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Publication Date
2011

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The Empire of the Dead:

British Burial Abroad and the Formation of National Identity

By

Andrew Prescott Keating

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

History

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Thomas W. Laqueur, Chair
Professor James Vernon
Professor Paul Groth

Fall 2011

Abstract

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This dissertation concerns the politics, aesthetics, and meanings of the British dead around the world. It argues that caring for the dead articulated views of the British Empire and Britain's standing in the world as well as how the British people understood their nation and their own identities within and outside of national communities. Broadly speaking this history tells a story of the state's increasing involvement in one of the most deeply personal, and traditionally familial, activities; but it is also an account of how the living came to define themselves through the care of the dead. Initially, in the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries, this took the form of establishing specifically British spaces for civilians who died away from home. Sometimes these distinct burial grounds came about as a way to deal with the problem of confessional difference and became distinctly Protestant while in other cases they reflected the desires of British merchants to fashion themselves as permanent imperial rulers. During the nineteenth century, the state took an increasingly active role in the establishment and operation of these spaces through the professionalization of the Consular Service and the cemeteries themselves became a synecdoche for British liberalism. Somewhat unexpectedly, considering the vast historiography on modern war commemoration and nationalism, the British government spent money and attention on caring for civilians who died overseas chronologically earlier than it concerned itself with dead soldiers. Nevertheless, during the period between the Napoleonic Wars and the Great War the idea that those who fell in battle deserved decent burial gained widespread resonance. The Crimean War of 1853-6 marked a turning point when for the first time most British soldiers received marked graves through the individual efforts of their comrades and manifesting a religiously inspired humanization of common soldiers. These burial grounds only became understood as "national cemeteries" and the government's responsibility after the war following widespread reports of their desecration and neglect. The British public increasingly understood providing Christian burial and marking soldiers graves, even if they died far from home, as a moral imperative for the army, the government, and civil society. During the Great War with the establishment in 1917 of a permanent commemoration bureaucracy, the Imperial War Graves Commission, caring for dead soldiers became infused with the political ideology of empire. The global network of sacred spaces created by the Commission following both world wars manifest not only a desire to care for the dead but also a way of using them to represent a united and victorious imperial polity. This commemoration style itself became untenable during decolonization as the British Empire itself disintegrated. The dead took on new

meanings for the living in the late twentieth century even as those of the past as well as the spaces for them remained associated with empire and nation.

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Acknowledgements

This dissertation took shape because of the academic community of the University of California, Berkeley. It seems to me that, as a native Californian, this incomparable public institution has provided for me exactly what its visionaries and leaders have promised for generations. I received an undergraduate education that exposed me to the brilliant scholars whose teaching and mentorship inspired me to graduate school.

I am especially grateful to my advisors, Tom Laqueur and James Vernon, for their excellent mentorship and guidance over the years. They saw potential in me as an undergraduate and fostered my intellectual interests and curiosities even before I began the doctoral program. They launched my interest in graduate school and have fostered my academic development ever since. For this dissertation, they have gone far beyond their duties as committee members and read and commented on many drafts. James's courses on the social and cultural history of modern imperial Britain have shaped my engagement with countless books, ideas, and scholarly debates. His efforts to help me revise and improve my work have been tireless and unceasing. Tom helped in numerous ways, beginning with his counsel on graduate school itself, continuing with his guidance on developing a paper for his class on histories of the death that became the basis for this dissertation, and culminating in his support of my research and writing.

The outside reader on my committee, Paul Groth, went well beyond his required duties and provided especially incisive comments and editing suggestions. His willingness to read my chapters and return them promptly made the process of revising and editing seem much less daunting. I know that the final product benefited not only from his sharp eye as a copyeditor but also from his keen insights into what would interest a non-specialist.

Numerous faculty members in the Berkeley History Department and beyond have provided help and guidance along the way. I am grateful to Tom Metcalf in particular for launching my interest in the British Empire with his engaging lectures that I experienced as an undergraduate. I was fortunate to continue that engagement with a graduate seminar from him several years later. He provided wonderfully useful suggestions on the dissertation as well. I benefited greatly from Berkeley's stellar faculty in all of my courses. They always seemed eager to advise and guide even if they were not officially members of my committee. In particular I am grateful to Gene Irshick for an engaging seminar on postcolonialism and to Peggy Anderson for an equally wonderful one on the First World War.

During the summer of 2010 I attended a seminar at Columbia, organized by Susan Pedersen and funded by the Mellon Foundation. I am grateful to Susan for assembling such a wonderful gathering of students from across the country. It is clear that my dissertation improved immensely as a result of being able to produce a chapter in that kind of workshop environment. The engaging group discussions and the opportunity to get to know peers as well as the visitors whom Susan invited made it an incredibly stimulating six weeks. Susan herself provided excellent comments and guidance on a chapter that helped this project and me immensely. I am especially grateful to Amanda Behm from the group whose brilliant ideas helped me develop the chapter and whose generosity produced many useful archival leads.

Berkeley's courses and seminars have been so stimulating and rewarding not only because of the excellent faculty but also for the presence of such intelligent and gifted colleagues and friends. I am grateful for the comments, suggestions, support, and encouragement they have provided over the past six years. In particular Penny Ismay and Caroline Shaw in the cohort before mine always seemed to be like wise older siblings in addition to brilliant historians. Desmond Fitz-Gibbon gave the kind of intellectually stimulating feedback that would usually prompt serious reflection and re-writing, always pairing it with encouragement. David Anixter, Riyad Koya, and Radhika Natarajan, as

well as those in the broader British studies community, have kindly read chapters and provided help in addition to being good friends.

The History Department staff have helped my progress as a graduate student immensely, not only by running the administrative affairs so well at a time when budgets are frequently being cut but also by always seeming to put the needs of students first. I am of course grateful in so many ways to Mabel Lee, the Graduate Advisor, without whose calming presence and knowledgeable suggestions so many of us would have been lost. Leah Flanagan, Janet Flores, Barbara Hayashida, Deborah Kerlegon, Hilja New, Ellen Thompson, and Darril Tighe, always brightened Dwinelle Hall with their friendship and interest in my academic work. They selflessly reminded me to put my graduate studies first when I was a co-worker, even if it meant they waited for something on the website to be updated. Hilja especially fixed more than a few campus-caused payroll snafus to ensure I always was paid on time. Linda Finch Hicks, with her warmth, caring, and brilliance, gave me some pieces of advice and some guidance I'll always carry with me. I'm grateful to Marianne Bartholomew-Couts for her incredible organizational talents that made working for the department a pleasure, as well as her kindness and friendship.

Although the History Department at Berkeley often feels like a family, I am most grateful to my biological one, my parents Patrick and Susan. My father's love of books and of reading rubbed off on me. In a tangible way, his gift of a book that mentioned old, forgotten colonial-era graveyards in South Asia prompted some of my initial curiosities about the history of British cemeteries around the world. His affinities for Berkeley, the University of California, and the state of California seem to have had a strong influence on me as well, for which I'm grateful.

I really would not have a dissertation at all, or have completed all the years of post-secondary education, without the emotional and financial support from my mom. She helped me with money long after a parent would be obligated to do so, paying my undergraduate college tuition as well as helping with living expenses, because she valued my education, success, and happiness. The laptop, the digital camera, and countless other items she helped me buy along the way made this dissertation possible. Her excellent grammatical and stylistic advice helped my writing immensely. Even though I'm still repeating some of the same punctuation mistakes she never lost patience as a proofreader and editor. More than that, her belief in me has been unwavering, as has her commitment to my education. Her parents sent her to college, and now she has sent me to college and to graduate school. I only hope I am able to match her accomplishment with my children someday.

Less tangibly, I know that my mom raised me to have an interest in the past, in history, and in asking questions of the world around me. She took me to see the Civil War-era graves of some of our ancestors one Fourth of July when I was a teenager. It would make a great story if that moment I decided I would write a doctoral dissertation on cemeteries and the care of the dead. Unfortunately the connection did not happen exactly then. What stuck with me from that moment and countless others with my mom over the years, is caring about the past, to think about how it impacts the present, and to examine the world around me. I hope that this dissertation reflects some of that, as well as the help and support I've received from so many people.

Introduction: The Empire of the Dead

It is quite an essay in geography to list the places in the five continents in which British soldiers lie buried; and we would need a new list for the British civilian cemeteries overseas. In all recorded history up to the present no people has ever so mixed its dust with the dust of the wide world. Eccentric, tiresome, interfering, if you like, but surely too, adventuresome, ingenious, courageous and enduring. And yes, for better or worse – very remarkable.[1]

Viscount Cyril John Radcliffe

Lord Radcliffe's "remarkable talk on…British graves" received widespread acclaim.[2] The prominent legal scholar and jurist returned to England from India where he had presided over the Boundary Commission in 1947 that partitioned the subcontinent. Later that year, he wrote, produced, and narrated a BBC radio program which combined not only his reminiscences of India with observations about the politics and history of imperial rule but also his musings on the proper care of the dead abroad. He concluded with the pronouncement above, declaring the presence of British dust in so many places revealed the character of his countrymen and the essence of their country itself. Like its global empire, Britain's graves and cemeteries overseas also faced an uncertain future during the post-war period. Radcliffe asserted their deterioration seemed to be hastening because of neglect, and they would likely disappear altogether without governmental and public support to maintain them in perpetuity. Although caring for the dead is a universal human activity, Radcliffe's sentiments expressed some of the particular and peculiar ways in which doing so manifested cultural and political claims for imperial Britain.

The radio program conveyed several overlapping themes through its simultaneous presentation of a travel narrative of Radcliffe's journeys through India, a eulogy for individual servants of empire who perished there, a call to civic and public engagement to maintain their graves, an ideologically inflected production of imperial history at a time of uncertainty, and a rehabilitation of the logic of the imperial mission itself. He recounted the last sight he visited prior to leaving India, Calcutta's Park Street Cemetery, a place of "pleasing but not…oppressive melancholy," resembling an "eighteenth-century English gentleman's park."[3] Despite this similarity to home he saw "nothing of the quiet English scene – the low mounds, the sober headstones, the spacious quiet."[4] The cemetery seemed not entirely British to him yet it was filled with "the familiar English and Scottish names."[5] He noticed how "the obelisks, the pyramids, the temples that commemorate them" had an "oriental flavor."[6] Lord Radcliffe understood and articulated the Park Street Cemetery as a space both familiar and foreign, in a manner he thought paralleled the British experience of India as well as their history as rulers of it.

