland. Another is to the memory of Richard Ferris, a planter serving with the Surma Valley Light Horse (part of the Auxiliary Force, India) at the time of the Imphal massacre in 1891, when the Manipuris murdered the Resident and most of his staff. Presumably the SVLH were called out and sent up to Manipur after the massacre. Richard Ferris is buried in the Residency at Imphal. Thanks to Messrs. Oliver Carruthers of Shillong and Peter Wallerstein of Khumbirgram in Chacar, the last European planter serving there, the plaques were brought from Silchar to Shillong. With BACSA providing funds along with donations from Tea Companies with estates in Cachar, and from individuals with family connections in the area, they were repaired where needed, and then cemented on to the wall of the old Military Cemetery in Shillong. A tablet was also placed on the wall and inscribed with the following words:

'British Association for Cemeteries in S.E. Asia. These memorial stones were brought from Silchar Anglican Church in 1981 to be preserved on this wall. Nobis Reminisse Relictum. "Left behind for us to Remember"'.

Mr. Carruthers is to be congratulated on the successful outcome of this project; for what with difficulties in obtaining cement and with contractors who promised much and achieved little, he might well have thrown in the towel before the plaques had been installed. As it is, we have a permanent memorial in a fine setting to some of the Planters and their families who did so much to develop this corner of the Indian Empire. BACSA has also been successful in reminding the Archaeological Department of the Government of India of the need for some work to be done on a lesser known memorial near to Kohima in the Naga Hills, where the War Graves Commission keeps the war cemeteries in such splendid condition. The memorial is at Khonoma village, only five miles away. It commemorates the murder by Angami Nagas of

George Damant in 1879 and of Major Cock and Subedar Nurbir Sahi, killed when the village was retaken in the following year. Damant himself was buried in the garden of the Deputy Commissioner at Kohima and there was a separate memorial there. After Assam was finally taken over at the request of the last of the Ahom kings, it soon became necessary to prevent the Hill Tribes from raiding into the plains of the Assam and Surma valleys, and in the course of these actions a number of British officers lost their lives or were murdered as Damant had been; others died from the effects of the climate. Some of these officers have no known graves but many years ago an attempt was made to trace others and a Register was prepared which BACSA has been able to microfilm for permanent record. Many graves have however been lost to sight in the jungle or destroyed with the spread of cultivation. Few of the old Civil Cemeteries now remain, those at Dibrugarh and Sadiya have vanished into the Bramahputra river and that at Gauhati has been overtaken by the expansion of the city into the capital of Assam. Tezpur remains in being and APHCI has been instrumental in making plans to keep it in repair. H.E. Bruce who discovered the native tea plant at Sadiya in 1839 is buried there.

The discovery of the tea plant soon led to the establishment of tea gardens in both the Assam and Surma valleys of the Province and it was not long before malaria and kala azar took their toll amongst the pioneers and indeed amongst their successors for many years. A number of small cemeteries were established in the tea gardens. Most have been well maintained by the tea companies, but some have been allowed to deteriorate and BACSA has recently been informed of several, among them being the one at Nazira, the former headquarters of the Assam Company. Steps are in hand to remedy the situation.

To sum up, BACSA has been able to assist in one major work in Assam - the restoration of the Silchar plaques and to cause the Government of India to take up the repair of the memorial at Khonoma in the Naga Hills as well as to initiate a number of smaller works elsewhere in the State. No mention has been made of the enquiries made by relatives of those who are buried in various places and which BACSA has been able to answer in a number of cases. There is however still more to be done in what was always regarded as the 'Cinderella' Province of India.

George Walker

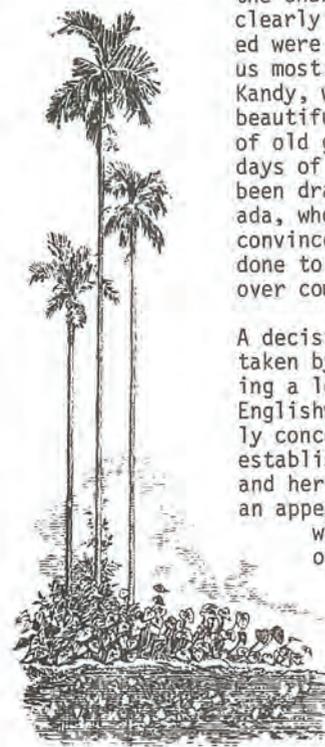


## SRI LANKA

Although the very first issue of Chowkidar discussed a painting of a scene in Trincomalee and mentioned corresponding members elsewhere in the island, it was some considerable time before BACSA became active in Sri Lanka. A grave mentioned by one of our members in September 1978 could not be located and photographed until January 1986 and it is only now that we are beginning to be able to answer some of the other queries which have been reaching us during the last ten years. Early reports from residents and others had given a somewhat gloomy picture of the condition of the cemeteries in Sri Lanka and I was therefore glad of an opportunity to take a first look at the situation at the end of 1982, when my wife and I spent a fortnight on holiday there. While we did not devote all our time to BACSA business (!) we managed to visit and report on fourteen cemeteries and to take more than a hundred photographs. Our visit, which was really a reconnaissance for the future, provided a more encouraging picture than we had expected. Most of the cemeteries we visited were in far better condition than those in North India which we explored during our post-

ing to New Delhi during the mid-1970's, and both the church and the municipal authorities were clearly looking after them. Most of those we visited were still in use, but the one which impressed us most was the abandoned Old Garrison Cemetery in Kandy, which, for all its neglected condition, is beautifully situated and contains a large number of old graves, some going back to the very early days of the British in Ceylon. Our attention had been drawn to its sad state by a member from Canada, who had been there in 1980 and we returned convinced, as she had been, that something must be done to save it before the surrounding jungle took over completely.

A decision to try to restore this cemetery was taken by the Executive Committee in 1983, following a letter from Mrs. Margaret Gooneratne, an Englishwoman living in Colombo, who was also clearly concerned about its condition. Mrs. Gooneratne established a local Restoration Committee and she and her successor, Mrs. Felicity Blackler, launched an appeal which has been highly successful and to which BACSA has made two contributions, each of £200. Certain local difficulties, not least an eccentric and reclusive watchman, have produced problems which are only now being solved, but at least all seems set fair for this project, and it should not be long before the Committee's work is repaid by seeing this cemetery restored to something like its former beauty. Thus, until recently most of



BACSA's efforts in Sri Lanka have been centred on Kandy. However, at the beginning of this year, Sue Farrington and I were able to spend five weeks visiting the tea planters' churches and cemeteries, the hill stations and the coastal towns in the southern half of the island, recording as many pre-1948 memorial inscriptions as we could find. Our final haul was something over 8,000 and in gathering these we visited almost sixty churches, over forty cemeteries and a variety of war memorials, isolated graves and monuments. Sue Farrington also photographed more than six hundred headstones.

This most enjoyable visit has enabled us to build up a sizeable bank of reference material, with which we can supplement that excellent book Tombstones and Monuments in Ceylon written by J. Penry Lewis in 1913 and hitherto (and indeed henceforth) the starting point for any BACSA problem in Sri Lanka. We should now be able to deal more adequately with enquiries about those who died there between 1913 and 1948. (We were delighted to find that we were able to answer two questions received at the October General Meeting almost by return of post.) We also feel that, in addition to the help which BACSA already receives from Mrs. Blackler and her committee, we can hope for assistance from the many new contacts we made - we met a wide range of people, including both Anglican Bishops, a large number of clergymen and many private individuals as well as government officials and planters. In addition we found various possible 'targets' for projects, such as the wonderful old cemeteries of All Saints, Galle, and on the Esplanade at Trincomalee, with which BACSA might perhaps concern itself in the future.

Alas, the present sad political situation in this beautiful country makes it unlikely that we shall be able to complete our survey for some time yet, since this would entail visits to a further twenty-six or so churches and about thirty cemeteries in the troubled north and north-east of the island. However, we have established that conditions in the cemeteries and churches of Sri Lanka, imperfect though they may sometimes seem to be to those who knew them in the past, are considerably better than those which both of us have found in Pakistan, India and Bangladesh. We know, too, that henceforth we can rely on the help of the many friends we made during our travels, who received us so sympathetically and with such generous hospitality. Sri Lanka, in short, is now very much on the BACSA map.

Michael Stokes



## THE SINGAPORE CEMETERIES

The earliest Christian cemetery on the island of Singapore dates from the time that the first trading post was set up on the island by Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles. Raffles concluded his treaty with the local Sultan on 6 February 1819 which permitted the Honourable East India Company to set up the trading post on the southern side of the island. The original post was situated along the banks of the Singapore River and later Raffles built his residence on a nearby hill which was then known as Bukit Larangan or Forbidden Hill. The name derived from the fact that the hill was the site of the palace of the local Malay Sultans and also the burial place of these rulers. A flag staff was erected on the top of the hill during 1819 and in 1822 the hill became known as 'Government Hill'. It retained that name until 1859 when Colonel Colyer, of the Madras Engineers, commenced building a fort on top of the hill so as to give protection to the trading port. The fort was finally completed in 1861 and named after Viscount Canning who was then Governor General of India, and from that time the hill became known as Fort Canning Hill.

The first cemetery was established on the hill near to the site where Raffles had his residence built during January 1823. The first cemetery was closed in that year and a new cemetery opened on the lower eastern slope of the hill. It was this second cemetery that eventually became known as the Fort Canning Cemetery. The Singapore historian Charles Burton Buckley recorded in his history of Singapore that a number of gravestones were moved from the first site on 'Government Hill' and placed in the second cemetery on the lower slopes of the hill. There does not appear to be any record of the number of stones that were moved to the new cemetery nor any record of the inscriptions with the exception of one. This was the stone of 'John C. Collingwood' of the ship 'Susan'. A report in the Journal of the Malaysian Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society for the year 1912 records that Collingwood's tombstone had been found in the lower cemetery.

This second cemetery was opened in 1823 and was, at that time, restricted to about a quarter of the size of the present-day cemetery. The earliest burials were carried out on the seaward side of the site and above the level of the central path. This section was consecrated by Bishop Daniel Wilson, the fifth Bishop of Calcutta on 6 October 1834. This section was later reserved for Protestant burials as the ground on the inland side was used for Catholic burials from 1835 onwards, although strict segregation does not appear to have been enforced until 1845. The cemetery was again extended during that year to include the ground to the east of the central path. In the following year a brick wall was built which enclosed the whole cemetery and at that time two arches were built, one on the south (seaward) side and the other on the landside. These two arches were built to the design of Captain Charles Edward Faber, the Superintending Engineer of the Colony at that time. A wall was also built to divide the Protestant and Catholic sections of the site. This separating wall

was still in existence in 1912 but by 1949 it had been removed. Regular burials ceased at the Fort Canning cemetery by April 1865 when a new Christian cemetery was opened adjacent to the Bukit Timah Road. This cemetery was then known as 'New Cemetery'.

Reports show that the majority of the gravestones and memorials at Fort Canning were still in existence in 1921, although as early as 1909 Buckley wrote that the memorial stones in the old Christian cemetery were '...fast falling into pieces and the inscriptions becoming illegible...'. He recommended that a government clerk should be employed to record the details from the stones and the report deposited at 'Raffles Library'. This report was, regrettably, never completed.

By 1954 the greater number of the gravestones and memorials had been removed from their original locations and many of the tablets containing the inscriptions bricked into north and south walls. The gradual clearing of the remainder of the cemetery continued over the next twenty-three years and by late 1977 only three of the original monuments remained in their location. During this latter work of clearing the ground, by the Singapore authorities, the individual memorial inscription tablets were saved and bricked into the west wall of the cemetery. Unfortunately the memorial tablets to some ships' companies were destroyed when the memorials were removed.

The Bukit Timah Road Cemetery continued to be used until the end of the cemetery when another Christian cemetery was opened off the Serangoon Road, known as Bidadari Cemetery. This cemetery is in fact still in use. The Bukit Timah Road Cemetery was completely cleared during 1970 and the ground converted into a park. The majority of the memorials were destroyed and used as ballast at one end of the area which was prone to flooding. Only a few of the larger civilian memorials were saved and these were placed in the north eastern corner of the Fort Canning Cemetery where they still remain.

The general condition of the Fort Canning Cemetery is good, as it is now under the care of the Parks & Recreational Department of the Ministry of National Development. The memorial inscription tablets set in the north, south and west walls are safe and the area of the cemetery enclosed by these walls is grassed and maintained as parkland. A number of the military memorials were removed from the Bukit Timah Road Cemetery and re-established in the Ulu Pandan Military Cemetery but unfortunately this cemetery has also been lost. It was cleared in 1976 to make way for a new housing development and on this occasion the military memorials did not survive.

The burial registers for the Fort Canning Cemetery are no longer in existence but some details of the military graves were recorded during the 1950's and are inscribed in a Book of Remembrance which is held by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission. During my visit to Singapore in 1985 only the remains of the Fort Canning Cemetery could be seen, with the first cemetery, the Bukit Timah Road Cemetery and the

Ulu Pandan Cemetery having disappeared due to redevelopment projects. The Bidadari Cemetery continues to be used and contains a variety of memorials ranging from those of Europeans from the trading houses who died there during the early part of the century; civilian casualties from the Singapore mutiny which occurred during February 1915, to those of the Christian Chinese population who have died in recent years.

There have been vast changes to the cemeteries at Singapore during the time that I have known the area which has been from my first visit in 1949 until my recent visit in 1985.

Major Alan Harfield



#### CHURCH PARADE

Clatter of scabbards and creak of leather,  
Sunday morning and murderous weather,  
Hobnails ringing on hot stone floor,  
File by file through the sun-warped door;

Emma Jones with her bonnet blue  
Kneels at prayer in the hot pine pew,  
Warm air stirring her short net veil  
From punkah swaying at chancel rail;

Ramrod straight in his tight red coat,  
Sheened with sweat and a shade off-note,  
Military foundling, child of slums:  
Daniel Lamont, Corporal of Drums;

Emma dreams of a day that's coming  
When Church Parade is without his drumming,  
When she has Daniel safe in thrall,  
Proud at the altar, in sight of all;

Out in the glare the Cholera waits,  
And this day week through the church-yard gates,  
Shoulder-hoisted the couple comes-  
Emma and Lamont, Corporal of Drums.

Jerry Spear

## THE CANTONMENT CEMETERY, RANGOON

This cemetery occupies an important site in a pleasant part of Rangoon adjoining the Zoological Gardens and in full view of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda which dominates the Rangoon skyline. It covers an area of about seven and a half acres and is the largest Christian Cemetery in Burma: by and large it is an Anglican Cemetery. It came into existence in the first half of the 19th century and until Independence its maintenance was financed partly by the Government and partly by the local community, mostly European and mostly British. Although the Government of Burma makes a subvention to the Burma Council of Churches this has to be spread over many other commitments of the Council and the resident Christian community of Rangoon is not only much smaller than before Independence but also has other commitments as well.

About seven hundred inscriptions on gravestones have been recorded. The earliest one known is of a sea captain who died in 1808. Many of the surviving memorials are handsome or at least imposing. In particular there are striking memorials of the officers and men of the Royal Scots Fusiliers who served in Burma in 1875-78, 1885-87 and 1908-10 (seventy-nine names in all), of the North Irish Division RA and numerous single memorials of officers and men of the British and Indian Armies who died while serving in Burma. In the course of the fighting in 1852 in the Second Burmese War which led to the capture of Rangoon and the annexation of Lower Burma, several officers and men were killed in the storming of the Shwe Dagon Pagoda and were buried there. Years later their remains were removed to the Cantonment Cemetery.