Particular graves as well as the totality of the cemetery commanded his attention and prompted him to consider the character of colonial leaders and the ethics of imperial governance.

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[1] Lord Radcliffe, "Recollections of India," BBC Radio, 28 September 1947; Excerpts of the text reproduced in *Chowkidar* Vol. I, Number I; original in British Library, BACSA Archives

[2] Lord Radcliffe's obituary, quoted in *Chowkidar* Vol. I, Number I.

[3] Lord Radcliffe, "Recollections of India."

[4] ibid.

[5] ibid.

[6] ibid.

Each monument appeared to be "six [feet] high or more, rich in masonry and…placed so close to the next that the paths…are like the streets of miniature sky scrapers."[7] Radcliffe concluded, "our countrymen in Calcutta in those earlier times went to their long rest in rather ornate style," and interpreted this grandeur by evoking Sir Thomas Browne's sentiment, "man is a noble animal, splendid in ashes and pompous in the grave."[8] Since the Park Street Cemetery contained such elaborate tombs, the imperial rulers of Calcutta had been "very noble animals indeed."[9] From that observation about their personal attributes, Radcliffe switched back to a discussion of imperialism itself, concluding, "The gifts we brought to India were Roman: peace, order, justice and the fruits that those things bring…Like the Romans, we built our roads, bridges and canals and we have marked the land as engineers if we have not improved it as architects. Like the Romans, we brought and maintained a system of justice that we tried to make even-handed and a system of administration that we hoped would be impartial."[10] He also managed to include a not so subtle rebuke of Indian nationalists, observing, "Men are apt to prize [the Roman gifts] the less the longer they enjoy them."[11] The graves and the cemetery space produced an image of the past that Radcliffe employed in order to draw favorable conclusions about the character of his countrymen and ultimately to vindicate the British imperial enterprise itself. It would be easy to dismiss him as an apologist for empire, or as displaying nostalgia for the British imperial world order that seemed to be disintegrating around him. Likewise his views could be dismissed as a product of the post-Second World War period and the aftermath of independence. However, the connections Radcliffe drew between graves of the dead abroad and British national and imperial identities form part of a much longer history.

The idea that Park Street embodied an aesthetically compelling and unusual space that manifested the tensions, contradictions, hybridities and grandeur of British India neither originated nor terminated with Lord Radcliffe and the independence moment. Actually the connections between the spaces for the dead and the British Empire in South Asia had been noticed since the cemetery's inception and continued to be part of it in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.[12] Some understood its founding as coterminous with the East India Company's mid-eighteenth century shift from merchant to ruler. As a nineteenth-century historian observed, "One of the earliest of the changes which, after [the Battle of] Plassey, marked the transition of Calcutta from a fortified settlement to a town, was the formation of a new burial-place for the dead, away from the dwellings of the living, since there was no longer the need to keep it sheltered under the guns of the Fort."[13] The cemetery represented the security manifested by Company rule and British hegemony. Governing officials in the Bengal Council based their plans for Park Street partly in

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[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Recent scholarly work like Elizabeth Buettner, "Cemeteries, Public Memory and Raj Nostalgia in Postcolonial Britain and India" *History & Memory* 18:1 (Spring / Summer 2006), 5-42 and Ashish Chadha, "Ambivalent Heritage: Between Affect and Ideology in a Colonial Cemetery," *Journal of Material Culture* 11:3 (2006), 339-363 situate the Park Street Cemetery in the postcolonial moment. Other scholars like Robert Travers, "Death and the Nabob: Imperialism and Commemoration in Eighteenth-Century India," *Past & Present* No. 196 (August 2007), 83-124; Trev Lynn Broughton, "*The Bengal Obituary*: Reading and Writing Calcutta Graves in the Mid Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Victorian Culture* 15:1, 39-59; David Arnold, "Deathscapes: India in an Age of Romanticism and Empire, 1800-1856," *Nineteenth-Century Contexts* 26:4, 339-353; and Siddhartha Sen, "Between Dominance, Dependence, Negotiation, and Compromise: European Architecture and Urban Planning Practices in Colonial India," *Journal of Planning History* 9:4 (2010) 203-231 concern themselves more with the way that death and spaces of the dead operated within the Raj.

[13] Kathleen Blechynden, *Calcutta Past and Present* (London: W. Thacker & Co., 1905), 150.

response to the practical concern of needing more space to accommodate the steady numbers of Europeans dying there as well as their belief that the tropical climate made dead bodies especially hazardous to the living.[14] Additionally they held an ideological imperative to establish a burial place fit for imperial rulers. One official who perished soon after the cemetery's founding and desired an inconspicuous interment in his garden instead had his will countermanded by leaders who thought it "improper to give so honoured and distinguished a servant of the Company so obscure a burial."[15] He, like many others, would be buried in Park Street, which from its origins legitimated the political and economic power of the ruling elite. The British governors of Bengal in the late eighteenth century self-consciously styled it an imperial pantheon.

Across the subcontinent numerous other spaces of the dead containing the graves of civilians, government officials, and soldiers who served the Raj sprang up during the long nineteenth century. Some, like Park Street, had explicit connections to the Company and ultimately became administered by the colonial and later independent Government of India. Others contained predominately soldiers' bodies and had militaristic meanings, marking the presence of specific garrisons or the passing of particular campaigns. The memorial at the Cawnpore Well and the cemetery nearby, as well as other burial grounds with civilian and military dead from the 1857 "Mutiny," became sites of patriotic fervor that embodied the contradictory expressions of anxiety and assertiveness following the transfer of political rule to the Crown.[16] In addition to spaces for the dead associated with Company elite, military, and government, numerous churches of all denominations had their own burial grounds in India. Some burial grounds that had originally manifested "oriental" aesthetics and secular grandeur received Anglican consecration during the nineteenth century becoming imbued with religious meanings.[17] Across the subcontinent, by one post-independence estimate, over 1,300 such spaces for the dead existed.[18]

Beyond the Raj, as Lord Radcliffe noted, British graves and cemeteries existed all over the world, in places that had been part of the formal empire, in areas that had been economically important for Britain, and in parts of Europe and the world where British soldiers fought and civilians travelled. The military dead from the Great War alone amount to over 1.1 million and from the Second World War there are at least another 580,000.[19] The vast majority of these dead soldiers remain buried overseas because Britain enacted laws and promulgated treaties during the Great War and its aftermath that prohibited them from returning home. The Commonwealth (formerly Imperial) War Graves Commission, a quasi-governmental agency founded in 1917, provides for their perpetual care, which entails landscaping, maintenance, and even the periodic re-inscribing of headstones.[20] British civilian and military graves in South Asia may number in the millions as well.[21]

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[14] See Chapter 1.

[15] Blechynden, *Calcutta Past and Present*, 150.

[16] See Rudrangshu Mukherjee, "'Satan Let Loose upon Earth': The Kanpur Massacres in India in the Revolt of 1857," *Past & Present* No. 128 (August 1990), 92-116; Andrew Ward, *Our Bones Are Scattered: The Cawnpore Massacres and The Indian Mutiny Of 1857* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1996); Nayanjot Lahiri, "Commemorating and Remembering 1857: The Revolt in Delhi and Its Afterlife," *World Archaeology* 35:1 (June 2003), 35-60; and Stephen Heathorn, "Angel of Empire: The Cawnpore Memorial Well as a British Site of Imperial Remembrance," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 8:3 (2008).

[17] Reginald Heber, Lord Bishop of Calcutta, in the early nineteenth century in particular wrote about his journeys across India visiting churches and consecrating cemeteries.

[18] India Office Records F 146/6; cited in "Ambivalent Heritage," 349.

[19] Commonwealth War Graves Commission Annual Report 2008-9

[20] See Philip Longworth, *The Unending Vigil* for a narrative history of the Imperial War Graves Commission. Although excellent for factual information about the group, the book accepts many of group's ideologies uncritically. Its limitations, as well as that of all the historiography on the Commission, will be discussed elsewhere in this dissertation.

Countless others are scattered across the rest of the world. Materially this means vast numbers of tombstones and monuments covering many acres of land. Several questions result from the empirical data: why were so many Britons buried abroad, what meanings did their graves assume for the living, and how did their graves as well as entire cemeteries come to be known as "British"?

This dissertation about the care of the dead in the making of Britain in the world argues that this plethora of graves and spaces of the dead abroad produced certain cultural expressions and manifested political claims for the living. Additionally, it does not accept the readily apparent explanation that Britons buried their countrymen abroad simply because they went overseas and established a global empire. Why did many consider it morally exigent, for instance, that the war dead remain overseas? Instead of reflecting the nationalism of the Great War period, as is commonly thought by scholars of war and commemoration, this thesis advances the claim that burial policy and practices actively constructed an idealized vision of a united, harmonious, and victorious British Empire. Civilian cemeteries abroad received government attention and financial support even earlier than those specifically for the war dead. The invented and imagined community of Britain nationhood, whether an insular nationalism or a broader imperial community of the world, came about at least in part because of the ways that Britons cared for their dead abroad across three centuries.

Compared to other world powers, there are more British dead, civilians as well as soldiers, buried away from their homes than those of any other nation-state or empire in the modern period, reflecting the reach of the British Empire at its height, encompassing places of informal economic influence as well as those of formal political control. Yet, concluding that the British buried large numbers of their dead abroad simply because they died away from home insufficiently explains how and why this happened. The imposing physical architecture of many cemeteries as well as their intangible identification as *British* spaces commands inquiry and analysis. As Rudyard Kipling declared in the 1920s building the Great War cemeteries seemed like "an amazing drama" culminating in "the biggest bit of concrete work since the Pyramids that man has ventured upon."[22] The carefully landscaped spaces he noted also represented "the largest bit of gardening undertaken by any country."[23] This dissertation interrogates why Britain embarked upon that project as well as how the physically monumental spaces of twentieth-century war commemoration are part of a longer and broader narrative of caring for the dead abroad.

The following four chapters are organized both chronologically and thematically. Although they present a story of multiplying and compounding meanings and influences of the dead they should not be seen as a triumphal narrative that culminates with a modern way of caring for the dead. In the case of dead soldiers, for instance, concern about their care builds during the nineteenth century as the idea that even common soldiers deserved the marked graves and memorials previously reserved only for leaders and heroes gained widespread resonance. This sentiment, as well as the valorization of battlefield burial, seemingly culminated in 1917 with the establishment of the Imperial War Graves Commission, a permanent commemoration bureaucracy. Yet because the Commission's policies and practices also manifested particular ideas of imperial unity, once the British Empire itself disintegrated following the Second World War it became untenable to continue its ways of caring for dead soldiers for those who died during the conflicts of decolonization and post-colonialism. Exactly fifty years after the Commission's founding, the government changed its

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[21] Philip Davis, *Splendours of the Raj: British Architecture in India 1660-1947* (New Delhi: Das Media, 1985), 62 provides an estimate of 2 million European graves in India.

[22] Rudyard Kipling to H.P. Robinson, 25 June 1928, Box 10, Kipling Collection, Syracuse University Library Special Collections.

[23] Ibid.

policy and decided that soldiers killed abroad would be returned to their families for private burial. While the idea that soldiers who die in their country's service deserve honored treatment remains firmly embedded in British and Western culture, the particular politics and meanings shifted in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

The level of governmental concern with and public interest in British civilians buried abroad as well as British cemeteries away from home does not follow a linear, progressive trajectory either. Civilian cemeteries as enclaves for the dead not connected to traditional church parishes originated overseas before similar developments in the urban metropolises of Britain itself. The government seemed to care about ensuring spaces for the decent burial of civilians overseas before it became concerned with providing similar accommodations for soldiers who died in battle. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries there have been efforts to preserve and maintain cemeteries and graves abroad, never entirely successful and frequently forgotten about. Paradoxically the government itself waxes and wanes

Chapter One argues that the formation of distinct burial grounds proved crucial in the development of distinct British communities abroad in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It introduces the ways that merchants abroad first organized their dead based on their common Protestantism rather than around British identity. They created a series of burial places that became the focus for communities of the dead abroad. Simultaneously, the East India Company merchants in the subcontinent organized their dead to express new imperial identities, project their power and influence, and manifest a claim to political hegemony. The chapter then explores the development of new sensibilities around the British dead abroad and explains how travellers came to see the dead individually and the burial grounds for them collectively in new ways. They found new ways to feel and to care about strangers through the experience of the dead abroad.

Chapter Two analyzes the ambivalent role of the British Government in the establishment and operation of cemeteries abroad during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It considers how many of these places came to be referred to as "British Cemeteries" and precisely how that categorical designation included some burial grounds even as it excluded many others from official attention and financial support. Following the reform and reorganization of the Consular Service in 1825 the government set up and managed burial grounds for civilians all over the world. Governmental involvement in the care of the dead overseas during the nineteenth century increased in tandem with the development of the civil service, and as early as the 1820s the British government took an active role in cemetery operation around the world. The account of how bureaucrats developed policies and procedures for dealing with the dead overseas both follows and complicates the historiography of the "nineteenth century revolution in government." How the servants of the British state came to assume increasing degrees of involvement with and financial responsibility for the dead overseas during the nineteenth century is a story that provides a unique perspective on the development of government expertise and management. Additionally, the involvement of government officials with civilian burials is a previously untold story which complicates the account of state involvement with the dead coming about as a result of war. Somewhat unexpectedly, the state's involvement in providing space for the dead abroad did not come about initially through war. Rather it was the desire to promote commercial interests and the pursuit of informal empire that led to the creation of many distinct spaces for the British dead abroad.

Chapter Three complicates further the relationship between the State and cemeteries abroad by introducing the war dead as an analytical category. Despite the assumptions of many scholars who focus their attention on the Great War, the idea that the public and government had moral obligations to care for dead soldiers began during the Crimean War. This chapter argues that the mid-nineteenth century conflict and its aftermath were pivotal moments when the war dead became

sacred in British culture. There is a much lengthier tradition of venerating military heroes and prominent officers who died in battle but this changed in the nineteenth century. The idea of proper care for the war dead, regardless of rank, began during this earlier period, rather than with the First World War as most accounts of British commemoration place it. A combination of factors, such as the improved transportation and communication between home and battlefield, Victorian attitudes toward death more generally, new concerns about sanitation and hygiene, and increased care for soldiers, caused this shift. The practice of Evangelical Christianity among soldiers was the predominate factor that caused individual burials during the Crimean War where there were none during the Napoleonic Wars. Additionally, the accounts of these burials in popular Evangelical tracts established the cultural precedence for the way dead soldiers should be treated and led to a visual language of representing war through the depiction of battlefield burial grounds.

Chapter Four continues the account of care for the war dead into the twentieth century through its analysis of the founding and operation of the Imperial War Graves Commission. This chapter argues that this organization represented both continuity and change from the nineteenth century precedents. The group manifested an ideology of British imperial preeminence that informed its work and it attempted to form the war dead into monuments that represented a united and victorious Empire. Scholars of war and memory have largely overlooked the politics of the group and its founding figure Fabian Ware, which seems to suggest how much the Commission's own propaganda became part of the cultural meanings of the war dead in twentieth century Britain. This remarkable and unique organization broke with traditions in many respects, not because it buried the soldier dead regardless of rank but because it did do in a uniform and bureaucratized way that attempted to use the war dead to represent a united imperial polity.

Chapter 1: Religion, Politics, and the Aesthetics of Burial Abroad

The outgoing English Ambassador to Spain, Sir Richard Fanshawe, died at Madrid on June 26, 1666 after suffering for ten days with "a malignant inward fever."[24] Despite perishing in a Catholic country, Fanshawe's embalmed body "was buried by his own Chaplain, with the ceremony of the Church of England, and a sermon preached by him" about a week later.[25] This interment lacked permanency, however, and was unlike the treatment of the dead that would come to be expected in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. After the funeral the widow, Lady Anne Fanshawe, directed that the body be sent from Madrid to Bilbao for the journey to England because a Protestant corpse could not remain in Catholic soil. She had declined an offer from the Spanish Queen Regent of a comfortable exile if she would convert to the Church of Rome.[26] Death abroad for this aristocratic family in the seventeenth century meant a crisis of personal identity, religious faith, and political belonging. Remaining loyal to Protestantism and to the English crown entailed returning the dead and the living to their home country.

Protestant Britons with official positions or aristocratic connections who died abroad in Catholic countries during peacetime generally had their bodies brought home for burial. Even though the diplomat John Methuen, whose eponymous treaty cemented the Anglo-Portuguese commercial relationship, died at Lisbon on July 2, 1706 his interment took place in Westminster Abbey.[27] Several decades later, a hero of the War of Spanish Succession, Lord Peterborough, died at Lisbon on October 25, 1735. His widow, like Lady Anne Fanshawe, accompanied the aristocrat's body home. Peterborough would be buried in his family's vault in Turvey Church, Bedfordshire.[28] Removing his corpse from Lisbon nevertheless provoked a Catholic mob, and British diplomats reported that the "admirals acting as pall bearers had to hustle the coffin down to a ship's boat under cover of darkness."[29] If bringing a dead Protestant home proved this unsettling in eighteenth-century Portugal then establishing permanent burial spaces for them to remain there would seem inconceivable. Yet, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries burying Protestant Britons abroad became more commonplace. Permanent enclaves for the British dead developed not only in parts of Catholic Europe but also in non-Christian areas of the East.

This chapter examines the politics and aesthetics of overseas burial grounds for the British in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries. It argues that the spaces for dead Protestants in Catholic and non-Christian areas manifested both religious toleration and other more secular concerns. Once established, these places of the dead captured the interest of travellers who noticed differences between them and churchyards in Britain. Visitors understood these spaces of the dead as mournful and poignant because they contained the bodies of countrymen who died far from home. In the imaginations of early nineteenth century travellers, especially the romantic poets and their admirers, the natural landscape and monuments of these burial grounds helped to produce suitable environments for honoring the dead. Those who advocated the reform of burial practices at

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[24] Anne Fanshawe, *Memoirs of Lady Fanshawe* (London: Henry Colburn, 1829), 239.

[25] Ibid, 241

[26] The Spanish Queen Regent Mariana offered her the chance "to stay with all [her] children in [the Spanish] Court, promising [her] a pension of thirty thousand ducats a year, and to provide for [her] children, if [she]…would turn [her] religion and become Roman Catholic." *Memoirs of Lady Fanshawe*, 249.

[27] G. F. R. Barker, "Methuen, John (1650–1706)," rev. Thomas Doyle, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009) [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18628, accessed 10 Aug 2011]

[28] John B. Hattendorf, "Mordaunt, Charles, third earl of Peterborough and first earl of Monmouth (1658?–1735)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008) [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19162, accessed 10 Aug 2011]

[29] Alan David Francis, *Portugal, 1715-1808: Joanine, Pombaline, and Rococo Portugal as seen by British diplomats and traders* (London: Tameis Books, Ltd., 1985), 129.

home and urged the establishment of urban cemeteries like Paris's Pere Lachaise also looked to the aesthetic of British burial grounds abroad as already embodying that which they idealized.

These spaces for the dead originated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries through the activities of communities living abroad, primarily but not exclusively merchants. The new cemeteries came to represent not only toleration for Protestant religion but also the permanence of the British community's presence in a place. The characteristics of these places of the dead came to be thought of as superior to similar spaces at home because they were both familiar and foreign. The influence of burial grounds abroad on the rise of urban cemeteries at home does not result in a linear trajectory of the decline of religiously organized burial and the rise of completely secular spaces for the dead. As the conclusion of this, the chapter will explain that these overseas burial grounds remained linked to religiosity and the politics of religion in the nineteenth century.