During the Japanese occupation of Burma 1942-1945 a corner of the Cantonment cemetery was used by them to create an anti-aircraft position and the graves and memorials were destroyed. In the years following Independence the condition of the cemetery deteriorated. Like the atmosphere of the Fleet Prison as remarked by Sam Weller, the climate of Rangoon, particularly during the monsoon, is favourable to the growth of weeds 'of an alarming and sanguinary nature' and the cemetery has frequently been in danger of reverting completely to jungle. From time to time efforts were made to clear it but appear to have been only partially and temporarily successful. In 1979 the Rangoon Christian Cemeteries Management Board was formed under the auspices of the Burma Council of Churches and took over responsibility for the Cantonment cemetery from the earlier Board of Management of Christian Cemeteries. In 1981 BACSA made enquiries about the condition of the Cemetery and asked whether there was any way in which it could be of assistance. After some correspondence a grant of £150 was made for a project for repairing the wall and weed-killer and sprayers were supplied through the good offices of the ICI.

Nevertheless when further enquiries were made in 1984 a most pessimistic report was received. The Cemetery was completely overgrown, it was the haunt of monkeys (escaped from the Zoo) and snakes and,

as it had become an eyesore, the local authority was considering taking it over. It was decided that the only useful help BACSA could offer in the circumstances would be a grant for photographs and perhaps financial assistance to a project for assembling the gravestones in a small enclosure.

In 1985 a visit to Rangoon was paid by a member of BACSA who discussed the situation with members of the Management Board and the Ambassador and staff of the British Embassy. She reported that the situation was by no means beyond hope and that the most urgent need was for a supply of good quality tools, those available locally being of inferior standard. In July an assortment of tools (hatchets, axes, spades, loppers, shears) was sent by air to Rangoon to the address of the Ambassador who had agreed to be responsible for their custody; the total cost was £250. In December, with the onset of the dry weather a major clearing operation took place, volunteers from the local Christian community (including young people from the Anglican Churches Youth) as well as malis from the British and other Embassies all taking part. As a result some three-quarters of the whole area has been cleared and many gravestones revealed, cleaned and where necessary re-erected. The latest report (June 1986) shows that the use of weed-killer is successfully preventing the regrowth of the scrub and that grass is being planted.

The Management Board which has formed a Cantonment Cemetery sub-committee has a programme of further work needed to restore the cemetery to something like its original condition. This includes repairs to the surrounding wall, particularly where it borders on a much used public road and repairing and re-consecrating the cemetery chapel. To assist the Management Board with this, a further sum of £300 has been sent and part of this has been spent on the purchase of cement for the repairs to the wall.

BACSA can legitimately take pride in the part it has played in the rehabilitation of this once beautiful cemetery. Even more than the financial assistance, the visits by BACSA members, the continuing and devoted encouragement by the Ambassador, his wife and the Embassy staff, and above all the evidence of interest and concern in this country have undoubtedly inspired the local Christian community to exert itself to preserve the cemetery, not as a relic of the British connection with Burma, but as a living centre of Christian devotion. There is every reason to hope that this will continue.

Maurice Rossington



## EUROPEAN FUNERARY ARCHITECTURE IN INDIA

The architecture and landscape-design of cemeteries, as subjects for serious consideration, have only recently attracted the attention they deserve, yet they are among the most rewarding of topics. (1) This article will outline the importance of India in the history of burial reform and of cemetery design. Attitudes to death and to the disposal of the dead have altered with each change of sensibility within European culture. There can be no question that in Antiquity the dead were feared, and were disposed of outside the cities, far from the living, where they would be appeased at regular intervals with offerings of various kinds. Even with the advent of Christianity the dead were not at first buried promiscuously within towns, but as the veneration given to relics and to whole bodies of Saints grew in favour, the custom of burying near the remains of holy men and women enjoyed approval and popularity, in spite of regular prohibition by the authorities.

During the Middle Ages burial in churches, as near the bodies of Saints as possible or in close proximity to altars, became desirable for those who could obtain such concessions, while burial in churchyards in communal ditches, and storage of displaced bones in charnel-houses were usual. Increasingly, in fact, the dead were abandoned to the Church, and often society became indifferent to the place where bodies had been laid. Only the great, the rich, and the holy were accorded marked permanent graves, with effigies and inscriptions. Despite the visions of Death as the Reaper, or of macabre decomposing corpses of the *gisant* variety of *memento mori*, people were no longer afraid of the dead: everybody was familiar with dead bodies, with the sight of bones in the charnels, and with the disinterment of bodies to allow for new burials. A somewhat blasé and unsentimental attitude to the dead prevailed until well into the eighteenth century: Mozart, for example, was remarkably matter-of-fact in dealing with the death of his mother and children, and such a response was usual at that time, for the dead were disposed of in unpleasant graveyards or in dank smelly crypts where no tender thoughts could be entertained.

The Enlightenment and the Romantic period changed all that. Through literature and poetry society became alerted to the horrors of eighteenth-century funerary practices as well as to the possibilities of the quiet grave set among beautiful landscapes, where the 'dear remains' would lie for ever, undisturbed and housed together with tenderness and a gentle kindness. Writers helped to create a new vision of a peaceful burial-place while painters also explored themes connected with cemeteries, graves and death. From the enlightenment derived the spacious landscaped cemetery, while concern for the sensibilities of the Common man, together with a desire to provide permanent, pleasant, hygienic and beautiful burial-places, gave rise to the great metropolitan necropoleis that are a familiar feature of most cities. This new sensitivity rejected the hitherto traditional indifference as to the fate of the body, and a new tenderness towards the grave and its remains developed that was to produce a popular and almost

universal attitude to death in the nineteenth century. Indeed, so widespread was this piety towards the cemetery, the grave and the mausoleum, that in our own century many commentators have believed it was always there in European custom. On the contrary, however, it is a comparatively recent idea. (2)

The pilgrimage to the tomb and respect for the cemetery both survived well into our own time, until death became the great unmentionable subject: once more, fear of the dead has become prevalent. Now cemeteries have become neglected and vandalised, while attitudes spreading from the United States and Northern Europe generally have even invaded the Roman Catholic countries. Now that medical opinion is turning to the view that death should be discussed and ritualised for therapeutic reasons, there are the beginnings of an awareness of the importance of cemeteries in the histories of landscape and of architecture.

Until the nineteenth century cemeteries in the British Isles were rare, although burial or entombment of the whole body was universal: most bodies were laid in lead coffins in church crypts or in brick-lined shafts under the floors of churches, or they were interred in wooden coffins in the burial-grounds attached to churches and chapels. Sometimes the very rich could afford to bury their dead in large mausolea (roofed tombs built above ground to house the dead) as at Castle Howard in Yorkshire, while there are also examples of elaborate mausolea erected in churchyards for the same purpose. (3) While many rural churchyards were sufficient for their functions, growing populations in towns created considerable difficulties, and urban burial-grounds and crypts were severely overcrowded by the end of the eighteenth century. Often additional burial space had to be provided by purchasing land outside built-up areas (as with the Parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields), but more often space was created by disgraceful and unsavoury means: resting in peace in an overcrowded city burial-ground meant very little in fact. During the seventeenth century, conditions in London churchyards were already bad, exacerbated by Protestantism which tended to demand permanent resting-places for the dead rather than the anonymous Catholic burials of previous centuries.

In addition, the practice of regular clearance of bones for storage in charnel-houses went out of favour, partly as a result of a change in sensibility, partly because of a rejection of 'papist' custom, and partly because graves became regarded as the property of individuals. When plague or other epidemics descended on centres or urban population the chaos was appalling, and the existing graveyards could not cope with demand for burial-space, so new ground had to be acquired for reasons of hygiene. Urban burial-places in Britain, in short, were horrible places where there was no greenery, no trees or shrubs, and where the surface of the earth was covered with a black, evil-smelling slime. Similar conditions prevailed in Paris and in other great centres of urban population. (4) After the plague and Fire of London in 1665-6, campaigns were mounted to establish a vast cemetery embellished with tombs like those by the Appian Way in Rome, and

planted with trees and shrubs, but the plans came to nothing. Even Christopher Wren and John Evelyn failed to persuade the authorities that such a scheme was necessary, partly, it must be admitted, because of the vested interest in burial-fees among the clergy. It is no accident that the first burial-grounds in the British Isles were formed by Dissenters (as at Bunhill Fields in the City of London), or in areas where rationalist ideas were coming to the surface, as in Scotland and Ulster. Edinburgh and Belfast can both boast fine and spacious eighteenth-century cemeteries, unattached to churches, and adorned with splendid monuments, mausolea and planting. (5) Conventional wisdom holds that the establishment of cemeteries in Britain was based on French precedent, notably the formation of the great necropolis of Pere Lachaise in Paris. The facts speak differently, however, for a radical Dissenting tradition existed in the British Isles long before Pere Lachaise was laid out. Yet there is another thread: why did so many grand tombs get built in small burial-grounds in both Scotland and Ireland, and what was the immediate spur to provide magnificent Classical cemeteries so long after the fall of Rome? The answer lies in India.

Lurking in the recesses of the Bodleian Library at Oxford is a drawing by Vanbrugh no less, based on the huge cemetery at Surat. (6) At the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century many travellers had begun to note that there were remarkable and handsome new cemeteries being erected by Europeans in India. Necessity created its own solutions, and it is not without significance in the history of hygiene that the earliest cemeteries of modern times were created by Europeans in India. The Danish settlement at Tranquebar had tombs of decidedly Baroque character, while pyramid-tombs were not unknown in India in the 1680's. The English and other Europeans laid out the cemeteries outside Surat in the seventeenth century, and there several enormous mausolea were built, many of which owe not a little to the funerary architecture of Islam, of which several supreme examples exist in the sub-continent. A formal geometrical arrangement of square, rectangle, circle, polygon, cube, triangle, pyramid, and dome are common to funerary architecture in many cultures and many lands. The architecture of death in Islamic cultures reached unprecedented heights of rare beauty, however, and a formal geometry was the basis for many mausolea set in gardens with canals. It was little wonder that the beautiful tombs of India would astonish Europeans, and that the settlers would try to emulate the magnificence of such funerary architecture set in lushly



civilised landscaped gardens. It must be remembered that free-standing tombs of great size, not in churches, had been almost unknown in Europe since Roman times, and so the novelty must have exercised a powerful effect on the ambitions of Europeans. One of the most interesting of the Surat mausolea is that of Henry Adrian Baron van Reede of 1691 in the Dutch cemetery there. It consists of a cupola over an octagonal base, with an arcade all the way round, a form of tomb that was based on Islamic prototypes of a square or octagonal plan. Octagonal tombs surrounded by arcades existed in some number in the environs of Delhi, and clearly provided models for the van Reede mausoleum, although the mausoleum of Theodoric at Ravenna and other late-Roman examples are suggested in this curious eclectic design. It is unnecessary to mention those supreme examples of funerary architecture, the Taj Mahal at Agra and the tomb of Humayun in Old Delhi, in any detail, but they were seen by wondering Europeans as exemplars that suggested a way forward in funerary design. The idea of a tomb in a formal garden, where people could take their ease and enjoy the peace of controlled nature in contemplation of life and of death, was potent and the Taj Mahal offered the finest of models. Surat, therefore, acquired its superb and grand mausolea set in walled enclosures, with trees and shrubs, partly in order to emulate the noble piles of Mughal India, partly to provide dignified hygienic burial places for Europeans in a land where disposal of the dead had to be carried out quickly, and partly to express social status. It is interesting that these early cemeteries soon became embellished with tombs that not only embraced the architectural language of Islamic tombs, but a whole range of allusions to Classical Antiquity as well, where pyramid and obelisk, colonnade and arcade, portico and pediment, and the Orders combined in a rich array of architectural bravura.

Vanbrugh's drawing shows a great walled cemetery with a pyramid at each corner and a massive array of mausolea in which the entire range of the Classical language is exploited: the cemetery therefore pre-dates famous designs by Ledoux by about half a century. Taking Surat as his model, Vanbrugh proposed 'Caemityrys...handsomely and regularly wall'd in, and planted with Trees in such form as to make a Solemn Distinction between one Part and another', and embellished with 'Lofty and Noble Mausoleums'. In other words Vanbrugh was proposing cemeteries for Britain that were based on the astonishingly modern and grandly Classical cemeteries in India, the like of which had not been seen in Europe since Imperial Rome was at the zenith of its powers. (7) Vanbrugh recognised the importance of the British cemeteries in India, in his proposals for building new churches in London for the burial of the dead. He argued that they should be 'free'd from that Inhumane custome of being made Burial Places for the Dead; a Custome in which there is something very barbarous in itself besides the many ill consequences that attend it; that one cannot enough wonder how it ever prevail'd amongst the civiliz'd part of mankind...Since there can be no thought of purchasing ground for Church Yards, where the Churches will probably be plac'd...And since there must therefore be Caemityrys provided in the Skirts of the Towns, if they are ordered with that



'Splendid in Ashes'....South Park Street drawn specially to mark BACSA's tenth anniversary by Sir Hugh Casson.

decency they ought to be, there can be no doubt but the Rich as well as the Poor, will be content to ly there...' He went on to suggest that a spacious cemetery, properly laid out, walled and enriched with mausolea of freestone, would be far preferable to burial 'under Ailes and under Pews in Churches', with attendant memorials consisting of 'Tawdry Monuments of Marble, stuck up against Walls and Pillars'. (8) Vanbrugh's sketch of the Surat cemetery clearly shows the walls, pyramids at the corners, and the wondrous array of mausolea within the grounds. He notes that an appropriate manner of 'Interment has been practic'd by the English at Suratt and is come at last to have this kind of effect'. (That is the architectural effect of a dreamlike skyline of pointed, curved, and vertical shapes). That he could note the importance of European cemeteries in India as potential models for what might be done in the British Isles as early as the first decades of the eighteenth century is an interesting fact in itself, but it also demonstrates that what necessity dictated in India, and what men like Wren, Evelyn, and Vanburgh knew might be done to improve matters in England, was not actually accomplished on any scale until the 1830s and even then on a half-hearted basis.

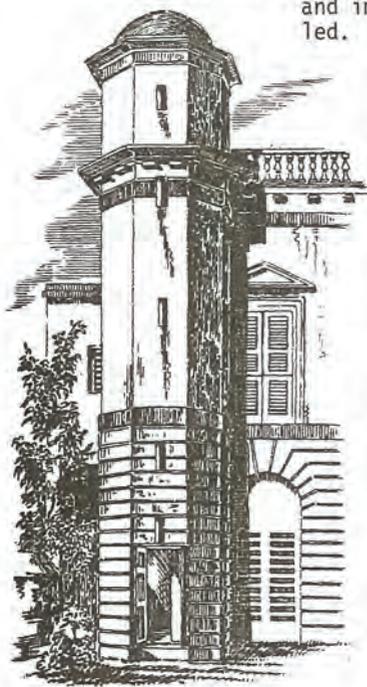
Surat certainly was the prototype for one of the grandest of all British cemeteries, the South Park Street Cemetery, Calcutta, which was founded in 1767 for hygienic and social reasons to anticipate the 'sick season' which was about to slay large numbers of Europeans. This great cemetery was laid out on formal avenues, with walls and trees, and quickly acquired an amazing range of memorials and mausolea, pyramids, obelisks, porticos, colonnades, and the rest of the Classical repertoire. Several tombs are in the form of domed gazebos, and a great many are of considerable architectural quality. The building of tombs appears to have been the work of contractors who also acted as undertakers: one Oldham seems to have been among the most successful, and was responsible for many of the excellent tombs that grace this lovely cemetery. The architectural designs seem to have been based on printed sources, including the works of Piranesi and those of William Chambers, whose *Treatise on Civil Architecture* appeared in 1759, followed by *The Works of Robert and James Adam* in 1778-1822. Certainly a number of tombs in South Park Street Cemetery bear more than than a slight resemblance to some of Chamber's designs.

Many monuments in the cemetery consist of obelisks set on square podia: often the faces of these obelisks are carved with symbols to denote the trade or profession of the person commemorated. Together with the kiosks, temples, gazebos, and pyramids they make the cemetery an outstanding necropolis by any standards, and, in terms of size and richness, it was not equalled in Europe until the great necropoleis of Pere Lachaise and its successors were laid out after 1804. Kipling wrote that the visitor to South Park Street Cemetery might be ready to swear 'that it is as old as Herculaneum or Pompeii'. He noted that the tombs were like small houses, and that walking in the cemetery was like walking through the streets of a town, so tall and so close together did the mausolea stand. Many of the tombs in this great

cemetery are of stucco-faced brick, originally intended to be finished with paint. Much of the building work seems to have been carried out by Indian craftsmen, who were trained in Classical architecture by the British. Occasionally Hindu and Mughal influences on the architecture can be detected, notably in the tomb of Major General Charles 'Hindoo' Stuart, an Irishman who became attracted to Hindu customs, and who was buried beneath his extraordinary mausoleum in 1828. This tomb recalls the strange Classical mausolea in the Parish churchyard of Knockbreda in Co. Down of the 1790's, save that Hindu elements have superseded those of Classicism in the Calcutta example. A curious tomb in the tiny Presbyterian churchyard at Kilbridge, Co. Antrim, shows the process being imported: there, a miniature Taj Mahal complete with dome, pointed arches, and pinnacles, commemorates the Stephensons, who had connections with India. It is thus clear that families with involvements in the East India Company not only acquired exotic tombs in the new cemeteries in India, but wished to emulate them at home. Those who had seen monumental mausolea in India were not going to settle for humble stones when they returned to the British Isles. Many elaborate tombs and monuments in the home country, therefore, were attempts to recreate a grandeur that was not unusual in India, while a growing awareness of the possibilities of cemetery design was suggested by the magnificent necropoleis of Europeans in the sub-continent. Europeans found that reforms, so necessary at home, were absolutely essential and immediate in some of the places they settled. European cemeteries in India were large,

were set apart from churches, and were laid out in a spacious fashion. So it was that the first great Classical cemeteries of modern times were realised in British India, and not in France, as has been thought by many. Britons returning home could hardly fail to notice the appalling contrast between the Indian cemeteries (enriched as they were by all manner of fine mausolea) and the wretched and unsavoury urban churchyards in the British Isles.

When it is realised that Edinburgh acquired its Calton Old Burying-Ground in 1718 (to be embellished with Robert Adam's mausoleum of David Hume in 1777) and that Belfast got its ground for the Clifton Burying-Ground in 1774 (although the first interments did not take place until 1797), the position in England will be better seen in context, for there were no public cemeteries in England until the Rosary in Norwich (1821) the Low Hill Necropolis (1825) the St. James Cemetery in Liverpool (1825-29)



and Kensal Green (1832) were laid out and planted. Contemporary literature is full of praise for the new cemetery of Pere Lachaise in Paris (1804) which was recognised as a prototype to emulate. A movement to close the disreputable and ancient burial grounds of Paris had got under way in the reign of Louis XVI, when several Parishes acquired land not adjacent to or even near the churches, and the great churchyard of Saints-Innocents, the largest and most famous of the mediaeval burial-grounds attached to a church, was closed in 1780. During the eighteenth century, with the establishment of new burying-grounds on the periphery of towns, or distant from the churches, funeral customs changed, and involved processions from the home to the church, and from the church repository to the cemetery: the latter part was usually carried out perfunctorily, with nobody accompanying the body to the grave. With the closure of more old grounds, and the realisation of a growing need to lay out very large cemeteries to accommodate increasing numbers of dead per year, the links between the Church and the burial-grounds were being weakened, first by physical separation, then by actual removal of responsibility. Hygiene, rationalism, and order were of considerable importance in establishing a climate of opinion in which old graveyards would be closed and new cemeteries opened; a new idea started to come to the fore in which an ordered landscape would be enriched with mausolea and monuments, and where the dead would be commemorated and records kept on a national scale.

Pere Lachaise was designed by Alexandre-Theodore Brongniart, and his scheme owed not a little to the English landscape tradition. Set on a hill to the east of Paris, it soon became ornamented with house-tombs, Classical monuments, stelai and humbler memorials. The translation of bodies of several celebrated personages to this great cemetery was part of a Cult of the Dead that grew in post-Revolutionary France, and soon became an essential element of the Romantic period. By the second decade of the nineteenth century Pere Lachaise had become the admired model for other countries, although it was, in fact, clearly based on the precedents set by colonial cemeteries. The English influence on the French prototype cannot be over-estimated, for the late eighteenth century manner of landscape design introduced informal and 'natural' motifs: the cemetery, therefore, and the monument set off by 'natural' landscape owe much to a lively tradition of design that had been firmly established in the British Isles. A monument set against trees or on a hill is as much an integral part of the so-called 'picturesque' garden as in the 'informal' eminence.

Such an approach had a literary background: Shenstone's funerary urn in the ground of the Leasowes: Alexander Pope's garden at Twickenham with its memorial obelisk set among green groves, and the tomb of Rousseau on the Isle of Poplars at Ermenonville all had their potent literary aspects. An Arcadian landscaped garden, adorned with monuments, became the ideal, with attractions that put the unsavoury urban churchyard to shame. Pere Lachaise contains many visual allusions to The Leasowes, to Ermenonville, to the gardens at Stowe, and to other

celebrated instances where memorials and mausolea were set off by a Romantic Landskip. The new cemeteries were to contain images of Elysium and Arcady, where memorials to the dead would stand among pastoral 'natural' landscapes giving solace to the bereaved and secure resting-places to the dead. Mourners would be able to 'see the drooping branches of a green tree' falling over the monuments, thus adding to the 'beauty and solemnity'. (9) Now it is interesting that by 1812 the many acres of South Park Street Cemetery in Calcutta were 'covered so thick with columns, urbs, and obelisks that there scarcely seems to be room for another...it is like a city of the dead.' (10) Of course that it exactly what it is: a necropolis, or city of the dead, with all the character of a town. Here are no problems of change of use, or alterations through tawdry changes of fashion: the inhabitants never move, and the streets are mercifully bereft of bustle. The architecture of death is in some respects, the purest of all architecture, because it is concerned with form and expression, and with the housing of coffins, sarcophagi, or urns. Its only enemies are time, vandals, and the envious.

Thus British cemeteries in India are among the most important examples of experimental prototypes in building and layout, and their importance on later developments in Britain and Europe, hitherto neglected, are at last receiving their just acknowledgment.

James Stevens Curl

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#### BACSA AUTHORS

I have recently been chatting to five of the several authors who belong to BACSA. I began by asking each of them why they had chosen, and still often continue to choose, the sub-continent as their subject, and this question alone invariably led in so many diverse and interesting directions that to describe them all in full would take at least the whole of Chowkidar's souvenir issue! The one general theme which spontaneously emerged was that the writers share a sense of affinity and familiarity with the Indian scene, which makes it feel, in some strange way, like Home - even if Home was never there, or has not been since childhood. I can't explain that feeling, though I also share it, nor can I do more than summarise what proved to be fascinating conversations with five lively people - grilled here in alphabetical order.

Charles Allen started to write about India because 'at the time I felt incapable of doing anything else'. This was in the early '70's however, when it was fashionable to turn away from and denigrate the whole concept of a British Empire, and India was, in consequence, a much neglected subject. 'I felt increasingly strongly that good decent people (like my own father who was in the political service) were being villified simply for being part of an historical process over which they had no control'. Allen explained. It was important, he felt that the younger generation should hear about the lives and works of those who, as the saying goes, 'caused two blades of grass to grow where one grew before'. Allen's own first contribution to that process, Plain Tales from the Raj is now read by young people in both Britain and India, and he feels justly proud that it is numbered among those books which helped '...to blow the old colonial stereotypes out of the window'.

At present, Allen is moving away from his historical studies of the Raj and into fiction. He has a contract to write 'a novel of Anglo-India' - in the original sense of that term - and, he said 'I'm tempted to it partly because I think my generation can say things about Anglo-Indian relations which earlier ones couldn't - though I realise that every generation tends to feel that sort of thing'. He is planning the work as a family saga, spanning about 150 years from 1795 onwards, 'because India lends itself to large-scale panoramas'. The largeness of scale also gives him a chance to show how certain kinds of contact and attitude between the two races changed quite dramatically within a generation or two. 'Every Anglo-Indian family has a skeleton or two lurking in its cupboard' and he thinks it will be interesting to give a few of them an airing. Moreover, he adds, 'I want to tell a jolly good yarn, rather in the John Masters' tradition'. Allen's forbears were closely linked with India for several generations and 'I'm finding it useful to introduce a few incidents in my own family history as starting points and references' - though the book is by no means intended as a record of the Allens' lives and times. Allen is finding (as most of us do who try!) that making the switch from non-fiction to fiction is very difficult and he looked

back with what appeared to be a twinge of nostalgia to the simple enjoyment he experienced when writing his last book A Glimpse of the Burning Plain based on the journals of Lady Canning. 'I became really fascinated by her - a terrific personality. And it's rather nice to feel one has resurrected someone like that who's had a raw deal in history up to now'. There are ample of those, Allen agrees, and he has plenty of ideas and subjects for the future. 'India is still a vast treasure house to be explored for generations to come' he concluded as he wisked off from the BACSA meeting where I met him to get on with a little more of the resurrection and exploration.

Mollie Kaye is probably the most internationally known of all BACSA authors since the publication of her novel The Far Pavilions which has certainly brought her fame and fortune - though not without effort. She began it in 1964 and '...it took me fifteen years to write' she explained. 'This was because I soon learned that women must write when they can snatch time from other duties'. She wrote the first draft in longhand in large ledgers, pushing each one into a cupboard when it was full and receiving quite a shock at the end when she pulled them all out and found what a massive work she had produced. The second draft involved much cutting and re-organisation, and the late-lamented Paul Scott gave her tremendous help and encouragement. She was, she said sincerely, 'Absolutely amazed and thrilled by the extent of the book's success' - though she was not happy with the film version. For Kaye, India was the most obvious choice of subject, the land in which she was born and spent many of the happiest years of her life.



'Home is where you think of being as a child, if you had a happy childhood, as I did', she affirmed, and so, for her, the sights, smells and sounds of India will always seem home-like. She and her sister went to their first school in Simla and experienced a Kiplingesque sense of exile when, at about ten years old, they were sent to England - which they hated. 'It was the custom then to throw your *soia topi* overboard as you left India. If it sank you wouldn't come back, if it floated, you would. How we prayed that ours floated!' Mollie Kaye's must have done, for she did go back many times to stay with her family and later as the wife of an army officer, Goff Hamilton. Blessed with these family connections she had the opportunity of travelling widely throughout the sub-continent, '...which we came to know much better than most Indians, and to see it as a whole, which they seldom did'. India, moreover, was bred in her bones; generations of her family had lived there, including the famous Victorian historian Sir John Kaye; she learned to speak fluent Hindustani, enjoyed the company of many Indian friends and became fascinated (as Far Pavilions shows) with

the history of the famous Guides, in which her husband once served. So Mollie had a lot going for her when she decided to write about India, though, in the early days the going wasn't easy. Her first books were written in England before World War Two with no more equipment than 'Woolworth notebooks and some pencils'. And when she'd made the grand sum of £65 from these authorial endeavours she bought a £40 one-way ticket back to India. 'I've never been rich since in the way that was rich', she smiles. After her marriage she spent twenty years following the drum to various quarters of the world and wrote several thrillers and historical novels set in exotic locales. But Far Pavilions was the great breakthrough: it's been enormously popular in Britain, America and India; it's now required reading in some Indian colleges; most of her earlier books have been successfully reprinted in its wake.

Now, practically anything Kaye writes is guaranteed to sell well - and what she has chosen to write is her two (or perhaps three) volume autobiography. From what she told me it sounds as if it will be a lively read, for she doesn't intend to pull her punches about those who '...have perpetuated the same old lies about the racialism of the Raj - that, for example, no Indian was allowed to walk along the Mall in Simla. I've a photo of me knee-high to a beetle being trundled along there by my ayah, and it's lined with India shops...Who on earth do you think kept them going?' She has some pretty trenchant comments too to make about Mr. Gandhi, not to mention Mr. Richard Attenborough - among others. Certainly she's enjoying doing it and finds it much easier going than fiction... 'because, for one thing, you really do know what happens next!'

Geoffrey Moorhouse has no line of illustrious ancestors to draw him to the sub-continent and explained with a chuckle that his earliest impressions of India were gleaned from Kipling's children's books, cigarette cards featuring Indian army uniforms and rip-roaring comic yarns about the north-west frontier. These fairly unremarkable influences left their mark however, and from the moment in 1967 when Moorhouse first set foot in the country he's been fascinated by it. 'India hits all westerners with considerable force one way or t'other surely? They either loathe or love it, no half measures - and if it does hit you right, it's strong stuff'. His first assignment was to write about Calcutta, 'why it is, how it is', and he found it a somewhat alarming and intimidating city initially. 'But then a curious thing happened to me - I was twice gherao'd, that is surrounded by a circle of people who won't let you escape. Both occasions were a matter of mistaken identity but frightening enough at the time, and after I'd survived I felt absurdly relaxed and happy about being there and soon came to love the Bengalis!'

Calcutta was at a particularly low ebb when Moorhouse was there and he feels things have improved a little since, but many westerners 'are knocked sideways by the poverty and the city still rather rubs your nose in it. You simply have to make your own deal with it, don't you?

Square your conscience and then get on with what you went for - or get out'. He got on with his writing and the final result, called simply Calcutta was a quick sell out both here and in India. I wondered whether some Bengalis might resent having the story of their capital so well told by a foreigner who never even lived there, but Moorhouse thought not. 'They disagreed with some of it naturally, Bengalis always argue. But they like the book. That's part of the genius of Indians, don't you think? Heaven knows they've got enough nastinesses, but there's a tremendous generosity of spirit there as well'.

Moorhouse's most recent Asian journey took him to Pakistan on the other side of the continent which he describes with his usual pungent immediacy in To the Frontier. He went because it's there, as it were, he'd never been and is incurably tempted by unknown territory. He became intrigued by the current political dilemmas of the country, and as for Chitral, the high point of his adventure, 'I'd go back there tomorrow, it's almost Shangri-la, surely one of the most beautiful places in the world'. In one or two passages of the book, as in others he's written, he expresses a characteristic mixture of sympathy and dislike for the period of British rule and explained to me carefully, 'I still think the whole idea of Imperialism is immoral - at best, amoral - but the more I've learned about the British in India, the more I feel it wasn't all that bad. And I think on balance we did slightly more good than harm. But I've no doubt that if I'd been an Indian in the 1930's or '40's I'd have been one of those saying 'Look chums, we respect and like you, but now please do the decent thing and get out'.

Well, we did get out, and now Moorhouse is one of the many of us who wants to keep going back. He's writing a biography of New York at the moment, but soon after that he hopes to return to the Indian scene with a book about the South. You can sense he's eager to be finished with skyscrapers (which don't seem at all in his line) and is longing to describe instead those wondrous gopuram in Tamil Nadu...

Alan Ross, like Mollie Kaye, was born in India and spent part of a happy childhood there. Like her, he felt a deep sense of exile when he was sent away to England to school for, as he wrote in his autobiography, Blindfold Games, 'What was most loved and familiar was oceans away'. Now he feels that 'As you get older you realise how much you would like to finish up where you started - to close up the links into some kind of tidy circle'. Ross's family links with India are also long and deep through both his parents; his mother numbered among her forbears a captain of an East Indiaman and one of his father's was the surgeon Ronald Ross who developed a cure for malaria in 1898. His father was a Calcutta businessman and when young Ross was sent off to England the 'picturesque' views of that city he carried with him had '...from the ages of seven to twenty ...to stand in for me as icons', he wrote. Ross was a member of the last generation of young Britons to have the experience of being born in India and

suffering the pangs of exile - but, in their case, without the subsequent opportunities for return, which previous generations had enjoyed. World war and the coming of Independence broke the earlier patterns forever and, after an eventful war spent in the Navy, Ross did not return to the sub-continent. Nevertheless, a haunting sense of the land remained with him, as he expresses in some of his poetry, and when he eventually returned after a twenty-year absence, 'It did feel extraordinarily like going Home'. And since then he's tried to find a reason to go back as often as possible.