British merchants began to establish burial grounds abroad during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as they travelled around the world for commerce and exploration. The state supported these efforts through treaties which defined these places of the dead with a multiplicity of ideologies and interests. The new burial grounds became religiously defined spaces that were not attached to specific churches or particular parishes. Additionally these burial grounds revealed how caring for the dead became an exigent political and commercial issue in addition to a spiritual one. In some parts of Catholic Europe the state's diplomacy proved necessary in order to secure the right of Protestants to have burial grounds. Communities of Britons living abroad had to apply persistent pressure in order to obtain space for their dead. In parts of India and the non-Western world the right of British merchants and travelers to a space for their dead was not as severely contested but it too became politically inflected, as the care of the dead became a way to enact commercial rivalries and to mark the success of the British community. Ultimately, the earliest permanent burial grounds for the British abroad came about because of the intersection of religious, commercial, and political imperatives.

I. Protestant Communities and Spaces for the Dead Abroad

One of the earliest distinct spaces for English dead abroad represented religious toleration from its founding. The Muslim ruler of Tunis, Hamouda Pasha Bey, granted permission for a Protestant burial ground around 1645. According to a nineteenth century history of Tunis, prior to its establishment, "Christians were generally buried privately and in out-of-the-way places, to avoid exciting the fanaticism of Mussulmans (sic.) whose delight seemed to be to efface every trace of persons not identified with their religion."[30] Although authors in the later period understood the burial ground as signaling the end of an intolerant practice, in actuality it seems to have been an indication of ongoing toleration. Muslim rulers generally allowed the thousands of Christian slaves captured by pirates in the Mediterranean to practice their religion freely.[31] Catholic institutions including a public chapel located in the French consulate and a cemetery nearby also existed in seventeenth century Tunis.[32] Despite the pervasive belief among nineteenth century Britons that the Protestant cemetery was "the earliest existing Christian relic in Tunis" the space for their dead actually belonged in a group of several religious sites.[33] In this cosmopolitan crossroads of the early modern Mediterranean an enclave for dead Protestants developed because of the relative religious toleration practiced by local Muslim rulers.

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[30] Amos Perry, *Carthage and Tunis: Past and Present* (Providence, R.I.: Providence Press Company, 1869), 394.
[31] See Kenneth Parker, "Reading Barbary in Early Modern England," *The Seventeenth Century* 19:1 (April 2004).
[32] "Tunis," *E.J. Brill's First Encyclopedia of Islam 1913-1936* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1927, reprint, 1987)
[33] Alexander Broadley, *The Last Punic War: Tunis, Past and Present* Vol. 2 (London: W. Blackwood and Sons, 1882), 340.

Commercial treaties between England and the Barbary States, including Tunis, remained relatively silent on the issue of burial grounds, indicating that spaces for dead Protestants came about from below, not through high-level diplomacy. Even in the nineteenth century the "original deed of gift [for the burial ground was] lost" and in the "first known treaty with Tunis…dated October 1662…it is not even mentioned."[34] Nevertheless, other diplomatic agreements revealed an increasing commingling of private, religious, and commercial concerns within international law. For instance, the Articles of Peace concluded with Algiers in 1682 stipulated, "If any subject of Britain dies at Algiers, the Government shall not seize his money or effects, but suffer his heirs or executors to enjoy them; and if he die without will, the English Consul shall possess himself of the goods and money of the deceased, for the use of his heirs and kindred."[35] This treaty, along with others that attempted to promote the commercial interests of British merchants in the Mediterranean, established the precedent that diplomats would help the private interests of their countrymen. Another clause in the agreement provided for religious toleration, declaring, "That the English Consul, that lives in Tripoli, be allowed a place to pray in."[36]

Spaces for dead Protestants in North Africa remained absent from British commercial treaties until the nineteenth century. Article VI of the 1875 Treaty between Britain and Tunis confirmed the long-standing privilege of "British merchants and subjects who may reside [there] to the free exercise of the rites of their religion."[37] Furthermore, it continued, "The British Cemetery of Saint George, and other burial places, now or hereafter to be established, shall be protected and respected as heretofore."[38] By the second half of the nineteenth century when it was officially recognized in treaty, the seventeenth century space for Protestant dead in Tunis was considered a "British Cemetery," an appellation whose later connotations and meanings will be analyzed in the following chapter.

The accounts of European travelers and explorers additionally indicate the presence of Protestant burial spaces connected with British merchants throughout the Muslim world during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For instance, Carsten Niebhur, the leader of an expedition sent by the King of Denmark in the 1760s "to explore the various curiosities of Egypt, but especially of Arabia" found burial places for the members of his group who perished on the hazardous journey.[39] For the funeral of the expedition's philologist in the spring of 1763 the captain of an English ship anchored nearby directed some of his sailors to serve as pallbearers and convey "the body to the European burying place."[40] In addition to providing evidence that established spaces for European dead existed in the Arabian Peninsula, Niebhur's account reveals how the British cared about providing decent funerals and interments to fellow Protestants who died far from home.

Difference between European practices and the supposed oriental ways not only caused the deaths of the members of Niebhur's expedition but also pervaded the care of the dead. The translator of his journal attributed the causes of death to "the pernicious influence of the climate, … the unfavourableness of the oriental mode of living to European constitutions, … their inability to relinquish European habits, and … the fatigue necessary attending their investigations."[41] Caring for

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[34] Ibid., 52.
[35] "Articles of Peace Concluded with Algiers, 1682"
[36] Article XIII of Treaty
[37] "General Convention between the Government of Great Britain and of Tunis;" Signed in the English and Arabic Languages, July 19, 1875
[38] "General Convention between the Government of Great Britain and of Tunis"
[39] M. Niebuhr, *Travels through Arabia and other Countries in the East*, trans. Robert Heron, Vol. I (Edinburgh: R. Morison and Son, 1792), x.
[40] Ibid., 327.
[41] Ibid., x.

the dead also prompted an exploration of the difference between Europeans and Arabs. Niebhur explained, "The custom of interring the dead in a coffin is unknown in Arabia. We had one made, however, for our deceased friend, in order to preserve his remains from any accident."[42] It seemed important to Niebhur and his compatriots to treat the dead in a similar way as they would have been in Europe, despite being so far from home.

The interment itself proved an occasion to reflect on the status of the Europeans in the east. Niebhur explained, "All the English in Mokha attended at the funeral."[43] The ceremony "and the obsequies were performed with more decency, and with less interruption, that those of a Consul at Cairo, which were disturbed by the crowding of the people to witness the solemnity, and by the robbery of the audacious Bedouins. On this occasion, the Arabs of Yemen shewed themselves reasonable and humane."[44] The natives' reaction to European funeral practices provided a way for Niebhur to evaluate the sophistication of their culture and manners.

In predominately Catholic regions of Europe itself, ensuring burial places for dead Protestants proved more difficult than the comparative toleration that Niebhur encountered in the east. As one mid-eighteenth century account declared, "It is certain, that *English* merchants meet with better quarter among *Turks* and pagans, than where the *Roman* catholic clergy have the least authority in their hands; and it is remarkable, that the further those zealots are removed from the head of their church, the more despotic, cruel, and bigotted they become."[45] The non-Christian world seemed comparatively tolerant, while the Catholic Church appeared unreasonable and intolerant. The account explained this behavior by claiming, "when the Jesuits find themselves remote from the fear of government, and in a manner out of the eye of the world, there their authority, their oppression, and tyranny, are altogether insupportable."[46] In this estimation the secular power of the state amounted to the only way that the rights of Protestants abroad to bury their dead peacefully could be secured.

Even this generalization of Catholic intolerance for Protestant dead did not precisely conform to the limited toleration that actually existed for them. In seventeenth century Italy only one Protestant burial ground existed, in the "free port" of Livorno, a cosmopolitan city whose laws provided for duty free commerce and freedom of religion. According to an early nineteenth century account by a committee of British merchants the earliest tombstone in the cemetery dated from 1594.[47] A history of the place from the end of the nineteenth century doubted this claim, however, explaining, "If this were so in 1824, such tombstones have since wholly disappeared…the oldest tomb…now in existence bears the date 1646."[48] Regardless of the exact age of the burial ground, at roughly the same time as the English merchants of Tunis obtained a space for the dead their counterparts across the Mediterranean in Livorno did as well.

The early burial markers that could be identified and catalogued in the nineteenth century portray the Livorno burial ground as a similar space to that which existed in Tunis. The oldest tomb marked the grave of Leonard Digges, "and must have stood in solitary loneliness, a conspicuous uninclosed mark on the green sward surrounding the fortifications, until 1649 when Edward Langham was buried in a grave some hundred and fifty feet distant."[49] In total, "There are only

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[42] Ibid., 327.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid.

[45] *The Modern Part of an Universal History*, Vol. XIV (London: S. Richardson, 1760), 477.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Report of the Committee in April 1824; Cited in Gery Milner-Gibson-Cullum and Francis Campbell Macauley, *Inscriptions in the Old British Cemetery of Leghorn* (1906).

[48] Ibid.

[49] Ibid.

thirty tombs of the seventeenth century in the cemetery, and this would seem to point to the English Colony in that century being far less numerous than has commonly been supposed."[50] Roughly the same number of burials from the period took place in the Tunis cemetery, suggesting that each cosmopolitan city had the same relatively small community of British merchants in the early modern period and that the local rules tolerated their distinct religion and culture.