Writing books about India provides one very sound reason for going there, as all the authors cheerfully admitted, and Ross is no exception. Following the biography of Ranji, the prince-cricketer, he has recently published a biography of G.D. Birla entitled The Emissary. Birla was a wealthy Calcutta financier and industrialist who became a friend and supporter of

Gandhi and in whose garden the Birla family, write the book, their philanthropically don't wealth and, 'Seem to have any known kind'. covered, 'was man who came and the kind of he created would allowed under deed the whole section of Indian most Britons seldom



Ross was specially interested in Birla's strange friendship with Gandhi, though the man 'remained a closely-guarded figure with very little private life, as far as I could fathom'. Still, the book enabled him to spend time in India and keep company with the lively, opinionated Bengalis for whom he has great affection. So - does he intend to return soon? He seems uncertain, doubts whether he has any more to write about India...But on the other hand...you never know.. he might suddenly find something...a fascinating idea might turn up ...He grins hopefully.

Gillian Tindall, in answer to the question 'Why India?' said she believes that 'people have affinities with certain places and not with others, though exactly what strands in our individual personalities cause this I couldn't begin to say. It's often assumed that people have the greatest affinity with their native places, where they were brought up, but this certainly isn't true for me. I spent part of my childhood in Sussex which I heartily dislike because it's not a 'proper' place - neither urban nor rural'. With India, on the other hand, she felt a sense of affinity from the time of her first visit, which was

to Bombay. 'That Indian and European synthesis immediately appealed to me and I liked the fact that it didn't exist as a city before colonial times. It meant I could come to grips with it. The idea of writing a biography of the city came later, after her successful book about her own neighbourhood of London. 'I find I have an eye for urban history and when I cast it on Bombay I was surprised to find that virtually nothing of that kind had been written'. This, she feels, is partly because Indians don't see history as a linear progression in the way westerners do, but rather as a circular process. 'Also their interest in it tends to be very selective' - and that doesn't work well for her kind of book. It was, she found, quite difficult to make people understand exactly what she was about, and one Indian misconception she had to face has been picked up from we Britons, she remarked wryly. 'It is that a city is intrinsically an evil place and the country is intrinsically good. I've even heard of wealthy Indians buying 'farms' in rural area where they go "week-ending"... Can you imagine!' After spending quite a while 'Wandering round parts of Bombay with tummy upsets and feeling a trifle lonely' her book City of Gold was written and has proved generally popular.

But this did not fully satisfy Tindall's desire to write about Bombay because 'I always felt it had something to offer in fictional terms too'. What eventually emerged along those lines was The China Egg, a fine story in which the city exists as a vivid almost palpable presence. A film director has seen its possibilities recently and Tindall spent the summer writing the first draft of a script. 'But I can't say more because so many scripts never reach the actual screen!' She has no specific writing plans in mind for the sub-continent in the immediate future, but that doesn't mean she's moved away from it in spirit. 'Oh, I'll undoubtedly return to the Indian scene in some way at some time, probably for both fiction and non-fiction. It doesn't let you go, after all, does it?' And on that point, at least, all five of my victims agreed.

Pat Barr

#### BACSA PUBLICATIONS

BACSA's Constitution states that it is empowered 'To print, publish, translate, sell, lend and distribute books...' in furtherance of its objectives of a) advancing education in the history in all places in South Asia associated with European residence, b) conducting research into the history of such places and publishing the results, and c) preserving European cemeteries. Such thoughts of printing and publishing books were far from the minds of members in the early years and were only included in the Constitution on the advice of the Charity Commissioners. How right they were, for as BACSA developed, the need to raise money for projects and at the same time to stimulate an interest in South Asia coincided with an influx of biographical material in the shape of family histories, journals and diaries.

By 1981 the idea had taken root that we should attempt to publish a series of books. There was much justified scepticism on how we could do this and ensure making a profit at a time when many publishers were experiencing acute financial difficulties. An experimental volume was proposed and the market was tested by inviting subscriptions at a reduced rate in advance. The target set for advance sales was quickly achieved with an enthusiastic response from many members and BACSA's first book And Then Garhwal by Audrey Baylis went into production. The editing, typing and proof-reading was shared between Rosie Llewellyn-Jones and myself with some of the preliminary work on the cover, layout and illustrations aided by professional advice arranged through Joan Lancaster Lewis.

The book was launched at a special party in December 1981 and was an immediate success. Its Foreword contained these words: 'This is the first of what is hoped will be a long series of books published by



BACSA for BACSA members, with a wider public in mind. Each book will be by a BACSA member, and about some particular person or family, incident or campaign, district or town involving Europeans in Asia.' This paragraph has been repeated with appropriate adaptation to each of the successive titles.

And Then Garhwal was the story of an English family living in London some hundred years ago, whose elder daughter marries a young man born in India, educated at boarding schools in England and destined to follow

his father's footsteps in the Indian Civil Service. It is based on diaries, letters and family photographs. The limited edition was out of print within six months and has been privately reprinted by the author. The second book, in 1982, was altogether different, Send Malcolm, the life of Major General Sir John Malcolm by Sir Rodney Pasley. The author, a schoolmaster historian and a one-time Vice-Principal of the Rajkumar College at Rajkot, had been a lifelong admirer of Malcolm a kinsman, and had studied and written this reassessment of Malcolm's life many years before but had failed to get it published. Malcolm, a close friend of the Duke of Wellington, first Ambassador to the Shah of Tehran and founder of the Oriental Club was too important and interesting a person to languish in an attic box. The third book, in 1983, was Morning Drum by John Christie, the autobiography in colourful patches of an ICS members who served in

#### WHAT DO THEY DO WHEN THEY DON'T DO BACSA?

It was inevitable that most of the founder-members of BACSA should have been old India hands who have achieved *otium cum dignitate*. But not all can claim this happy privilege. Among the elder statesmen of the Council, Sir John Cotton, the President, is still called upon to interview difficult non-English-speaking immigrants at Heathrow, the Rt. Hon. Peter Rees is a busy Member of Parliament and Sir John Lawrence still writes and lectures to travellers in Russia. And some of the present members of the Executive Committee manage to combine demanding careers with whole-hearted BACSA commitments.

In terms of sheer output Major Alan Harfield has contributed more to BACSA than anyone. Ever since he first set foot in India as a young soldier in 1945 he has been visiting cantonment cemeteries, making notes and taking photographs, from Peshawar to Hong Kong. While looking at old forts and graves on an island near Hong Kong he was once stranded by a typhoon and having arrived by canoe, had to stay for three days until the typhoon blew itself out. When he was posted to Cyprus in 1974 he decided to take with him the entire mass of papers and photographs relating to cemeteries which he had accumulated over the years. He travelled by car, sending the papers on by sea. The ship, *Tudor Prince* was met by a terrible storm off Malta and the papers went to the bottom of the sea. Undeterred, Alan has continued to return to the East at every opportunity and has re-recorded most of that lost work.

After Cyprus Alan had a spell in Brunei and seems to have got on well with the Sultan who awarded him the *Setia Negara* Brunei, the highest award short of a title, for his innovative work in the Brunei Army and for writing its first regimental history. On their holiday in Malaysia in 1985, Alan's wife June went round each grave taking the photographs, followed by Alan describing the inscriptions into a tape-recorder and finally by their eighteen year old daughter Jane, who wrote the inscriptions down as a double check. Alan has published eight books and over a hundred and ten articles on military and cemetery subjects and has also edited *The Life and Times of a Victorian Officer* and written two Museum publications on Army communications. When he retired from the Army in 1980 he was appointed Deputy Director of the Royal Signals Museum at Blandford Camp. The Museum shows the history of military communications from the Crimean War to the present day. Among their exhibits is General Sir John Fowler's sword, returned by the enemy Ura Khan as a mark of respect for an honourable adversary. Another is the throne-chair of King Prempeh of the Ashanti who had to be dealt with in 1895 for breaking a treaty and reverting to cannibalism.

A member of the Royal Asiatic Society, a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society and a member of the Company of Military Historians of the USA, Alan is now working on a book which gives the history of the British and Indian Armies on the China coast stations from 1800 to 1985.

Bengal, then on the staff of the last three Viceroys and finally 'stayed on' as a businessman. This proved extremely popular and only a handful of copies are left. The demand for these books was growing so fast that from 1984 onwards it was decided to publish two books a year on a complementary theme and, with the extra work this entailed, to change from volunteer typing to a professional word-processor. The titles selected were based on the theme of families on the North-West Frontier in the 19th century. *The Gordon Creeds in Afghanistan* contained the journals of father and son in the first and second Afghan Wars, copied in their entirety with an editorial commentary by Dr. William Trousdale, one of the leading scholars on Afghanistan. Again, like the Malcolm book, an important contribution to literature but not an easy read. Both have covered their costs and the pair are offered to members in this Tenth Anniversary Year at the bargain price of £10, post free (Commercial ends here!)

The other Frontier family book was the exciting account of the Battye brothers, *The Fighting Ten* by Evelyn Desiree Battye, with a Foreword by the late Major General Goff Hamilton. This was an up-market publication for BACSA with a colour cover and printing on better quality paper with metal plates but sold at the standard price thanks to the generosity of an anonymous donor. It was a great success and within a year had sold out the larger than usual first edition and had been reprinted. Next followed two books on the theme of the Indian Police. The first, *On Honourable Terms* edited by Martin Wynne, recorded the career of a group of some twenty Indian (Imperial) Police Officers between 1915 and 1948, while the second, *Peacock Dreams*, by Bill Tydd gave a vivid account of the day-to-day life of a police officer in Burma. Both books have been selling well in their first year.

The latest book, published in October 1986, is *Bombay Buccaneers*, the memories and reminiscences of over thirty officers who served in the Royal Indian Marine and Royal Indian Navy as collected and edited by Commander Jack Hastings.

Each book has tended to break into new ground and brought a fresh crop of members with different experiences in different parts of South Asia. BACSA is enriched by this diversity and with eight books now published since 1981 can positively assert that both the original objectives have been achieved: to disseminate knowledge on the social history of Europeans in South Asia; and to raise funds to preserve and record their monuments.

Theon Wilkinson



It is hard to believe that Rosie Llewellyn-Jones, the talented and dedicated editor of Chowkidar, had no family connections with India. She was born in Gloucestershire and lived there until, at the age of twenty-one she went to stay with her father-in-law Jack Rust, a teacher in Rajasthan. He clearly had a strong influence on her life; although she hated India at first, the taste was slowly acquired, the addiction grew, and in 1969 she made her way to the School of Oriental and African Studies to read Hindi. After a year, however, she switched to Urdu, finding that language and culture more congenial. In 1973 she obtained a first-class honours degree in Urdu and then began work on her thesis on the inter-dependence of British and Indian cultures and architectural styles in Lucknow which she completed in 1980. She returns to India whenever she can, the last time being in 1985 for the launch of her book A Fatal Friendship, based on her thesis.

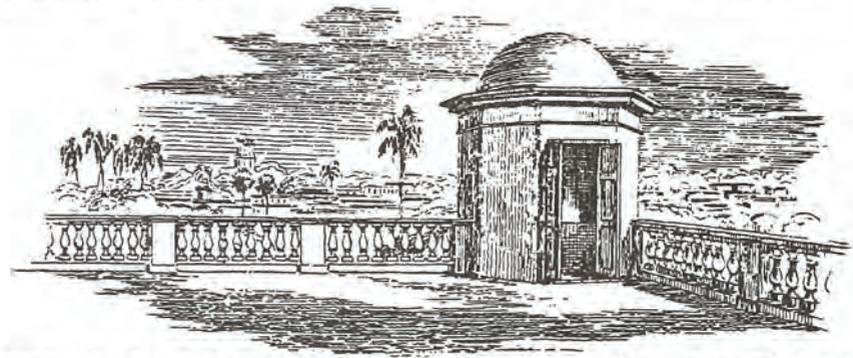
Her present very full-time occupation is as a co-ordinator and administrator at the Architectural Association School of Architecture, with special responsibility for the fourth and fifth year students. It entails interviewing, keeping records, nannying the students through their end-of-year examinations (RIBA Part 2), arranging for visiting lecturers, organising field trips abroad. 'Sometimes' she sighs, 'I get so pre-occupied with the travel arrangements that I find myself referring to the students as the passengers'. Recently she was elected a Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society and a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts. She does quite a lot of editing and writing for Indian magazines, is the London correspondent of Architecture & Design (Delhi) and does some editing for the Delhi Recorder. At the moment she is engaged in translating (from Urdu) the diary of a nineteenth century Indian who came to England in 1837 and recorded his impressions of what he found here.

Edward Johnston is another member of the Executive Committee with a demanding full time job. His father and uncle were both in the ICS and he himself first went to India in the Army in 1942, serving in the 42nd and 43rd Cavalry. After Independence he returned to India as a businessman and stayed until 1972. His work in the Eastern States Agency took him to many remote parts of rural India unknown to most Europeans and also to East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) where he was with the Midnapore Zemindary Company and lived on one of the old indigo estates. He has been on the staff of the British Legion since January 1974 and is now Assistant Secretary of the Poppy Appeal. This is as important as ever, with veterans of the Second World War now getting to the age when they need help. He is also honorary secretary of the Indian Cavalry Officers Association.

BACSA's youngest Executive Committee member, Sue Farrington, gave up a career in the Foreign Office in order to record the details of every British grave in Pakistan. She first became interested in the subject when she found, in an old family album, a picture of a gravestone recording Sir Charles Farrington of the Native Infantry, who died at Mussoorie in 1828. She was delighted when the Foreign Office posted her to Islamabad for five months.

But in order to devote more time to her new interest, she exchanged the Office for a slightly less demanding appointment as PA to Colonel John Blashford-Snell, director of Operation Raleigh. Under the patronage of HRH the Prince of Wales, this is a four-year round the world expedition for seventeen to twenty-four year olds from all five continents. Each expedition lasts three months and contains elements of community service, scientific research and adventure, the overall aim being leadership training. Selection in Britain is increasingly being concentrated on young people from inner cities and deprived backgrounds and to date over a thousand have been overseas from the United Kingdom alone.

During periods of leave from the expeditions, in addition to undertaking reconnaissance for Operation Raleigh, she has completed the survey of British cemeteries in Dacca begun by Mrs. Rowe, visited Burma with the result that much-needed restoration work has now begun in the Rangoon cantonment cemetery, accompanied BACSA's chairman Michael Stokes surveying about a hundred and twenty churches and cemeteries in Sri Lanka, restricted only by the troubles which precluded entry to the sites in the north of the island. There is an interesting



contrast in Sue's two occupations. On the one hand, most of BACSA's work involves looking backwards and learning from the past. Operation Raleigh, on the other hand, is a project of the future - giving young people an opportunity to broaden their horizons and on return to their home countries, contribute their experiences to the welfare and benefit of others less fortunate than themselves. The ideal fusion of these two worlds would be a project for Operation Raleigh Venturers to clear and restore a cemetery. Pakistan will be hosting an Operation Raleigh expedition in 1987. With its links with the Royal Geographical Society, and the burial of George Hayward in Gilgit, it would be a fitting task for the restoration of that cemetery to be undertaken by the Venturers while working in the northern areas of the country. Plans, says Sue, are afoot....!

If Hambros Bank are unaware of just how much BACSA work is put in, in his spare time by the Managing Director of their Unit Portfolio Services then it can only be due to the efficiency of the man in

question, John Comyn, BACSA's honorary treasurer. Some of John's ancestors were soldiers of the East India Company; his great-grandfather, John Cave-Browne, wrote Punjab and Delhi in 1857, a standard work on the Mutiny which was extensively quoted by the Indian Government in the official centenary history of the Mutiny. John has been in Asia as a soldier, tea-planter and businessman. He came home in 1969 and joined Hambros, the merchant bankers. His main concern at present is with setting up their unit portfolio services. A minimum of £10,000 will be accepted into a spread of unit trusts of which a maximum of one third in any one portfolio will be Hambros. It is a discretionary service, and independent of unit trust managers or the investment part of the Bank.

He is also secretary of the Friends of the Diocese of Barrackpore, where John Cave-Browne was chaplain just after the Mutiny; and he is chairman of the Johnson Society of London which meets on the third Saturday of the six winter months to hear a paper in the vestry of St. Edmund, Lombard Street, and annually to lay a wreath in Westminster Abbey. He and his wife and two small children go down to his house in Herefordshire every weekend but papers accompany him even there. He modestly stresses that Rosemarie Wilkinson takes a great deal of the treasurer's chores off him and that he could not operate without the magnificent work on covenanted tax reclaims done by Geoffrey Haig.

It is of course a fact that the bulk of the work for BACSA is done by the Wilkinsons; it is only their total commitment which has made the venture possible. In an average day, eight hours is spent by them on gainful employment, eight on eating and sleeping and the remaining eight on BACSA. Rosemarie's father, Captain Percy McClenaghan MC of the 5th/8th Punjabis was killed in Lahore in 1930; Rosemarie, then a baby, was brought home, never to return. Since 1954 she has been a pillar of the Church of England Children's Society and is now Chairman of the Social Work Committee with a budget of £8,000,000, as well as being on the Council and the Finance Committee. She has a great deal of reading and travelling to do, and is a member of the adoption panel which deals with 'hard to place' children - older, handicapped or difficult in other ways - and says it is heartening to find how many people are not only willing but eager to offer a home to these children.

As well as being the assistant-treasurer for BACSA, she designs the covers for the publications, is responsible for the membership and sending out all the literature. She has just received from the GPO the information leaflets about the new postage rates for all over the world, and was delighted to see herself addressed as 'The Despatch Manager, BACSA' - a suitable if somewhat inadequate title. She gives a great deal of moral and practical support to her son Wynyard, the silver expert. She did the indexes for his first two books and is standing by for the third, due out soon, which is about European silver smiths who worked in India in the 18th and 19th centuries. Rosemarie also does tapestry, upholstery and furniture restoration

professionally for friends. She makes time for golf. I always suspected the Wilkinsons were superhuman and this ability to create time itself confirms it.

To the discerning eye the bare facts of Theon Wilkinson's career provide a clue to his character. After the usual Raj childhood he was commissioned into the 3rd Queen Alexandra's Own Gurkha Rifles and at the age of nineteen was Captain and adjutant of the Training Centre of four thousand recruits at Dehra Dun. After a period with the 10th Indian Division in Italy he went on to Oxford and then into the Colonial Service in Kenya, becoming a District Commissioner on the Ethiopian/Somali border. In 1954 he returned to England and started what was to become a long and intimate relationship with the world of trade unions, employers and British industrial problems. In 1968 he became industrial relations adviser to all the United Kingdom universities (45) dealing with the problems of the non-teaching staffs. Then in 1972 he went with his son Wyn on the now historic journey back to India which was to give rise to Two Monsoons. In 1974 he left the university job in order to write the book.

He kept in touch with the world of industrial relations by running his own free-lance consultancy until, in 1979, he accepted a full time appointment with the Institute of Personnel Management. He is at present the Manager, Employee Relations, which brings him into contact with such organizations as the CBI, TUC and ACAS; an average day might bring him face to face with Norman Willis or with the Under-Secretary at the Department of Employment. Theon has been much concerned with the current movement to encourage employee involvement in industry and in this connection has produced A Code on Employee Involvement and Participation which lays down the principles of good practice in employee involvement and urges employers to adopt them.

Just a few of the titles of the books which he has compiled and edited is enough to show the range of his work: A Practical Guide on Closed Shop Ballots, How to Introduce New Technology, Communication in Practice, A Guide in Workplace Ballots. We are lucky to benefit from those qualities which made a nineteen year old an adjutant in 1943. BACSA runs well because Theon has organised it well. He makes pukka bandobasts.

Cynthia Langdon-Davies



## BACSA AND THE WILKINSONS

The tenth anniversary of the foundation of BACSA and the issue of this commemorative number of its Chowkidar journal provides a fitting occasion to pay tribute to Theon Wilkinson, who has acted as Honorary Secretary ever since its foundation in 1976. All those who have followed our activities over these past years will join me in testifying that Theon was not only its creator, but also its architect and moving spirit. Without his leadership and direction there would probably never have been an Association such as BACSA, pledged to honour our British forebears in India by helping to care for the cemeteries, churches and graves which commemorate their demise in a far away land.

Both he and Rosemarie have had close and enduring connections with pre-Independence British India; I hesitate to make use of that much abused term 'Raj' to describe the land of adoption of so many of our members! Both he and she were born in India and lived there as children. Theon himself was a third generation product: his maternal grandfather and his father followed careers in the northern provinces of the sub-continent. Each of them was closely identified with the development of the woollen and cotton textile industries at Cawnpore in the UP and in the Punjab. The latter made perhaps the deeper impression, as he rose to be the head of his concern and to become in time a director of the Pioneer Press as well as a member of the Legislative Council of the UP.

Theon himself spent his childhood in Cawnpore and, like so many of his kind, was sent when he grew older to England to continue his schooling. This enables me to record a memorable coincidence, for not only he, but three other distinguished colleagues who has each played a leading role in our activities, were all Radleians: John Worsley, our past President, the late Gofin Hamilton, formerly of the Corps of Guides, and John Comyn, our Treasurer. But when this interlude came to an end, Theon was quickly back in India. On the outbreak of war, he passed through the officers' training school at Bangalore and was commissioned into the 3rd Queen Alexandra's Own Gurkha Rifles with which he saw service at their Centre and in Italy. Later he went up to Oxford (Worcester College) to gain his degree preparatory, so he hoped, to making a career for himself in the ICS. But this ambition was overtaken by events and the ending of British Rule. Instead he did the next best thing: he entered the Colonial Service and spent some years as a District Officer in Kenya, finishing as a District Commissioner, on its wild north west Frontier until he returned to England in 1954.

As he says himself, he and his family combine the careers elements of many BACSA members, the Army, business, administration and the frontier. He now specializes in industrial relations and personnel management and has exchanged African chiefs for less amenable Trades Union Officials in his latest incarnation. Rosemarie, his wife and helper, also had an Indian upbringing: her father was in the Indian Army and his two brothers had distinguished careers out there: one

in the ICS and the other in the well-known firm of Ralli Brothers. But Theon could not distance himself from India. He was back there in 1972 with his son. It was then that he caught the inspirational bug leading him to interest himself in the preservation of the hundreds of European cemeteries and tombs, which by reason of prolonged neglect and lack of maintenance were in imminent danger of literally ceasing to exist. Two further visits in 1974 and 1975, during which he travelled extensively in every region of his country carrying out detailed inspections and recording fast disappearing inscriptions and epitaphs in out of the way places and crumbling cemeteries, convinced him that there was a pressing need to draw the attention, before it was too late, of interested persons and institutions, to the nature of the problem in the hope that something might be done to preserve the memory of our ancestors and the part they played in endowing a British heritage in India.

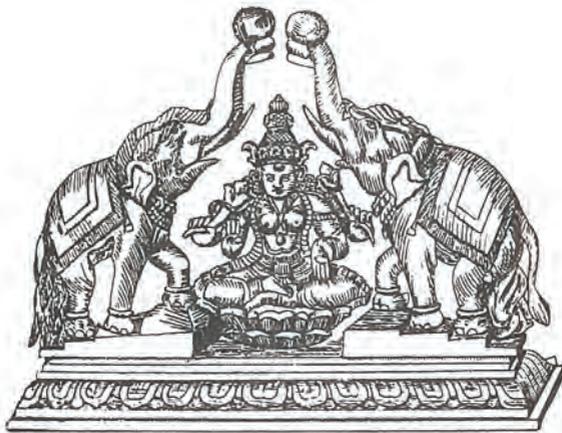
His efforts took the form of his justly acclaimed book 'Two Monsoons' published in 1976 which aroused the interest he sought to achieve and which became the very genesis of BACSA as we know it. Shortly before publication, Theon circularized Indian Army Regimental Associations seeking their support in forming a group of 'Friends' to work for the restoration and maintenance of the major cemeteries in the sub-continent. This initiative had the enthuastic support of Major General 'Moti' Dyer, an ex-Indian Cavalryman, who appealed for their co-operation (which was immediately forthcoming) to Field Marshal Sir Gerald Templer and Lady Slim. An inaugural meeting of seventy-six well-wishers (of which I am proud to have been one) took place at the Cavalry Club in Piccadilly and unanimously decided to form themselves into an Association dedicated to the desired purposes. Very soon meetings were being held, often at the National Army Museum of which the Field Marshal was President. On the Council and the Executive Committee of the new Association representatives were appointed of the various components of British endeavour in India. The British and Indian armies, the Civil, Political and Police Services, the Church and missionary societies, Business houses and planters, to name just a few. Today the membership consists of four categories - members; overseas members-associate members and reciprocating group members.

Each year the number joining exceeds those who have regrettably fallen by the wayside. Throughout the decade, the main burden of directing our activities has fallen on the dozen or so dedicated members of the Executive Committee who are responsible for our activities and the distribution of the available funds to further the BACSA purposes of repairing and preserving what remains of the old cemeteries and monuments. While in no way detracting from the splendid and self-sacrificing performance of these ladies and gentlemen, I must return to my initial theme that our activities would have been haphazard and perhaps less effective but for the presence behind the scenes of our indefatigable and unpaid Honorary Secretary, Theon Wilkinson. He is and always has been, our inspiration and guide, or in that expressive vernacular phrase, our veritable 'man-bap!'

How he and Rosemarie have managed during ten long years and in their spare time, to handle the massive correspondence arising out of our activities, not only in the sub-continent but also in the countries of South Asia, the research into and study of problems presented by the volume of enquiries that descend on them by every post and phone call, and the collation of records and burial registers, photographs and documents, has been a source of wonderment to all who come in contact with them.

On top of this, they attend all Committee meetings, prepare the agenda and record and implement the decisions, and all this and more when each of them has his and her own normal business or work to get through. But whatever the pressure, the secretarial work for BACSA is carried out with unfailing courtesy, exemplary patience backed by a deep and detailed specialised knowledge of the subject, which is cheerfully placed at the disposal of a vast circle of correspondents and interested parties. All who have our cause at heart have good reason to be deeply grateful to Theon and Rosemarie Wilkinson for their inspiration and dedication. Nor do I forget Theon's sister, Zoë Yalland, whose book on the history of the old Mughal Kingdom of Oudh is shortly to appear. She is an acknowledged expert on the ancient cities of Lucknow and Cawnpore where she was brought up. The Wilkinson's only son, Wyn caught the India bug at an early age too, and is the leading authority on British silversmiths who worked in India before 1860. They are a family truly steeped in India.

Sir John Cotton



#### HOW 'CHOWKIDAR' BEGAN

During the Spring of 1977 I was in the nerve-wracking transitional period of leaving academic life and launching myself into the 'real world'. For seven years I had led the sheltered existence of an under-graduate and then post-graduate student at SOAS. Eventually I came to the end of my grant (though not the end of my thesis) and it was time to find a job. Untrained for anything except conversing with nineteenth century Urdu writers, I was afraid my long connections with India would soon be severed. I was thus delighted when a friend told me of an odd society in which she thought I might be interested. It met twice a year, was then known as the Indo-British Cemeteries Association and was concerned solely with British graves in the East.

The idea appealed to my eccentric nature. For years I had not considered a visit to any small town complete unless I had spent at least half an hour in its graveyard and to find two of my great passions combined in one was too good to miss. Curious, I attended the second meeting of what was later to become BACSA, at the National Army Museum on 30 March 1977. I knew nobody there and sat quietly at the back of a crowded hall wondering if I had intruded into a private club since everybody there seemed to know each other. But I was made welcome and in fact was something of a curiosity myself, being at that time, the youngest member.

The aims of BACSA, simply stated, were so instantly appealing to me that the next day I phoned Theon Wilkinson and asked if there was a special student rate of subscription. (I was still very poor.) Theon had to admit that he had not thought of this, as he didn't think students would be interested, but we agreed to meet and discuss it. A month later I started my first full time post-graduate job as a community worker in South London. I had hoped that my knowledge of Urdu would put me in touch with the Asian community where I lived. This proved not to be the case and I quickly got bored with sitting in endless planning meetings where everything was discussed, but very little done. The Community Office was however to provide useful facilities....

While a student, I had started working on a community magazine in Wandsworth, with a group of friends. Unpaid, we met in each others' houses and produced a monthly magazine that ran for five years. None of us were trained in editing, lay-out, graphics or indeed writing for the public. But we learnt on the job. The magazine attracted bright young people (at one time there were three Cambridge-trained psychologists on the editorial staff) and four of the group subsequently became full time journalists.

Perhaps it was this that led Theon to approach me during the summer with the idea of bringing out a newsletter for BACSA. I was flattered and enthusiastic about the proposal. It was so close to my heart that I didn't hesitate for a moment. Theon handed me some correspondence from members (even then there was no shortage of letters and material) and I went away to juggle them into something readable and informative.

The first newsletter was an experimental issue. If members' reactions had been unfavourable it would have been quietly dropped. The title was a problem. I wanted something which would be recognisable and would encapsulate BACSA's aims. Various frivolous suggestions were made, including 'Grave News' and 'Among the Tombs' which I firmly rejected. Inspiration came suddenly quite unprompted, one evening when I recalled the old habit of India's watchmen, who would patrol the urban streets, crying out the hours and guarding the sleeping town. 'Chowkidar' - of course - the watchman. BACSA was to patrol the Asian cemeteries, report back where something was wrong and to provide the means to put it right. It was also to 'cry out the hours' thus opening peoples' eyes and ears to the urgent needs of the cemeteries at that time.

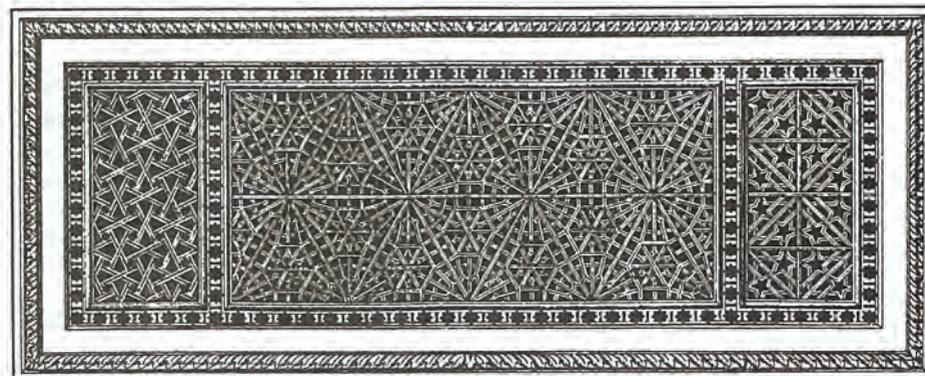
The Wilkinsons were enthusiastic about the title and Rosemarie immediately brought out a delicate little mica square depicting a 19th century 'watchman' from a Company painting. This was traced onto a sheet of paper and Rosemarie carefully drew in a background of tombs so it was quite clear what he was watching. With Theon's help, the text was assembled and now we had an illustration we were ready to publish. But how could this be done cheaply? For only two hundred copies it was not worth sending to a printer. Then I remembered the old Gestetner machine in a backroom at the Community Office. Before the marvellous advent of the photo-copier, these machines provided the cheapest method of copying. They were simple but laborious to use. (I saw one recently in a glass case in Birmingham Museum, which is just where they belong). Stencils had to be cut on a typewriter and one mistake meant that the stencil 'skin' had to be sealed up again (nail varnish was excellent for this) and then re-cut. Illustrations were traced in pencil then cut with stencil 'pens'. (I wonder if Birmingham Museum need any of these?) The finished stencil was threaded on to the Gestetner, inked and run off onto heavy absorbent paper. Only about 400 copies could be produced from one stencil before it became too soggy. The six pages of Chowkidar's first issue were then laid out in piles of 200 each and collated on my kitchen table.