The Protestant cemetery in Rome owes its origin to the politics of religious difference and toleration of a different sort and its establishment did not occur until the eighteenth century. Through the lobbying of the Catholic "Old Pretender" to the British throne, James Francis Edward Stuart, the Papacy first permitted space to be set aside adjacent to the Eternal City for the interment of dead Protestants. Simultaneously, Jacobite supporters attempted to present the Stuart claimant as a potential king who would embrace his Protestant subjects as well as Catholic ones and rule a religiously pluralistic Britain. James's court-in-exile at the Palazzo Muti in Rome included a number of Protestant Jacobites as well as several chaplains who ministered to them. Tolerance for his Protestant "subjects" formed an increasingly important part of the intellectual claim for his restoration as the rightful sovereign of Great Britain. A letter published in 1721 purportedly from English travelers marveled at the Protestant chaplains in James's entourage in addition to his regal bearing and "air of greatness."[51] When a Protestant follower died in Rome and his funeral provoked a Catholic mob, James wrote to the Pope for permission to establish a Protestant burial space outside the city walls. This site was first used for the burial of Sir William Ellis in 1732. A loyal Jacobite who served James II and went into exile after 1689, Ellis served as the Old Pretender's treasurer. He "died in the Communion of the Church of *England*" and thus could not be buried in Catholic soil.[52] With dual identities as a Protestant and as a Jacobite in exile his body could neither be interred in Rome nor would it have been welcomed for a respectable burial in Britain. Ultimately the Old Pretender's desire to present himself as a legitimate claimant to secular political authority combined with ability to influence the Papacy led to the creation of a space for the dead where "many Jacobite bones [would] lie mouldering."[53]

Over the course of the eighteenth century the non-Catholic cemetery in Rome became associated less with the Old Pretender and more with the Papacy's toleration of Protestants in general. Jacobitism's demise as a viable political alternative to the Hanoverian succession after the failed 1745 invasion coincided with Protestants from different backgrounds dying in Rome. Their presence, "if not their legal status, began to be tacitly recognized" during the period.[54] The first burial that nineteenth century accounts of the cemetery acknowledge, of Oxford-graduate George Langton, took place in 1738.[55] Giambattista Nolli's plan of Rome from 1748 marked the spot that had been established as the Protestant burial ground, "*Luogo ove si sepelliscono i protestanti.*"[56] Thus, by the middle of the eighteenth century, the space that the Old Pretender initially secured for the burial of his non-Catholic followers generally seemed to be known as the Protestant Cemetery of Rome.

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[50] Ibid.

[51] See Daniel Szechi, "The Image of the Court: Idealism, Politics and the Evolution of the Stuart Court 1689-1730" in Edward Corp, ed., *The Stuart Court in Rome* (Ashgate, 2003), 50.

[52] *The Gentleman's Magazine* Vol. II, Number XX (August, 1732), 930. The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography 1885-1900*, Vol. 17 declares, "Ellis died a protestant at Rome in the autumn of 1732."

[53] A. Shield and Andrew Lang, *The King Over the Water* (New York: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1907), 390.

[54] A. Francis Steuart, "The Old Protestant Burial-Ground in Rome" *The Scottish Historical Review* 22:88 (July, 1925), 278.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Referenced in A. Francis Steuart, "The Old Protestant Burial-Ground in Rome" *The Scottish Historical Review* 22:88 (July, 1925), 279. The "Nolli Map" Reference Number is 1069 and a digitized version is available at: http://nolli.uoregon.edu.

Figure 1: "The Pyramid of Caius Cestius," engraving by J. Merigot, 1796. The tombstones of Protestant burials from the eighteenth century appear beneath the trees. From *A Select Collection of Views and Ruins in Rome and Its Vicinity* (London: Smith & Davy, 1777).

Around the same time the space began to be understood as aesthetically pleasing. Histories of the site emphasize how a German Protestant living in Rome found it especially beautiful. In 1765 Baron George Anton Frederick Werpup purportedly found the spot near the classical monument to Caius Cestius so enchanting that he asked the Pope if he "should die…near Rome, his body might rest 'under the shadows of the pyramid.'"[57] The following year when another Protestant died the Pope "with his own hand gave orders for his interment" at the same location and permitted a public funeral, supposedly the first such occurrence in the Eternal City.[58] Visual evidence of the burial ground exists from the end of the century, in the form of an engraving by J. Merigot that depicted the Pyramid of Caius Cestius with several tombstones under the trees nearby. The need for a burial ground for Protestants in the quintessentially Catholic city developed because of the papacy's increasing but still limited toleration for those not of the orthodox faith.

The political influence of the British Government and the efforts of a different kind of expatriate community led to the establishment of Protestant burial spaces in eighteenth-century Portugal. The Commercial Treaty of 1654 between the two countries established, in principle, that Protestants residing in the Catholic country could possess Bibles and practice their religion freely, as long as they did so privately.[59] In addition, Article XIV of the Treaty specified, "that a place be allotted to them fit for the burial of their dead."[60] Despite the treaty's confirmation of religious

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[57] Quoted in Steuart, "The Old Protestant Burial-Ground in Rome," 280-281.
[58] *Scots Magazine* (August 1766)
[59] See L.M.E. Shaw, *Trade, Inquisition and the English Nation in Portugal, 1650-1690* (Manchester: Carcenet Press, Ltd., 1989).
[60] Cited in Shaw, 192 and 205.

toleration, the British merchants residing in Portugal did not establish burial grounds until the eighteenth century. The delay does not appear to be due completely to Portuguese obstruction but the Catholic country clearly did not feel a sense of urgency to assist the English. In addition to the high-level diplomacy of the earlier period, establishing the cemeteries necessitated a sustained commitment on the part of the merchants and official support from the British Government. In April 1717 the Consul at Lisbon, acting as an intermediary between the merchants comprising the British Factory and the government in London, "purchased a convenient piece of ground on this side [of] the water near the city for the burial of our dead."[61] He assured the Secretary of State, "it is to be decently walled round at the charge of the Factory and remain as a burying place for the use of the British Nation for ever."[62] Still, it remained deeply contested; four months later, the consul worried about delays in establishing the cemetery.[63]

English merchants in Porto used diplomatic channels to advocate for a similar space in their adopted city, and the Marquis of Pombal granted their request in 1753.[64] The Portuguese King Joseph I ordered local officials to arrange for the Protestant cemetery as well as to permit British merchants "of good fame and character" to arm themselves when traveling to rural areas.[65] Portugal understood the provision of a burial ground as a way to cement the commercial alliance between the two countries and connected it with the respectability of the merchant community. When the British Envoy to Portugal, Abraham Castres, perished in 1757 he was buried in the Lisbon cemetery with the Portuguese Foreign Minister Dom Luis da Cunha providing an escort of cavalry to ensure "against any mob violence."[66] The Portuguese crown, either because of diplomatic or economic pressure, felt amenable to providing space for dead Protestants and permitting them to be buried in Portuguese soil, even if not all Portuguese subjects shared this tolerant attitude.

Establishing burial grounds for Protestants elsewhere in Portuguese territories proved somewhat more difficult. In some respects the problems confirmed the assessment that "remote from the fear of government" Catholics of the period did not practice much toleration of Protestants. John Ovington observed the contentiousness of caring for the dead during his journey to India in 1689 and believed that Catholic concern about the dead only extended to those of their religious faith. Dead Protestants could not expect decent care because the Catholic "Church allows no Charitable Thoughts to the Souls of Hereticks, so does it forbid all kindness to their dead, Bodies, and prosecutes the *English* that die there, with more inexorable hatred, than what they shew to the Carcasses of Beasts and Birds, which may find a resting place on shoar."[67] Consequently, Ovington continued, Protestant bodies "are cast into the Sea, and committed to the waves."[68] He personally observed this terrible occurrence when "an *English* Merchant falling sick of a sudden Distemper at *Madeira,* was unfortunately carried off by it; which mov'd the rest of our Nation that were there, to contrive for his decent Interment."[69] Ovington and his countrymen decided to bury the body "among the Rocks, in order to his better concealment."[70] Unfortunately they soon discovered "the Rocks were unable to shelter him from their Tyranny, which was exercis'd upon him in this barbarous manner, they dragg'd him from the place where he lay, up and down the Island, and

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[61] "Consul W. Poyntz to Paul Methuen" 1717 Apr. 30, N.S. Lisbon; TNA:PRO SP 89/25 f. 77

[62] Ibid.

[63] "Consul Wm. Poyntz to Joseph Addison" 1717 Aug. 13, N.S. Lisbon; TNA:PRO SP 89/25 f.147

[64] "A. Castres to Earl of Holdernesse" 1753 July 9 Lisbon; TNA:PRO SP 89/48 f.153

[65] "Translation of Mons. de Carvalho's letter to Mr. Castres" 1753 June 27 Lisbon; TNA:PRO SP 89/48 f. 155

[66] "E. Hay to W. Pitt, Death of A. Castres and details of his last illness" 1757 May 3 Lisbon; TNA:PRO SP 89/51 f. 19

[67] John Ovington, *A voyage to Suratt: in the year, 1689*, 27.

[68] Ibid., 28.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid.

expos'd him to the contempt of the Inhabitants, till they threw him into the Ocean."[71] Ovington's observations underscored a serious and unsettling problem for Protestant Britons living and dying in predominately Catholic countries.

Furthermore, Ovington believed that this type of injustice perpetrated by Catholics in Europe extended to their colonies in newly explored parts of the world. The behavior of the Portuguese in Madeira, he declared, "is propagated as far as their Plantations in the *East*; where if any Protestant chance to die among the Nation of the *Portuguese,* no place is allowed for his Reception, nor vile enough for his Sepulchre, but the very Corps of a rank Heretick annoys the Dominions of a Catholick Country, tho' it were buried under ground."[72] In Ovington's estimation Catholic intolerance of deceased Protestants would spread to the East if the British travellers and merchants did not aggressively assert their right to burial spaces.

Nearly eighty years after Ovington's account another British publication reported that the problems continued. The rhetoric changed slightly and blamed the Inquisition rather than Catholic intolerance more generally. It still proved difficult to bury dead Protestants in Madeira because "the inquisition is violently set against all heretics [and] the bodies of such are forbid all Christian burial, and regarded as the carcasses of brutes."[73] Particularly egregious was the fact that commercial success in life could not procure decent treatment after death. Distressingly, "Even the most considerable *English* protestant merchants are treated with the most ignominious contempt, and forced to throw their dead bodies, as if they were on ship-board, into the sea, unless they pay an extravagant price to the clergy for the liberty of breaking ground."[74] Consequently, the account concluded, "The volcanos of the *Canary Islands* are not more terrible to the natives, than the clergy of *Madeira,* armed with the authority of the inquisition, to the protestants who live under their jurisdiction."[75] For the British in the mid-eighteenth century the inability to provide decent burial for their countrymen who died in intolerant Catholic places seemed as disruptive as a natural disaster.