In September 1977 the first issue was posted to members by Rosemarie (who today sends out over a thousand) and since no-body objected, Chowkidar has continued to be published twice yearly ever since. I soon left the Community Office (and its Gestetner) for a more congenial job, though a friend of mine who was still working there, kindly continued to run Chowkidar off for a couple more issues. As BACSA's membership grew we needed to find new ways of producing more copies. For some time Theon arranged to have it photo-copied from the typed original and I collated it by hand. As its numbers and pages increased this became a lengthier task. My daughter soon came to dread those invitations to dinner when I would say lightly 'Let's just collate Chowk and then we can clear the table and eat'. We were also limited to reproducing only line drawings, and were increasingly aware of the excellent photographs sent in which we could not share with our readers.

It was Theon again who suggested Chowkidar was now large enough to be properly printed from my type-script, which meant we could reproduce photographs by the off-set litho method. Collating could then be done automatically though stapling was continued by hand for some time. In order to mark the end of one volume (of five issues) and the beginning of another, coloured covers were adopted, though the format was still A4 which is rather unwieldy for a thin magazine. In April 1985 we decided to adopt a smaller, more manageable format and this brings us to the present day. Now all I have to do is to type out the text, which is then reduced, caption the photographs, which are screened and inserted by the printers and wait eagerly for the finished product to appear.

Last minute panics still occur of course, the most serious is running out of space half way through an article. (Because of postage costs, Chowkidar can only be a certain length). When this happens I have to be guided by the old journalistic maxim 'It's not "all the news that's fit to print" it's "all the news that fits"'. I hope readers will bear with me if they feel their letters have been too severely edited. Without these letters of course there would be no Chowkidar. We have learned not to be surprised at the range of topics covered nor the breadth of knowledge we can call upon over difficult queries. Elsewhere in this Souvenir number, readers will find a well deserved tribute to Theon and Rosemarie. I would like to pay them my own for their endless help and encouragement. They are never too busy to look up obscure references, advise me about illustrations and provide constant hospitality and friendship. Chowkidar owes them a great debt.

Rosie Llewellyn-Jones



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## CAN YOU HELP?

Letters asking for help with tracing family history a generation or two further back or wishing to know if a particular grave still exists, arrive regularly at 76½ Chartfield Avenue from members and non-members alike. If a short answer can easily be found by the Secretary in the published lists of inscriptions known as the 'Provincial Series' made in the early part of this century, or from his personal knowledge, it is given. More usually the query is complex and imprecise in certain details and is passed to a research co-ordinator - at present the wife of the Chairman. She replies explaining how the problem might be solved and asking for an initial fee towards the costs involved - usually £5.00

A typical (fictitious) example, devised by the editor, comes in three parts with fascinating details that almost demand that a novel be written around them. Mrs. Marston-Corvett wants to know if the grave of her father-in-law can be found. Lieutenant Colonel John ('Jack') Chester Marston-Corvett died in about 1895 from cholera while returning from a punitive expedition on the Frontier. His body was believed to have been brought back to the cantonment and his daughter-in-law thinks she once saw a photograph of the tomb, probably in Fazelganj. In this case there might well be an obituary and description of the tomb in the Provincial Series. A senior officer dying after a military operation would no doubt merit a handsome memorial and possibly a plaque in the cantonment church. We might also be lucky and find that the existing graves in this cemetery (Fazelgarh, not Fazelganj as Mrs. Marson-Corvett remembers it) have been logged, and, best of all, that Sue Farrington has a photograph of the Lieutenant Colonel's fine tomb. In this happy event, a copy can be sent to our enquirer, who will, no doubt, be pleased to pay the fee for the use of the records and the cost of the photo. If the subject of the enquiry had been of lower rank and perhaps buried by the roadside where he died, success in finding his resting place is, sadly, much less likely.

Mrs. Marson-Corvett then asks about her maternal grandmother, the wife of a missionary sent in the 1820's to a remote area of central India by a small missionary society, subsequently amalgamated into a larger organisation. The 'Native Heathen' he was sent to convert were not welcoming and, in a raid on the bungalow, Mrs. Eliza Jenkins was murdered, or so our enquirer thought. She offers BACSA a chance to read some interesting letters from her grandmother, which we are delighted to accept. This problem will first have to go to one of our panel of researchers who are experienced in using the records at the India Office Library to see whether the death and burial of Mrs. Jenkins was recorded in the Ecclesiastical Returns of the births, marriages and deaths occurring in the appropriate Presidency. This will cost our correspondent a minimum of £5 for every hour of work needed to find (or not find) the entry and to pursue other sources if necessary. She might find that no returns exist for the period and district concerned and would then perhaps approach the Church Missionary



Guides Chapel, Mardan



Broken tomb, Peshawar



BACSA Authors: top left Mollie Kaye, top right Gillian Tindall, bottom left Geoffrey Moorhouse, bottom right Alan Ross. Centre Charles Allen - an early photograph!



Nicholson's Cemetery, Delhi after clearing



Rangoon Cemetery today

Society to see if they have any relevant records. It could be that we are unable to find any reference at all to Mrs. Jenkins' death or burial. If we are more fortunate, an entry in the records might suggest that she did not die at once from her ordeal, but that her husband was able to get her to medical help in a nearby town before she finally succumbed. However, we have no up-to-date information about the cemeteries there and when a report is received several months later from a member travelling in the area, it is only to say that the undergrowth in the only cemetery he could locate was so thick and the roaming dogs so fierce that no attempt could be made to examine the graves. This becomes one more on the list of cemeteries needing a local rescue committee.

Mrs. Marston-Corvett's final query is a romantic and intriguing story concerning a relative who married into a native royal family, became a convert to the Muslim faith, built an observatory for his father-in-law, stocked with instruments specially ordered from London, and eventually designed his own tomb to stand in its ground. We would send this problem to the member of the Executive Committee with an interest in the area. He, perhaps, finds, from a contact there, that the observatory instruments were removed during the last war as the Japanese advanced and are now in the local University. The magnificent tomb, however, having almost succumbed to the weather and the vegetation, has now been cleared by a local enthusiastic historian and BACSA is being asked for financial help in restoring the plinth and replacing the marble inscription tablet found being used as a table-top in a nearby tea-shop.

Let us hope that Mrs. Marston-Corvett is so delighted with our help in trying to close some of the gaps in the family story she is compiling for her grandchildren, that she joins the Association and feels able to offer a substantial sum towards the rescue work.

Prue Stokes



## THE FAMILY HISTORY DIMENSION

Family History begins with the 'begats' - the tree of Adam's descendants that staggers us with examples of longevity in thirty-two verses of Genesis Five - yet genealogy as a popular avocation was seldom heard of a quarter century ago. Little more than a decade has elapsed since Theon Wilkinson drew attention to the loss of an important source of genealogical detail through the obliteration of monuments and/or their inscriptions in former imperial territories. These Britons did not live anything like as long as Adam's direct descendants. The title of his book Two Monsoons, refers to 'fevers and fluxes...which common fatality...created a Proverb...that 'Two Mussouns are the age of man'.

The Reverend James Ovington, who used these terms in 1690, knew what he was talking about. A chaplain in the expanding overseas service of British trade interests, his task was to officiate at the hurried funeral ceremonies of European casualties in Surat and, recording personal particulars less hurriedly, he studied the gravestones and 'stately monuments' by which the deceased were commemorated. Inevitably, such early inscriptions have long been effaced by weather or defaced by persons for whom they had no symbolism. Very few pre-1800 graves remained in India at the time of partition to recall the existence of Britons, or other Europeans, who had served or served in the sub-continent of mystic Mughal heritage.

Somewhere at home in the British Isles, the baptism (as distinct from date of birth) of these long dead individuals would have been recorded by a parish priest, whose duty it was then to forward annually copies - Bishop's Transcripts - for incorporation into diocesan records. Civil registration of births, marriages and death in England and Wales began on 1 July 1837, whilst Huguenots, Quakers and other Non-Conformists or similar established sects maintained records of their own. Roman Catholics, emerging from recusancy, tended to baptise babies in the seclusion of a private chapel. Only in the third quarter of the twentieth century did such records find their way as a regular practice into official archives: County Record Offices, the Society of Genealogists, the Public Record Office, the General Register Office (St. Catherine's House, London WC 2) and, within defined categories, the India Office Library.

Genealogical research has other and wider available sources. The study of family history is not a pretension of the landed classes - for whom, in effect, it has always constituted an essential factor of inheritance and proprietorship. Less comfortably-fixed members of the population were covered by Poor Law as far back as 1598 by an Act amended in 1834. This Law required parishes to provide for their badly-off brethren by means of a rate levied upon occupiers of property. Should a parishoner want to move on, he with his family required a removal certificate from the Parish Council, and all may be further documented by settlement certificates, bastardy bonds, apprenticeship indentures and - of particular interest in a BACSA context - by appearance upon

a ship's manifest. Sailing lists (with at least one copy left at the port of embarkation) specify everyone on board, and casualties en route were entered in the ship's log. Before the Suez Canal opened in 1869 it was a long haul 'down to the bottom of Africa and turn left' so Cape Colony archives occasionally yield information about travellers who did not get as far as India.

Thus, even with the assistance of an experienced researcher, discovering the fate of an early member of one's family can be a lengthy task; initially frustrating, eventually rewarding. A satisfactory crop of discoveries arises out of the purveying or exchange between Family History societies of data about Strays. In genealogical parlance a Stray is an entry in any records which include references to more than one topographical unit (eg a county), and which entry might not be found easily by a searcher studying a county or an index in expectation of finding the background data there. That practice, in BACSA terms, is the information gleaned from tablets in churches; memorial inscriptions commemorating members of a family or a military formation who died in India before 1947.

Notification of Strays between county Family History societies complements the regular Family History journal feature of individual queries. The value is self-evident, but a successful tie-up brings added fascination - a sensation akin to finding the last clue in a difficult crossword or the final sections in a jigsaw. And then there are the pen-friends one acquires; informative, naturally, about the subject under discussion, and likely to become committed to its research; interesting about themselves and their background; sometimes witty correspondents. The essential practice of genealogical research requiring by its very nature written records, the art of letter-writing may turn out to be a welcome spin-off of the Family History manufactory!

Elizabeth de Bourbel

#### BACSA'S RECORD ARCHIVE

Before BACSA was born I had brought back from India a suitcase full of notes of cemeteries in India, over one thousand of them, which I had been allowed to copy from the files held by the British High Commission thanks to the High Commissioner at the time, Sir Michael Walker, who, with his wife, became one of our earliest members. I remember clearly sitting for days on end in the office put aside for me, with a bearer bringing me tea at frequent intervals until the task was completed. I was quite unsure what to do with all this information until Joan Lancaster Lewis, the then Director of the India Office Library and Records suggested setting up a BACSA archive there and Tony Farrington devised a standard form as a basis for opening a file on each town and each cemetery within that town. It was still going to be a massive task to transfer all my untidy notes to this control form and the solution was found in appealing to volunteers to come to Putney to help. Soon Rosemarie was acting as khitmagar, khansama and

bearer to teams of members who came for a day (10.00 am to 4.00 pm) and sat round a bridge table filling in the forms and opening the files. The local knowledge that people brought helped greatly to sort out the confusion over names and spelling which inevitably arose from time to time. When the job was done, we had in effect 'socket' files to receive and build up information on nearly every cemetery in India, and a standard basis for recording additional information and logging new material as it came in. These files were then taken to the India Office Library and Records where permanent town/cemetery labels were added and an alphabetical card index prepared. As photographs, reports on cemetery visits and other relevant information come in to me at Putney, I label them with the donor and date and take them to the IOL&R on my next visit where they are added to the appropriate file and 'tied' to the control form. Great care is taken to avoid unnecessary duplication and where information is known to exist in various publications or in other institutions, such as the National Army Museum or the Society of Genealogists, there is a place to note this on the control form.

These files are not open to the public nor to BACSA members in the normal way, but ultimately when the file is hopefully bulging with photographs, information and cross-references, one of our members will take it up through the Executive Committee as a Records publication, as Alan Harfield has done with publications on Singapore, Malacca and Bencoolen, as Zoë Yalland has done with the Kacheri Cemetery in Kanpur and as others are in the process of doing with particular cemeteries in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. Then these monographs will be available to members and to other interested parties, particularly University Libraries and Family History Societies, as a comprehensive account of all the known information from all sources on that particular cemetery. This is a slow and daunting task but in the years ahead when BACSA is perhaps celebrating its golden jubilee and many of the abandoned cemeteries in South Asia will have all but disappeared, these photographs, biographical notes and cemetery booklets will be all that remain to posterity.

Theon Wilkinson

#### NOT JUST TOMBS

While the primary aims and objectives of BACSA were, and still are, the preservation and recording of European cemeteries in South Asia, it soon became clear that the membership by their own enthusiasm and diverse interests were developing a number of distinct but complementary side-lines. A group of architects took a keen interest in records and photographs of those monuments with unique architectural features, perhaps a combination of classical and oriental styles; some archaeologists showed concern over the disappearance of important tombs particularly in remote places, such as that of Thomas Hicks the earliest known European grave in Afghanistan, dated 1666; and authors sought materials for their next book, whether details of dak bungalows

or some other background feature. Members began to donate not only photographs of tombs and monuments they had come across during their service abroad but those of their family; a child, a brother or sister, a parent or grand-parent. These were often linked together in a family tree and so a special Family History Section was opened in our archive. Other donations were in the form of books, post-cards, menus, dance-cards, cook's chitties, dolls, badges, medals, coins, stamps, silver trophies and paintings. We refused nothing; some were obviously appropriate to our main theme and purpose or would embellish a BACSA exhibition at a later date such as the buttons of Flora Butcher, the medical missionary who was killed on the Frontier in the 1920's; others we shared with a more appropriate museum and collection, such as the India Office Library and Records, the National Army Museum, the Cambridge Centre for South Asian Studies and the Commonwealth War Graves Commission and we soon found we were developing close links with these institutions and were especially pleased to see their representatives attending our meetings regularly.

Theon Wilkinson



#### ANNUAL OUTINGS

Our first trip in 1978 with a small group of members on a long train journey to Colne in Lancaster, was a hectic misadventure which allowed us only the briefest of views of the British in India Museum privately built up and run by Henry Nelson, one of our members. This, however, had something which our other much larger and more

organised excursions lacked - a glimpse of the everyday side of life of the British in India. Those magnificent country houses which we visited in the succeeding years gave us the pomp and pageantry but not the small change of the daily round. Would that such a collection were on permanent show a little nearer London. When it came to selecting places with an obvious Britain-India connection it was a bit surprising that there were not more of them within easy reach of London. Knebworth, Basildon, Bowood, Bateman's, Kedleston were visited in turn by about 35 - 40 members travelling independently by car, meeting at a lunch rendez-vous and then spending an afternoon looking round the house. They offered a glimpse of different periods; the nabob era of Hastings at Basildon, the Victorian heyday of the Lyttons and Lansdownes at Knebworth and Bowood and the Edwardian splendour of Curzon's Kedleston. The impeccable layout and expertise behind Basildon and Bowood contrasted with the charmingly haphazard display

in an old squash court at Knebworth where nevertheless the audio-visual gadgetry evoked the picnic-and-crinoline character of the time. In this respect Kedleston was a bit of a disappointment, where in the basement of one of the great houses of Europe were heaped together the trophies and relics of high office, with no historical background or commentary for the general public. Bateman's proved very popular, a place charged with atmosphere in the lee of misty Pook's Hill where one walks into Kipling's daily routine.