Three years later the British merchants of Madeira attempted to remedy the situation with a petition to the Portuguese king requesting space for a cemetery like that which already existed at Lisbon and Porto so they would no longer be forced to bury their dead at sea.[76] By January of 1761 the Marquis of Pombal wrote to the Governor of Madeira, informing him, "King Joseph has granted local English merchants leave for a cemetery ashore, on the same terms as those at Lisbon."[77] Even with this concession of land for a burial ground, several decades later a London publication lamented, "At Madeira…decency is scarcely preserved in funerals. There is no clergyman to attend on those occasions; and the corpse is conveyed, in an obscure manner, by the English who reside there, without the walls of the city, where the vice-consul, or some other person, reads the service, when the body is put into, the grave."[78] Acquiring space for dead Protestants in Madeira seemed like only the first step toward the sort of religious toleration that the English hoped would be achieved.

Once the cemetery had been established, the British still felt as though the death rituals were incomplete. Having a space for dead Protestants amounted to progress but "the Roman Catholics refuse burial to the body of a Protestant, though nothing can be more repugnant both to religion

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[71] Ibid.

[72] Ibid.

[73] *The Modern Part of an Universal History*, Vol. XIV (1760), 477.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Ibid.

[76] "Petition from the English merchants at Madeira to King of Portugal," 1760 Madeira; TNA:PRO SP 89/54 f. 3

[77] "Count of Oeiras to Joseph Correa de S," 1761 Jan. 3 Lisbon; TNA:PRO SP 89/54 f. 7

[78] *The Gentleman's Magazine* (February 1783), 158.

and humanity."[79] Yet, even this relatively intolerant state of affairs compared favorably to the situation prior to the Portuguese government's sanction of a Protestant burial space. "Formerly, at Madeira, the English were under the necessity of carrying the bodies of their deceased countrymen out to sea, and there sinking them. They have at present obtained leave to purchase a *neglected corner* of ground without the town-walls, which they have converted into a place of burial."[80] Thus, roughly a century after the 1654 treaty officially permitted the burial of dead Protestants in Portuguese territories they remained a contested and somewhat inadequate space in the opinion of English commentators.

Although toleration for the Protestant dead came about relatively slowly and haphazardly in predominately Catholic regions of Europe, it steadily increased over the course of the eighteenth century. The commercial alliance between Britain and Portugal prompted the country's Catholic monarchs and its government to permit burial grounds in Lisbon, Porto, and, ultimately, Madeira as well. In addition to this high-level diplomacy the sustained effort of British commercial communities in these places proved necessary to obtain the spaces that treaties allowed them. British merchants and traders living in the predominately Muslim city of Tunis had obtained space for their dead decades earlier, indicating the relative toleration that existed for Christians there. Similarly, in Livorno, the oldest Protestant burial ground in Italy came about because of the city's cosmopolitan and tolerant character that permitted all manner of religious institutions. In Rome, the founding of the city's Protestant Cemetery originated first from the desire of Jacobites in exile to claim authority to rule and later from the Papacy's attempt to act humanely toward non-Catholic dead.

II. *Merchants, Explorers, and Burial Grounds in the East*

British commercial activities in the East prompted the establishment of burial grounds for Europeans–spaces for the dead not connected with churches and parishes. These places would later be described as the first modern cemeteries. In the Arabian Peninsula and India, local Muslim rulers generally tolerated the religious practices of Protestants and permitted burial grounds, confirming the assessments of eighteenth-century writers who found the Catholic Church comparatively less caring about the needs of Protestants than non-Christians in the East. Simultaneously, Europeans who visited India in the seventeenth century noticed a style of caring for the dead unlike what they deemed to be honorable and Christian. British merchants, as well as their European rivals, nevertheless adopted some of the burial practices that they initially derided in an attempt to assert the political power and commercial success of their communities.

Treaty concessions of land for burial grounds seemed comparatively easier to enact in the East than in Catholic Europe. Some spaces for the dead already existed without official demarcation and accommodated those who died on explorations and journeys. At the East India Company stations in the Persian Gulf, merchants took care to ensure that spaces for their dead existed. Following its move of central headquarters in the Persian Gulf from Bandar Abbas to Basra in 1763 the Company executed an agreement with the Shaikh of Bushire that provided for a new factory. The Shaikh paid for the buildings and also provided a garden and a burial ground.[81] Simultaneously the Company's agreements with the Persian ruler Kerim Khan gave them "a privileged trading position in the Persian Gulf—no customs duties were to be collected on goods imported or exported by them, they alone could import wollen goods, and their employees were not to be taxed

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[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Denis Wright, *The English amongst the Persians*, (I.B. Tauris, 2001), 2-3.

or interfered with."[82] The East India Company's agreements secured their trading position as well as provided other elements of community organization, such as the provision of burial grounds.

A century earlier English travelers and explorers in the east had begun to notice the differences between oriental burial practices and churchyard interments in the west. The Chaplain on Sir Thomas Roe's 1615-18 mission to the court of the Great Mogul, Edward Terry, observed that the burial practices of the Muslim East contradicted some of the essential truths of Christianity. In awe of the grandeur of the court at Agra, Terry declared, "of all the places that empire affords, there are none that minister more delight than some of their burying places do; neither do they bestow so much cost, nor shew so much skill in architecture, in any other structures, as in there."[83] According to his estimation the buildings devoted to honoring the Mughal dead amounted to the greatest accomplishment of their civilization. He drew comparisons to "other countries and stories" and understood the cultural universality of honoring the dead with edifices devoted to their memory. He then elaborated the way that these physical structures did not always reflect the true character and accomplishments of the individual commemorated.

European Christians, according to Terry, should examine critically the burial practices of the East to understand how their moral worth proved fleeting and superficial. Terry counseled his readers, "the virtuous man outlives his life, and after finds, that there are no such lasting monuments, as to be entomb'd in the hearts of the good, who will be ever shewing forth the praises of those which have deserv'd them."[84] Rather than marking an advanced civilization, the monuments to the dead in Mughal India suggested a culture too deeply invested in a misguided form of materialism that built grand monuments instead of allowing good deeds to produce their own memory.

Terry suggested, in a separate dismissal of the significance of Mughal commemoration, that physical monuments also did not matter because they would crumble in time. He evoked Juvenal's Tenth Satire for his final derision of the Mughal care for the dead, "as for earthly monuments, made to continue in the remembrances of the dead, *Quandoquidem data sunt ipsis quoque fata Sepulchris* [For even sepulchures themselves have their fated hour]."[85] Shrines to the dead "shall have their periods as well as men: and when time shall crumble and consume them all into dust and forgetfulness, the righteous shall be had in a lasting, and everlasting remembrance."[86] Terry's account of the way that Mughal India cared for its dead attempted to undermine what would outwardly seem to produce a feeling of awe or reverence in the visitor. The monuments to the dead became, in his estimation, signs of a culture that did not honor virtuousness properly, and indicative of a civilization less advanced than that of the Christian west.

Terry's observations about Mughal monuments to the dead reveal some of the anxieties that led the English traders in seventeenth century Surat to erect tombs for their dead unlike those in European churchyards. Furthermore, his observations suggest some of the religious and moral stakes for the burial practices that English traders adopted in seventeenth century India. When they borrowed stylistic elements from the Mughal elite and built grand tombs to surpass those of their rivals they embarked on a course of action that contemporaries already understood as somewhat at odds with conventional Christian norms in the west.

Visiting the east between 1672 and 1681 the traveller John Fryer noted how each community

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[82] Ibid.

[83] Edward Terry, *A Voyage to East India* (London: J. Wilkie, 1777, reprinted from the edition of 1655), 291.

[84] Ibid.

[85] Ibid. "For even sepulchures themselves have their fated hour" is from Juvenal, Tenth Satire ("Satura X"), line 146. John Dryden's translation (1693): "For sepulchres themselves must crumbling fall / In time's abyss, the common grave of all." *Oxford Classical Dictionary* describes Tenth Satire as "a magnificent declamation on the folly of men in desiring hurtful things instead of courage, health, and sanity."

[86] Terry, *A Voyage to East India*, 299.

of traders in Surat had its own enclave for the dead. The Armenians' burial ground seemed like "a Garden" while "the Ground the *English* Dead are inhumed in, is stocked not with so many Tombs as the *Dutch*; though in one of Sir *George Oxendine*'s it excels the Proudest."[87] The French fared the worst in his assessment and he noticed their "separate Place to deposit their Dead, overagainst the *English*, with only one single Tomb, and that a small one."[88] Fryer's observations about the spaces for the dead in seventeenth century Surat connected the burial grounds to the relative prestige and prominence of the various nationalities vying for commercial and political influence.

The rivalry between European religious factions also extended to and influenced the care of the dead in Surat. As a nineteenth century account of the earlier period declared, "the French on the Western Coast of India [were] rash and extravagant, but yet peaceably disposed, men of business; or as missionaries at Surat, where the Capuchins, though labouring unsuccessfully amongst the natives, were occasionally rewarded by the conversion of a stray Englishman."[89] One such case of an attempted conversion occurred when the Capuchins attempted to reconcile "Robert Lynch, a Factor of Surat, to the Church of Rome, on his death-bed."[90] The head of the English Factory then visited Lynch "to learn from his own mouth whether he had become a Romanist or not. The dying man faintly denied that he was."[91] After Lynch's death, the Catholics attempted to "have his remains interred in their burial-ground, but were refused on the ground that he had not made any profession of Romanism."[92] The case illustrates how the Christian confessional split led to disagreements about the care of the dead even in a place like Surat that tolerated burial grounds for each faction.

The aesthetics of Surat's burial grounds collectively seemed far more impressive than any churchyard in Europe and produced a space that contemporaries understood as appropriately marking the beginning of British rule in the subcontinent.[93] The architect John Vanbrugh sketched the tombs and suggested in his 1711 treatise that they could provide a model for reconceptualizing spaces of the dead at home.[94] They remained noteworthy to visitors a century later when the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, Reginald Heber, recorded his impressions during a tour. The space for the dead in Surat seemed like "an extensive and picturesque burial-ground, full of large but ruinous tombs of the former servants of the Company."[95] Heber saw them as representing a Muslim "style of architecture, with large apartments surmounted by vaults, and containing within two or three tombs, except that the bodies lie East and West, instead of North and South."[96] He noticed in particular the monument "in memory of Sir George Oxenden, one of the earliest Governors of British India," and connected the establishment of a burial space to the history of Company rule in India. When Oxenden died "British India comprised little more than the factory at this place, and the then almost desolate Island of Bombay. He could hardly at that time have even dreamed how great a territory his countrymen would possess in India; yet I must say that the size and solidity of his sepulchre is not unworthy that of one of the first founders of an Empire."[97] Heber understood the space to mark the beginning of what would become the Raj, and the impressive architecture of the individual tombs enhanced and created this vision of a burial ground.

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[87] John Fryer, *A new account of East-India and Persia* (London: 1698), 100.

[88] Ibid., 101

[89] "The First Wars and Treaties of the Western Presidency," *The Bombay Quarterly Review* Vol. IV, No. I (July, 1856), 103.

[90] Ibid.

[91] Ibid.

[92] Ibid.

[93] James Stevens Curl, *The Victorian Celebration of Death* (Sutton, 2004), 29.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Reginald Heber, *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India* Vol. III (London: John Murray, Fourth Edition, 1829), 74.

[96] Ibid.

[97] Ibid.

Even prior to Heber's observations about Surat, the British in the eighteenth century, amidst the power struggles of the declining Mughal Empire, already considered their burial ground an inseparable part of their political presence and authority. They took seemingly extraordinary steps to protect it. To improve the military defensiveness of the city in 1741 the local ruler Teg-Beg Khan "immediately ordered that all trees and hedges near the walls, which could afford cover to the assailants, should be cut down. He even went so far as to demand that the English should level with the ground those noble mausolea."[98] The members of the English Factory "positively refused to permit such demolition" and defied this demand.[99] Afraid that he might obliterate the burial ground without their consent, the English "engaged to place a guard of thirty persons for the defence of their tombs."[100] In the Factory Diary they explained their reasons for taking these measures to safeguard the space for the dead, insisting, "Nothing could have prevailed on us to come to such a resolution but the apprehensions we were under of their levelling them, which would be a very disgraceful circumstance, as some of them have been raised at a great expense, and are almost of the same date with the English name in these parts."[101] Even before the Battle of Plassey and the granting of the Diwani that typically mark the East India Company's transition from merchant to ruler, the Factors of Surat found it essential to safeguard the burial ground that provided monumental proof in stone of their presence and political authority as well as their commercial success.

The same sentiment pervaded British communities elsewhere in the subcontinent during the eighteenth century. Like Surat, in other trading outposts merchants placed a significant emphasis on the death rituals and burial grounds as a means to showcase their status in the community.[102] Burial became a sense of duty to those of the same nationality in a foreign land as well. An account of the British community at Fort Saint George in Madras underscores the connection between funeral rituals and the legitimacy of the East India Company. In a description of the British community in Madras from 1755, *The Universal Magazine* explained to its readers in the metropole, "When a person of note dies, the funeral is solemnized with the greatest magnificence. The Governor, Council, and Gentlemen of the town attend; nor are the fair sex wanting in their duty to their deceased countrymen."[103] Death rituals provided a way for the British community to display itself publicly. Furthermore, the account of Madras confirmed a similar aesthetic and architecture of the space for the dead as that which existed in Surat. Set apart from the dwellings of the living, "The burying-place is at the farther end of the Black town, adorned with many stately tombs in honour of the dead; some with lofty spires, carved into different fancies, after the Indian manner; others, in a lower sphere, gravely express the merits of the person, for whose sake they were erected; and all, in general, have the most curious workmanship in India bestowed on them."[104] The space for the British dead in Madras, like that in Surat, seemed to eighteenth-century observers to incorporate an aesthetic unlike anything in Europe but fitting to commemorate those who perished far from home.

The Park Street Cemetery in Calcutta, begun in 1767, provides another instance of space for the dead in India becoming a tool to legitimate European presence in the subcontinent. According to nineteenth century historians, the establishment of the cemetery coincided with the beginning of British political authority and the Company's transition from merchant to ruler. Writing at the end

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[98] "The Nawabship of Teg-Beg Khan at Surat," *The Bombay Quarterly Review* Vol. IV, No. II (October, 1856), 223.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Ibid.

[101] "Diary of the Surat Factory, 30th of October 1741," quoted in "The Nawabship of Teg-Beg Khan at Surat," *The Bombay Quarterly Review* Vol. IV, No. II (October, 1856), 223.

[102] See Robert Travers, "Death and the Nabob," *Past & Present* No. 196 (August, 2007), 83-124.

[103] "An Account of Fort Saint George," *The Universal Magazine* Vol. XVI, No. CIX (March, 1755), 100.

[104] Ibid.

of the century, Kathleen Blechynden observed, "One of the earliest of the changes which, after Plassey, marked the transition of Calcutta from a fortified settlement to a town, was the formation of a new burial-place for the dead, away from the dwellings of the living, since there was no longer the need to keep it sheltered under the guns of the Fort."[105] In this account, having a space for the dead like Park Street, located away from the town, signaled the triumph of the Company over its European and Indian rivals as well as the permanency of the British in India.

Yet, the decision to establish this new burial ground as well as many of the early interments in it also brought about the permanency of British rule. Many of the eighteenth-century burials in the Park Street Cemetery indicate the extent to which the space for the dead manifested the power and prestige of the Company. Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Kyd's interment in 1793 demonstrates how the new burial ground itself primarily operated to serve the official interests of the East India Company, rather than private or religious needs. Kyd, who had risen through the ranks of the Bengal Engineers from ensign to Military Secretary to the government and founded the Calcutta Botanic Garden, specified in his will that his "remains be committed to the ground, in [his] own garden, on the west side of the Pucka Walled Tank, near to where an Alligator tree now stands, and that [his] funeral expenses do not exceed rupees three hundred."[106] Additionally he wished that no religious service should be performed over his grave. The Governor-General, Sir John Shore, countermanded Kyd's dying wishes and directed that a public funeral for him be held at Park Street. The ceremony included: a "hearse with velvet and plumes and best pall," "two men in black with dressed staffe, etc., to precede the corpse," and "fifty-three mourners in black silk scarfs and hatbands" which cost the Company over eight hundred rupees.[107] Kyd's "last directions were disregarded" because Shore thought it "improper to give so honoured and distinguished a servant of the Company so obscure a burial."[108] The original grave marker ultimately vanished, providing what one commentator a century later thought to be a fitting end to the story, "so at last the wish of the quiet lover of nature was gratified."[109] Kyd's interment reveals the powerful political stakes for the East India Company with providing proper care for the dead and how those running the Company's political establishment self-consciously chose elaborate funerals.

Already in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries caring for the dead in British India formed an important part of the Company's claim to legitimacy first as a commercial entity and fairly soon thereafter as a political community. Throughout India and the East, British merchants and travellers of the period encountered societies with ways of caring for the dead that at first seemed dramatically different from their customary practices. Despite the derision of some authors who believed that the grand monuments to the Mughal dead indicated a morally deficient civilization, those who lived and died in the East India Company enclaves embraced some of the funerary practices they encountered. Additionally, the Company reacted to the cultural, social, and political environment it encountered by producing new ways of organizing spaces for the dead.

III. Burial Grounds Abroad and Cemetery Reform at Home

Seventeenth and eighteenth century British burial grounds dead abroad provided the basis for reconceptualizing the relationship between the dead and the living at home. Collectively, they were the first in modern Western history to be detached from parishes and located away from

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[105] Kathleen Blechynden, *Calcutta Past and Present* (London: W. Thacker & Co., 1905), 150.
[106] Kyd's will is published in the appendix to George King, *A Short Account of Colonel Kyd: The Founder of the Royal Botanic Garden, Calcutta* (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1893).
[107] Blechynden, *Calcutta Past and Present*, 150.
[108] Ibid.
[109] Ibid.

dwellings and buildings.[110] That these places contained the graves of Britons who died far away from their home country made them places that attracted visitors' attention. The narratives that these travellers produced, in turn, introduced a new affective relationship between the living and the dead that originated from the act of discovering something mournful that was both familiar and foreign. Epitomized by the musings of the romantic poets about the Protestant Cemetery in Rome, this new way of experiencing the dead and their burial places became a basis for garden cemetery reforms in Britain. Planners who advocated removing the dead from churchyards of course looked to Pere Lachaise in Paris as the prototypical urban space for the dead, but they compared spaces for British dead abroad to it as well. They sought to replicate the environment, aesthetic, and design of these overseas cemeteries in order to produce the same emotional response in visitors at home that they experienced when they visited overseas burial grounds.

Across the world, enclaves for the British dead tended to be located outside of cities, physically detached from churches and parishes, and frequently away from the living. The reasons for this placement varied: in some cases it came about because of the politics of religious difference and in other cases it happened because of more secular concerns. The traditional Muslim practice of separating the dead from the living resulted in the Protestant burial space in Tunis being located beyond the confines of the city. The space happened to be near the dwellings of European merchants who similarly occupied the place of outsiders on the margin of Islamic society. The cemetery was situated "outside the walls of the medina at the Carthage Gate…fairly close to that part of old Tunis where the foreign merchants lived and worked."[111] Rome's Protestant Cemetery similarly ended up beyond the walls of the city and its location was a clear exclusionary move. Located in a "desolate and little known spot," the burial ground's position adjacent to hazardous gunpowder magazines provides tangible proof of its remoteness to the eighteenth-century residents of the city.[112] The Catholic Church forbade interring dead Protestants anywhere within the sacred ground of the Eternal City, so the position outside the walls seemed the only possible unconsecrated space for them. This location, according to one history of the cemetery, proved "an advantage" to the British because "they could enjoy greater seclusion and there was less likelihood of fanatical molestation."[113] In Portugal spaces for dead Protestants similarly occupied spaces on the edges of cities and were frequently surrounded by high walls to enclose them and remove them further from Catholic eyes.