BACSA also visited the Festival of India exhibitions in organised parties; at the 'India and Britain' show at the Commonwealth Institute and 'India Observed' at the V & A where we benefitted from the profound knowledge of Dr. Mildred Archer who showed us round. Where else is there to go? We look forward to visiting Powys Castle one day when Clive's treasures are on view to the public again and to give some of our members in the North-West a chance to join in. Those in the North-East had an opportunity to take part in the small excursion to Sledmere House this summer to see the miniature Durbar Exhibition.

John Wall

#### MEETINGS AND TALKS

Members living in the depths of the country who can only very occasionally link up with one of the BACSA outings to their area and are unable to attend our General Meetings may be interested in a brief resumé of where we have met in London during this BACSA decade and the speakers who have entertained us on a variety of subjects.

The National Army museum was our first base, and twice a year, spring and autumn, we assembled there and then marched down to Pimlico for a splendid curry and mango lunch at the Shah Jahan Restaurant. Due to building extensions taking place we had to find other temporary quarters and were lucky enough to be offered for successive meetings the Royal United Services Institute in Whitehall, the State Apartments of the Royal Hospital, Chelsea, and the Royal Commonwealth Society. Returning to the National Army Museum, our numbers soon exceeded the catering capacity there, and we found a new room at the Commonwealth Institute which is appropriately called the Jehangir Room and we have continued to meet there ever since with a bar and buffet of curry and rice and samosas afterwards.

Once a year it has been customary to have a film show or talk on some aspect of South Asia, not necessarily connected with our activities but for general entertainment. These have turned out to be extraordinarily popular and have covered a wide range of subjects: from 'Films of the Raj' (Cambridge Centre for South Asia Studies) with delightfully informal clips from private cinés in the 1930's; 'I will make you a name' (Commonwealth War Graves Commission) on First and Second World War cemeteries; talks on monumental architecture (Dr. James

Stevens Curl); the British in India Oral Archives (John Harrison of SOAS); Kipling's Burma (George Webb) Tipu's Seringapatam (Anne Buddle of the V & A); and, most recently, the Royal Indian Navy and the Parsi ship-building (Arthur King and Charles Allen). All have proved very stimulating to the general buzz of conversation in the queues which inevitably form around the bar and curry dishes immediately afterwards. BACSA is nothing if not a social organisation!

Theon Wilkinson

#### SPINNING OFF FROM BACSA!

'Spin-offs' give a picture of something going round and round, ever faster, with objects flying out at a tangent; that is not so unlike what has been happening with BACSA in the world of publicity. Who would have imagined ten years ago that films, TV, radio, press and journals would have had features on BACSA? Prem Kapoor came from Bombay in 1979 with an idea of making a film about the British in India based on their tombstones. This resulted in film sequences of a number of BACSA members talking about their family connections with India while Richard Attenborough provided the historical commentary against a background of tombstones. The film was not surprisingly called Two Monsoons and was shown to a variety of audiences in this country (at the Royal Commonwealth Society) and in India, at the Bombay Historical Society, the Delhi British Council and the Kanpur Club..

The television references were only indirectly to do with BACSA but showed the extent to which we were becoming known. A documentary on Ruth Jhabvala of Heat & Dust fame required background pictures of old cemeteries which we were able to provide and add to our coffers at the same time. The Timewatch programme on The Fighting Ten with interviews with Major General Stuart Battye and Evelyn Desiree Battye, the author, also touched briefly on BACSA the publisher and BACSA the archivist who held photographs of many of the Battye tombs at the India Office Library & Records. Radio programmes touching on BACSA have included talks on Pakistan on Woman's Hour and the World Service, by Sue Farrington a couple of months ago, and a taped interview on South Park Street cemetery by Piccadilly Radio as part of the Festival of India programme in 1980. The Press have often given good coverage to BACSA, its projects and publications in both this country and India. References in 'Peterborough' of the Daily Telegraph, occasional reviews of our books in the national press,



letters in The Times and numerous quite long articles in the Indian press on cemeteries in Calcutta, Agra, Kanpur and Delhi. Journals have also been generous in giving space to our aims and activities, particularly in the early days; The Pennant and London Magazine gave us free space. Country Life published a letter following up an article on some of the more remarkable tombs with an appeal for interested readers to contact BACSA. Hazel Craig wrote an article which was published in The Lady on 'The Survivors of Two Monsoons'. Specialist journals have latched on to particular aspects of our activities, such as military history, with regular reviews of our books on those topics in The Military Historical Review, Military Chest and Soldiers of the Queen. Recently we came on a new one, the Police Insignia Collectors Association (PICA), who were very interested in our two Indian Police books, from the angle of uniforms and badges. One of their ardent members lives in Australia and we have sent a set of photographs out.

Australians seem particularly interested in the genealogical and family history side of our activities and we have regular exchanges of information with societies in Queensland, Canberra, and South Australia, to mention a few. Moving to another continent, we also have connections with Newfoundland whose seafarers voyaged to Karachi and Bombay with cargoes of whale oil. There seems to be no end to these proliferating contacts; Universities in this country, the USA, Singapore and Malaysia have shown much interest; BACSA has been represented at formal lunches, dinners and receptions in the City and Clubs. The word is getting around without self-promotion and that is undoubtedly the most effective way to extend our influence.

John Wall and Theon Wilkinson

#### ENVELOPED IN BACSA

At the beginning it seemed a simple task to take on, that of ensuring the envelopes for members were ready and correct on the day required for distribution. With the help of an Austrian octogenarian friend, whose distinctive handwriting many of you will remember, and working on and off between Meetings, this was the case. With the passage of ten years the preparation of envelopes and the stamping thereof has become a complicated and sophisticated exercise! Pauline McCandlish keeps the typed list up-to-date, adding new members, changing addresses, extracting those no longer with us and ensuring that the many honours and titles are correct, including academic qualifications. From this list the addresses are xeroxed, cut up and stuck on the envelopes, divided into geographic locations according to postage area, counted and then the eleven plus test of working out the stamps starts. Up to now Eire and the UK and Channel Islands have been easy, just second class mail; Europe is fine so long as it is remembered that Cyprus, Malta and Turkey belong in that group; the 'A' group is the Gulf, not too many of those; 'B' group is enormous covering India, the USA, Canada and Hong Kong, but not Japan which goes off with the

'C' group to Australia and New Zealand. As all this overseas post goes Printed Paper reduced rate, sometimes Airmail and sometimes Seamail, no one stamp covers the postage so an exercise is set in motion to work out how to get two stamps to reach the required total; is it better to have 17p and 1p or 13p and 5p, twice 13 will make 26 which may be correct for 'A' but not for 'C'. This having been worked out and a cheque obtained then off to Mr. Mistri at the Post Office only to find he hasn't in stock enough 7ps so 3ps and 4ps are substituted - endless complications! Eventually all nine hundred envelopes are stuffed, stamped and ready to go packed in boxes for easy handling and then the Post Office takes over and we relax again.



While handling the envelopes one cannot help but notice how members' interests in the East are reflected now by the names of their houses. Who can fail to conjecture upon a life that finishes in a cottage called Mandalay, Ko-fuk-U, La Martiniere or Jalapahar, names of romance and a constant reminder of far away places?

Rosemarie Wilkinson

#### MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS AT HOME AND ABROAD

When BACSA was launched in 1976 its main objects, then as now, were the preservation and restoration of European cemeteries in South Asia and the recording of monumental inscriptions there by means of transcripts and, where possible, photographs. It was hoped thus, not only to preserve the actual monuments in situ, but to build up in London a corpus of information on the hundreds of thousands of Europeans who had served in South Asia in the armed and civil services, in the church, in missions, education, hospitals, trade, planting and in any other occupations that might emerge. The information thus acquired would be of value for historical research and also for the interested descendants of those recorded. Theon Wilkinson's *Two Monsoons* (1976 and now to be reprinted in paperback) was the pioneer work which encouraged others to follow in his footsteps. When the India Office Library & Records agreed to file the information gathered and also to incorporate it in the name indexes being compiled of the numerous series in the Records of biographical significance, it became clear that it would, in addition, provide an important supplement to the official archival sources which had accumulated there since 1600. As both an operation which would help to fill gaps in the materials thus collected

and a retirement interest, the writer offered in 1978 to record monumental inscriptions of Asian interest in churches and churchyards in the UK. Not only was the idea accepted, but it proved to be unexpectedly popular amongst the membership, who began sending in copies of relevant inscriptions they had found whilst on holiday. The next move was to lay down guidance on the methods of recording so that the materials could be maintained in a systematic way. One of the Assistant Keepers in the IOL&R, Tony Farrington, who was already responsible for the extensive biographical indexes there and for BACSA files, also undertook to compile lists of churches in the UK which had been searched. In order to prevent duplication of effort these were circulated to active MI recorders.

One of the most important contributions to the work was the scheme which the National Association of Decorative and Fine Arts Societies (through Mrs. M.O. Somers-Cocks) sponsored and organised, with the active co-operation of their Kensington and Chelsea Branch, to record the relevant inscriptions in Brompton Cemetery. In conditions of great difficulty, Mrs. Jane Turle and Mrs. Jean Faircloth recorded 163 inscriptions, many of them overgrown and almost indecipherable, and indexed them. There are plans afoot for a similar operation at Kensal Green Cemetery. The Society of Genealogists also generously made available to BACSA xerox copies of lists of burials in the Bath and Cheltenham areas which Brigadier Bullock had made as a labour of love many years before.

To date (Winter 1986) some 1,800 relevant inscriptions in 634 locations in the UK are held in the BACSA Archives at the IOL&R. This figure includes the Brompton Cemetery inscriptions, 124 recorded in Hove and 80 in Nunhead (thanks to Ron Woollacott). Meanwhile the more central plan to record cemeteries and their monumental inscriptions in Asia developed alongside photographic surveys and preservation projects with the enthusiastic co-operation of members who had served in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Ceylon, Burma, Singapore, Malaysia and other parts of Asia. Much of this work was supplemented and checked by information from existing published lists of inscriptions, but primarily it is the result of hard work on the ground - work which has been made more possible by the support of diplomats at British posts there, by members of the relevant governments, by the Archaeological Surveys and by local committees such as APHCI in Calcutta.

In South East Asia itself a steady stream of visiting members each year have painstakingly copied inscriptions and written accounts of the cemeteries. One by one the larger town cemeteries are researched and a monograph published giving details of the inscriptions with a commentary of the social life that emerges. Calcutta, Kanpur, Malacca, Singapore and Bencoolen (Fort Marlborough) have each been the subject of a recent booklet of this nature while a register of deaths and inscriptions in Burma from the earliest European period to 1947 has broken new ground.

Joan Lancaster Lewis

Salim Ali says, in his autobiography *The Fall of a Sparrow* that 'bird watching as a hobby is growing rapidly in popularity along with other civilised outdoor pursuits'. If so, and the authority could hardly be better, this is good news; and Mr. Ali enlarges upon the theme in the same chapter: 'Bird watching provides the excuse for removing myself to where every prospect pleases - up in the mountains or deep in the jungles - away from the noisy rough-and-tumble of the dubious civilisation of this mechanical high-speed age'. A further straw in the wind was a delightful article not long ago in *The Statesman*, about the variety of birds to be found in the Nicholson Cemetery in Old Delhi, where, as the author puts it 'the dead look after the living'. These two quotations brought back to mind an idea that had occurred to me at the very beginning of BACSA's meteoric career, and which has lain dormant since: that it might be possible, given enough local interest and support (and the time does now seem to be ripe for both), to initiate a modest programme for converting neglected burial grounds into small sanctuaries for wild life.

Some experts consider, indeed, that the need for action, on however small a scale, is urgent, and in fact a case could well be made for small, rather than large-scale, projects, particularly perhaps in India. R.E. Hawkins of Bombay has observed that the famous Parson Burrow's Godown, now a public garden off Queen's Road in Bombay, now provides sanctuary only for bandicoots and stray, though no doubt, threatened, cats and dogs. Even Khandala's old burial ground, until recently a favourite place for week-end visitors to ramble round, is fast becoming a lost cause. Its gravestones, he notes, have been looted, and it is just part of the hillside, which is soon to be built over, as all land near holiday resorts is developed for profit. Wild life everywhere is being crowded out, and can usually only survive if large areas are set aside and protected. This is not the less sad for being a familiar story. Could BACSA and APHCI not do something to help?

The sister-organisations have by now assembled enough knowhow in one specific sort of conservation to be able to extend - 'diversify' as the magnates put it - into a neighbouring area of interest. The very nature of a graveyard, after all, embraces the idea of sanctuary, in its physical as well as spiritual aspect. It is true that conservation is to a degree perpetuated by, even dependent upon, neglect, and that to take an abandoned graveyard in hand might easily be a self-defeating exercise unless carefully controlled - one has only to think of the ghastly effect of conservation upon Stonehenge and Tintern, for instance - but a middle way might, perhaps, be trodden between the slide into utter decay and annihilation and the deadly effect of a PWD-type control. In the Himalayas there are official notices nailed on trees, which other official notices implore you to protect from damage. But to look on the brighter side: any burial

ground, even in a city, is by definition a place of relative quiet and seclusion, qualities which naturally recommend themselves to wild creatures. What wild creatures? Birds always get a good press, but the local inhabitants might not look too kindly on a BACSA-funded project which resulted in their sharing their desirable residential neighbourhood with a pair of panthers, for instance. All God's creatures are equal, but some are more equal than others. That is true and so it might be a good thing to direct a little attention to the less popular, but also smaller, fauna. Here again we might take a leaf out of Salim Ali's book, for he was



pleasingly far from that narrowness of outlook which occasionally mars our ornithologists. In fact I once accompanied him on a snake-hunt (as a nondescript hanger-on, in his own apt phrase) and this was memorable for the capture of a single snake, its vital statistics those of an underfed earthworm, but it was of immense importance in the scheme of things reptilian. So we might consider the smaller endangered species: not only snakes, but also butterflies and moths, and those lesser folk, neglected or disliked by all but entomologists, and summed up for all time by Pooh as Rabbit's Friends and Relations.

Of course we must not forget the forget-me-nots. All kinds of flora, mosses, ferns, and grasses, would be considered in such a project, if only as food species. As Kipling wrote in the article on the Simla graveyard, reproduced in the October issue of *Chowkidar*: 'the graveyard is as damp as a well, and all green things thrive aggressively'. I can remember the monsoon grey-and-green of the Nuns' Graveyard there being spangled with a small hawkbit, although no doubt a fairly common species; whilst above Mussoorie, in the Landour graveyard, were some long-tongued mauve orchis, their gentle faces peering from mossy cranies in the walls. In a Catholic graveyard not far from Naini Tal, I found a charming member of the Liliaceae: a little white crocus, or perhaps a tulip, spelling resurrection among the graves. It was certainly thriving, though not at all aggressive, and was not immediately obvious elsewhere in that particular spot.

The first essential, however, would be to arouse local interest and patronage; and then a local committee would no doubt co-opt a botanist or zoologist to advise on which threatened species might usefully be adopted. To restore the boundary wall and ensure the protection of existing trees and shrubs would need the support of the municipal planning department concerned. Helpful organisations and individuals

would come from introductions from, for example, the Bombay Natural History Society, and it would then become the responsibility of the committee, and a matter for local decision whether such a sanctuary should be opened to the public, and under what restrictions. At an early stage, a careful monitoring of the resident species would be needed, to clear the way for planning and planting schedules; and of course an inner city project would require different criteria, according to the local needs and limitations. City farms and sanctuaries do exist here, and advice would certainly be forthcoming. Would a pilot project not be a worthwhile scheme to undertake in BACSA's tenth year of life?

Jill Hugh-Jones

#### FIELD WORK IN INDIA

Often one is assaulted by the bizarre, the beautiful, the remarkable and the unexpected in India. Since the winter of 1983 I have had the good fortune to visit India each year for upwards of six months. While there, my work as an archaeologist has kept me stationed primarily in Karnataka (the old Mysore State) but I have also travelled in the tribal areas of eastern Gujarat, Bengal, Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Tamil Nadu, where, amongst other activities, I have been commissioned to assemble collections of contemporary ethnographic material for museums in Britain. These remits have given me plenty of scope for investigation on behalf of BACSA - indeed, some of my happiest memories are of time spent recording the details of overgrown and abandoned tombstones in cemeteries now almost forgotten. As an archaeologist, I am only too aware of the amount of information which can be extracted from a funerary inscription, while as a human being, I cannot be other than affected by the fate of the cemeteries today, with their details both of mundane life, but also with their moving and poignant records of loss and bravery, endurance in the face of adversity, and love - emotions and virtues, all experienced in a strange and sometimes hostile country, far from home.

The survival of cemeteries of course, varies widely. In places where there still remain active communities of Christians (and when used to the apathy of church activity in this country, one is often surprised at the vehemence of belief in India), cemeteries do tend to survive tolerably well. Of course, the climate in India mitigates against the permanent survival of almost anything, especially if left unattended - the archaeological record is full of lacunae where information should have survived but does not, for this very reason. However, the presence of a Christian community does probably control the effects of vandalism and limit damage only to that caused by vegetation and the elements - though these, alone, are serious enough adversaries. Consequently it seems a task worth undertaking, to try and record any cemeteries or isolated monuments which one comes across. This I have done both in written and/or photographic form.

Fortunately, working in India one is never far from the humourous, and of course, the unexpected. For me this has many times been evident, while visiting cemeteries and isolated monuments in India. As an example of some recent activity, let me give some details of my accidental discovery, and recording of, the cemetery at the large town of Bellary, in central Karnataka. This past winter, while returning from a field trip, I, with two colleagues was persuaded by our driver to turn aside from the route back to our camp at the abandoned medieval city of Vijayanagar, and admire his family's newly purchased house in Bellary. We did not take much persuading, as our driver, Srinivas, is one of this world's great characters. His knowledge and understanding of the Deccan, and of our archaeological work in particular coupled with his interest and resourcefulness, are legendary. While twisting our way through the small streets at the base of the majestic and impressive Maratha fort which crowns the bald hill overlooking the city (later used by the British and still garrisoned by the Indian army), we flashed past a walled compound, beyond which, it seemed to me - but surely, I was mistaken - a row of obelisks!

On our return from dutifully inspecting the new house (and having been fed by the tenants - not to mention being required to watch the cricket on the television - India was, doubtless, trouncing England) I asked Srinivas to stop at the compound, and with our photographer, I peered over the wall. To my delight I saw that this was, indeed a cemetery and that there were at least ten standing obelisks, as well as a series of other monuments of varying neo-classical designs. This conjured up all sorts of thoughts and ideas - obelisks, after all, with their eighteenth century connotations, seem much more romantic than the usual nineteenth century Gothic structures which are so common throughout India. Returned to camp, I immediately wrote to Theon Wilkinson - 'Does BACSA have any record of the cemetery, and if not, should I go and investigate it?' This was the tenor of my excited letter, though I could hardly believe that a cemetery with such grand monuments would not be well documented already (this is, undoubtedly, a useful lesson well-learnt).

However, I have to admit that I hoped that little information would come back, so as to give me a cast-iron excuse for making another trip there. True to my hopes, I soon had a reply providing me with the only available data on Bellary - not above twenty inscriptions had previously been recorded. There was clearly scope for more work to be done - written and photographic. On my return to Bellary I went on a Sunday morning to track down the 'in-charge' for the cemetery. It seemed only correct to do this through one of the local churches. This was easier said than done, as Bellary has a venerable position in the history of Anglican missionary activity in India (it was in Bellary that the Bible Society of India was founded) and there were a good number of churches to choose from. More by chance than by design, I ended up in the church of the Tamil-speaking community, in the Fort district. Here, I struggled through a service, the entirety of which I did not understand. However, following the service and fortified,

my perseverance was rewarded, as I was able to speak with members of the congregation, and with their pastor. Soon I was on my way to the cemetery, with its obelisks standing out clearly, seeming almost to be beckoning me to investigate. Here I met the chowkidar and his family, who although surprised at my visit were full of courtesy, providing me with food during the heat of the day, as I worked. However, I jump ahead, for, as I walked through the town towards the cemetery, which is located near a huge, irregularly-shaped water tank with a centrally-located statue of the bull-mount Nandi, of the god Shiva, I learnt something of the history of the burial ground. Apparently it has had two distinct periods of use - a) when it was used as a burial ground for the military, established in the huge fort on Bellary hill, and b) more recently, when the outer part (originally that of the London Missionary Society, which had a post in Bellary), had been used by Christian groups in the city, including the Tamils, with whom I had earlier shared Morning Service.

This sequence of almost chance meetings - gathering snippets of information from a variety of different sources - is typical, certainly from my experience, of BACSA-type fieldwork in India. The amount of lore still extant amongst local groups is an important feature, and something which we should be aiming to tap and record. In Surat, Mercara and Kurnool - besides here in Bellary - I could not possibly have gathered the information I did without the help of these local groups. In Bellary I had the chance, after talking with the pastor, the cemetery chowkidar, and members of the Christian community, of spending some hours in the burial ground, with its sedate row of obelisks, its columned and pedimented monuments crowned with urns and swags, recording the details of the inscriptions with a tape-recorder. Of particular interest were the tombs belonging to the family of the Reverend John Hands, founder, here in Bellary, of the Bible Society of India, which was, this year celebrating its 175th anniversary. Mostly the central core of the cemetery is military, and includes a number of Masonic members of the forces, whose graves are identified by the emblems of the set-square and dividers. The 55th Foot is frequently mentioned - as also is the scourge of cholera, and nameless 'fevers'. The life of Europeans in this area was far from certain, especially for new-born children. However, we do know from other sources that if you did survive, the rewards could be very great. To see



cemeteries in so many places throughout the length and breadth of the sub-continent, makes one realise what a huge input of manpower took place during the British period. The quantity of population apparently 'surplus to requirement' is staggering. Today, our population is approximately constant, yet in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there must have been a remarkable increase in population in Britain (probably linked with a decline in infant mortality) which enabled large numbers to be exported to India - and still to produce more when the previous batch were (literally) decimated (or worse). It is a sobering thought.

Amongst other locations this year, I also visited Poona, where I photographed the large and impressive synagogue built by Sir David Sassoon, in the grounds of which is built the Gothic chantry where he is buried. Further I had occasion to investigate the remarkable, but by now well known Armenian and Dutch, and English cemeteries in Surat, taking photographs the while of this really extraordinary hybrid architecture. I am happy to be able to report that the Archaeological Survey of India is currently undertaking conservation work in the former of these two important cemeteries in which are to be seen some of the earliest European tombs in India. From Surat I went out to the tomb of Vaux, on the banks of the Tapti, some seven and a half miles from Surat. Here a late seventeenth century mausoleum, that of a Deputy Governor of Bombay and his wife, is in very serious danger of collapsing completely. Because it is today located within the compound of a lighthouse, special permission has to be sought from Bombay to photograph it (this was quite a feat of endurance, but successful). However, anyone can visit it, as long as they can find their way out of Surat on the right bus and do not photograph it! While there, though, I was amused by the fact that the only way for me to investigate the upper storey of the mausoleum was to give a written undertaking to the lighthouse keeper that I bore all responsibility for my well-being should the building fall down while I had the ladder up against its walls! It is, I hasten to add, in a very bad state of repair and it is probably only the thorn bushes and other vegetation which smothers it still today, which keeps it from collapsing in the monsoon winds! Meanwhile, you may be pleased to learn that I did survive the investigation of the upper storey. Vaux and his wife did not take me with them this time.

For me, the work of BACSA is important for two reasons a) for the honouring of the dead through the maintenance, where possible, of the cemeteries in the sub-continent and b) the collecting and processing of valuable historical information, which is contained primarily in the inscriptions recording the deaths of those interred, but also in the architecture and the sculpture of these important monuments in the history of the Indian peoples.

Richard Blurton

## BACSA - THE NEXT TEN YEARS

My yellowing copy of the first issue of Chowkidar, which appeared in September 1977, eleven months after our inaugural meeting, provides a striking illustration of the continuity of the course which BACSA has followed in its first decade. Our Editor's Mail-Box is already crammed with the now familiar and fascinating mixture of ghost stories, tales of accidental shootings and tragic bereavements, of a murder in Afghanistan and of violent deaths at Landi Kotal and Secunderabad and her prophesy that 'the files of BACSA will be a rich hunting ground for future historians' is already on its way to fulfilment. The collection of Memorial Inscriptions in the UK is suggested as a profitable field for our future endeavours and genealogical and other enquiries are already arriving from Adelaide, Athens, Nova Scotia and Washington. Corresponding members are listed in thirty-two towns in the sub-continent as well as in Sri Lanka, Thailand and Malaysia. The establishment of an East India Branch of BACSA, under the Chairmanship of Aurelius Khan is recorded (today it has become APHCI, the Association for the Preservation of Historical Cemeteries in India) and to our delight, Aurelius Khan is still at its head.

At that point we had 269 members, of whom 27 were overseas. New members were needed, said the Chairman, and he hoped that we would all continue our recruiting efforts. Today we have over a thousand members, of whom 130 live abroad. In recent years our ranks have been increasing to a hundred or so each year. Our finances are in excellent shape. Our publishing programme ensures permanence for a variety of memoirs, historical works and records which might not otherwise appear in print and which reach increasingly wide circles of readers outside BACSA. Our records, our photographic coverage and our knowledge of the condition of the cemeteries of South Asia are growing steadily and our study of Memorial Inscriptions in this country has indeed begun to bear fruit. Our several projects in the sub-continent are progressing well. In short, in our first ten years we have grown, developed our activities and diversified our interests, coverage and contacts in a most impressive way.

Where do we go from here? This is a question on which everyone will have his or her ideas and I am anxious to hear what these are from as many members as possible, so that we can reach some corporate decisions on the way forward during the next twelve months. So do, please, let me know what you feel. In the meantime and with some diffidence, I will summarise my own views. A decade of experience has shown us, perhaps more vividly than we realised at first, the formidable scope of the problems we face. As each year passes, as the state of abandoned cemeteries deteriorates, as pressure for building land increases and as the jungles advance, our task becomes ever more difficult. Time is not on our side: after another ten years much of what is still recordable will have gone. However, we must reconcile ourselves to the fact that what we can do from so far away and with our limited resources is severely restricted. The restoration of a cemetery is a big enough commitment, but its upkeep thereafter is a far greater

one and in choosing projects for rescue and subsequent maintenance we must be ruthlessly selective. At the same time, there is much that can be done to record memorial inscriptions which are not already listed in the Provincial Series incorporating the product in the archives which we are building up in this country. Thereafter, we must, regretfully, accept the fact that we can do no more. This seems to me a priority task and one with which travellers through South Asia - whether BACSA members or not - can do a lot to help. However, a traveller's time is always limited and the people best able to meet this requirement are those who live on the spot. Here friends of members could be of great assistance and we are always grateful for an introduction to anyone who can help. We may also be able to find helpers among British voluntary and charitable workers who are to be found throughout the sub-continent and ways of doing this need to be investigated. Whether or not we can organise 'one-time' surveys of this sort, our achievements are likely to be greatest in and around the former Presidency capitals and other large towns. Here we can learn much from APHCI which has been able to achieve a great deal in Calcutta because of the wide connections and great local knowledge of



its committee members. If we can establish viable replicas of APHCI in half a dozen or so of the principal cities of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh we should be able to do more to protect the great historic cemeteries of, for example, Madras, Delhi and Bombay than we can at present. We should then also have bases from which to expand our activities.

Ideally, the committee of such a group should include representatives of the Churches, of the city administration, of local business houses and of the local Embassy, High Commission or Deputy High Commission, where applicable, together, of course, with as many other enthusiasts - local historians, journalists, etc. as can be mustered. Our Constitution states that we should appoint the first Chairman and liaison between him and BACSA will be conducted by the member of our Executive Committee who is responsible for our activities in the area. We must

also look out for help with the formation of local associations such as that established with such success by the late Major Ponniah in Tanjore, which are prepared to concern themselves with the restoration of a single local cemetery or monument. Often the impulse to form such a body will come, as it did in Tanjore, from a local resident; in other cases it may be due to a visit by a BACSA member. However it originates though, such a group must be run by a locally based and effective individual - without such a person we shall only waste time and money.

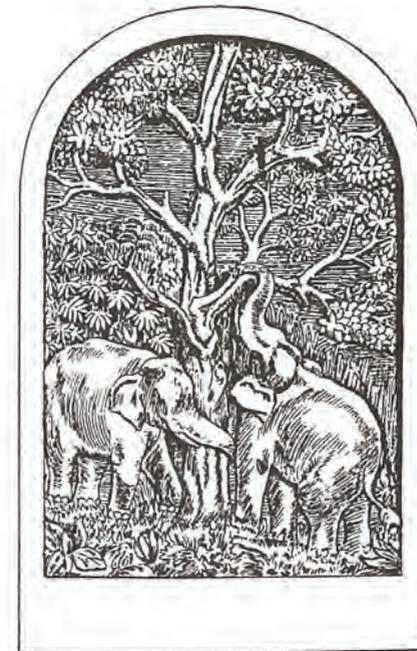
Perhaps our next most urgent task is to build up our membership in the sub-continent. We have received much prompt and expert help from those members we have there already, such as Field Marshal Cariappa and General Menezes, to name only two of the most illustrious, but we would like to have many more. Here, again, BACSA members can help by suggesting or, better, enrolling their Indian or other friends. We must also widen our contacts with Indian Government bodies such as the Archaeological Survey of India, with the Churches and with various organisations, such as the Indian National Trust for Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH), whose members share our interests. We already have good contacts among the diminishing number of British people working for commercial firms in the sub-continent but we would welcome any more whom members can introduce, particularly from the most remote areas.

So much - in a necessarily brief and sketchy outline - for our work in South Asia. What of BACSA itself? As I say above, in our first decade we have almost quadrupled our membership. How much are we likely - or do we want - to grow in the next ten years and what sort of membership should we aim at? Part of the strength of BACSA lies in its clubbability, for want of a better word, and in the enthusiasm with which so many members attend our meetings and take part in our projects and activities. We might run the danger of losing these characteristics if we were to embark on any sort of membership drive. A further consideration is that any substantial increase in membership, while it would swell our funds, would also add to the already considerable burdens borne by our valiant Secretary, his wife and our Treasurer. It could also make essential what may already be advisable - the appointment of an Assistant Honorary Secretary and the engagement of a typist on at least a part-time basis, perhaps installed in premises in which some of the enormous amount of papers at present stored in 76½ Charfield Avenue could be rehoused.

Another attribute which we must preserve is the wide range of our membership. We attract all sorts - photographers, historians, architects, genealogists, writers - and this gives us variety and strength. And last, but arguably most important of all, we provide a focus for friends who share interests and memories and in our excellent magazine we have an invaluable forum for discussion. In any future expansion we must safeguard all of this. At the same time there can be no doubt that we need to increase our younger membership. How should

we proceed? Your views would be most welcome. Meanwhile, to close, I shall lift a quotation from the very first article in Chowkidar's first number. In 1947 Lord Radcliffe described the British in India as having been 'eccentric, tiresome, interfering if you like, but surely, too, adventurous, ingenious...and enduring'. Does that not fit BACSA tolerably well today?

Michael Stokes



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AIMS OF BACSA

This Association was formed in October 1976 to bring together people with a concern for the many hundreds of European cemeteries, isolated graves and monuments in South Asia. There is a steadily growing membership of over a thousand, drawn from a wide circle of interest - Government; Churches; Services; Business; Museums; Historical and Genealogical Societies, etc. More members are needed to support the rapidly expanding activities of the Association - the setting up of local Branches in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Burma, Ceylon, Malaysia etc., the building up of a Record file in the India Office Library and Records; and many other projects for the preservation of historical and architectural monuments.

The annual subscription rate is £2 with an enrolment fee of £8. There are special rates for joint membership (husband and wife), for life membership and for associate membership. Full details obtainable from the Secretary.

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