The largest burial ground in British India, Calcutta's Park Street Cemetery, ended up being located far from the populated areas because of concerns about the hot climate's effect on dead bodies. Company officials believed that the heat made bodies especially putrid and toxic to the health of the living. Additionally they needed a vast amount of land to accommodate the high death rates among Europeans. The East India Company's Bengal Council decided in 1766 to replace "The present burying-ground, situate in the middle of the town" because its location seemed "very detrimental to the health of the inhabitants, and [it was] too much confined."[114] The Council directed "the Civil Architect…to point out a more convenient situation for one to be made of proper dimensions."[115] Company officials treated the need for more burial space as a problem for civil administration, rather than an ecclesiastical issue. Not only could they have located it anywhere,

[110] Thomas Laqueur, "The Places of the Dead in Modernity," in Colin Jones and Dror Wahrman, eds. *The Age of Cultural Revolutions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).
[111] Ivor Rawlinson, *Historical Reflections on the Centenary of St. George, Tunis, 1901-2001* (2001).
[112] Steuart, "The Old Protestant Burial-Ground in Rome" 278-279.
[113] H. Nelson Gay, "The Protestant Burial-Ground in Rome: A Historical Sketch," *Bulletin of the Keats-Shelley Society* No. 2; (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1913), 6.
[114] "Proceedings of the Board for September 29, 1766," Cited in Blechendyn, *Calcutta Past and Present*, 150.
[115] Ibid.

but also they could have directed a clergyman to plan it and they did not.[116] They thought of these concerns as problems to be solved with proper civil planning.

The location of the new cemetery outside the confines of the city seemed to introduce a new relationship between the living and the dead. For the pseudonymous Sophia Golbourne, whose fictional letters in *Hartly House, Calcutta* (1789) displayed a subtle "resistance to the binaries of race and gender, of public and private, and of centre and margin," the burial ground's location provided a way to contrast care of the dead at home and abroad.[117] Her account of the Park Street Cemetery considered it in tandem with other religious institutions but noted the oddity of a space for the dead located away from the churchyard. At the "New Fort" she saw "a new church erecting" and understood its design and elements to be "on quite an European model."[118] Yet, she qualified the extent to which the new church would resemble its counterparts at home with "One remark…a-propos on this subject; namely, that the house of prayer, at Calcutta, is not the house of sepulchre."[119] Goldbourne explained, "Burying-grounds are provided some miles from the town."[120] She noticed the spatial placement as something unique to India and fundamentally unlike care of the dead at home.

In assessing this unusual alignment of the space for the dead away from the house of worship, Goldbourne engaged in the process of complicating the binary relationship of home and abroad that typified her novel. She employed the placement of the burial ground in her consideration of the relationship between the living and the dead. Acknowledging the Company's rationale, she explained, "though this measure may have arisen from the fervid heat of this climate (where death is busy) which gives the idea of rapid putridity."[121] Then, she continued, "surely it is disgracing the temple of Divinity, (admitting even that in England no bad consequence results from such deposits) to make it a charnel-house."[122] In Goldbourne's estimation the supposed reason of health actually did not provide a valid rationale, but it nonetheless resulted in a more advantageous spiritual relationship between the dead and the living. She qualified the claim further by asserting that in England where bodies still resided in churchyards, no adverse consequences resulted from the traditional arrangement. Essentially, her explanation of the oddity of the Park Street Cemetery matched the rhetorical style she employed throughout the rest of the work and signified that the placement of burial grounds abroad could realign the relationship between the dead and the living metaphysically as well.

In the early nineteenth century when the practice of moving the dead from churchyards to urban cemeteries became explicitly valorized and desired, the physical placement of overseas cemeteries provided an exemplary model for reformers at home. John Claudius Loudon in the *Encyclopedia of Gardening* noticed what he considered the "continental" tendency of removing cemeteries from cities and believed this practice "will…soon become general in England" as well.[123] Although Loudon thought of removing the dead from churchyards as something foreign and unfamiliar, he recognized it as something desirable that he thought would be emulated in Britain.

The location of burial grounds abroad generally away from the living made these places sites that required effort to visit. Additionally their status as something both foreign and familiar prompted increasing interest from British travellers in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

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[116] Laqueur, "The Places of the Dead in Modernity,", 18

[117] Michael Franklin, "Introduction," *Hartly House, Calcutta* (Oxford University Press, 2007), xliii.

[118] Franklin, ed., *Hartly House, Calcutta*, (Oxford University Press, 2007), 16.

[119] Ibid.

[120] Ibid.

[121] Ibid.

[122] Ibid.

[123] J.C. Loudon, *An Encyclopaedia of Gardening* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Green and Longman, 1835), 341.

Their locations in enclaves generally away from the living produced the custom of visiting and walking in these places. Some burial grounds became sites of interest because they contained the graves of famous literary men: Henry Fielding in Lisbon; Tobias Smollett in Livorno; and John Keats' body and Percy Shelley's ashes in Rome. Others prompted travellers' interest because the graves they contained provided a way to legitimate the history of British presence in a place: Surat, Calcutta, Livorno, and Tunis. Regardless of motives, visiting these spaces prompted Britons to reflect on the relationship between the dead and the living as well as the spaces that the dead inhabited. Writing about their experiences produced a new type of affective relationship between the living and the dead, which the visitors identified as comparatively more mournful and reverential than that which existed at home.

The burial ground at Livorno, the oldest such space for Protestants in Italy, commanded the interest and attention of British travelers on continental tours. As John Mitford succinctly declared in his account of travels in 1814 and 1815, "An Englishman will naturally visit the neat and simple burial-ground of his countrymen in the town."[124] According to Jousiffe's *Road-Book for Travellers in Italy*, "Few…omit to visit Leghorn."[125] Among the principal sites in the city, "The Protestant burial ground should be visited, it is kept in admirable order: some of the monuments are costly and well executed; they are chiefly in Carrara marble, and most of them record the sympathy of the friends of the departed."[126] For other nineteenth century travel writers, the space for the dead provided proof of the Italian port city's historical connection to British commerce. One mid-century narrative declared, "No doubt, Leghorn owes much to the English, who have had and still have large establishments here. Their cemetery, which we saw, gives painful proof that many of them have here found their final resting-place."[127] Seeing the space for the dead in Livorno produced an emotional response among strangers for their dead countrymen and allowed travellers to understand the past in a way that tied their country to the foreign city.

Visitors to Rome in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century found the Protestant cemetery there similarly intriguing. One of the earliest such accounts comes from Lady Phillipina Knight, who recorded her brief impressions after a visit in May 1778. On her tour of Rome, she "saw the tomb of Caius Sextus," and explained "it is a high pyramid and was surrounded by columns; two remain. By it is a burying-ground for Protestants, and they are permitted to mark the places with inscriptions."[128] Knight's strictly factual account reported her observations without the kind of emotional affect that would characterize nineteenth century visitors' understanding of the space. By the late 1820s visitors adopted a much more expressive tone to praise the beauty of this space for the dead. One narrative from 1827 declared, "The Cemeterio degli Inglesi, or the Protestant burial-ground, stretches calmly and beautifully below the Pyramid of Cestius. The site was admirably chosen,—nothing can be more poetically and religiously sepulchral than this most attractive spot."[129] It continued, the cemetery "is worth a thousand churches. No one can stand long there without feeling in full descent upon his spirit the very best influences of the grave."[130] In the

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[124] John Mitford, *Observations, moral, literary, and antiquarian: made during a tour through the Pyrennees, South of France, Switzerland, the Whole of Italy, and the Netherlands, in the Years 1814 and 1815* Vol. I (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1818), 217.

[125] M.J. Jousiffe, *A Road-Book for Travellers in Italy* (London: J. Hatchard and Sons, Second Edition, 1840), 152.

[126] Ibid.

[127] Benjamin Silliman, *A visit to Europe in 1851*, Volume 1, (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1853), 263.

[128] Lady Phillipina Deane Knight, Elizabeth Heathcote Drake, ed., *Lady Knight's letters from France and Italy, 1776-1795* (London: Arthur Humphreys, 1905), 51.

[129] "Protestant Burial-Ground at Rome," *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction*, Volume 10, No. 285 (December 1, 1827), 371.

[130] Ibid.

span of several decades visitors' understandings of the space for the dead in Rome fundamentally transformed and gained significant pathos.

This shift in perceptions came about in large part because of the musings of the romantic poets, especially Percy Shelley. Despite the assertion of the Keats-Shelley Society in the late nineteenth century, that the "Protestant Burial-Ground in Rome…was well known as a place of pilgrimage for English and American travellers long before it had become the last resting-place of men of distinction" it was Shelley's perceptions of the space that gave it such poetic and religious status to nineteenth-century Britons.[131] Shelley wrote to his friend Thomas Love Peacock in the spring of 1818 about his impressions of the cemetery, having toured it for the first time. He began by describing the Eternal City itself, declaring, "Rome is a city, as it were, of the dead, or rather of those who cannot die, and who survive the puny generations which inhabit and pass over the spot which they have made sacred to eternity."[132] Then he explained how "the population is thinly scattered over this space, nearly as great as London. Wide wild fields are enclosed within it, and there are lanes and copses winding among the ruins, and a great green hill, lonely and bare, which overhangs the Tiber."[133] Finally, he wrote of its gardens, "like wild woods of cedar and cypress and pine, and the neglected walks are overgrown with weeds."[134] One such place of natural beauty, "The English burying-place is a green slope near the walls, under the pyramidal tomb of Cestius."[135] In Shelley's imagination the space for the dead fit into an idealized vision of the Rome that connected the past with the present and the urban to the rural. He thought of it as "the most beautiful and solemn cemetery [he] ever beheld."[136]

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[131] Gay, "The Protestant Burial-Ground in Rome: A Historical Sketch," 6-7.
[132] Nathan Haskell Dole, ed., *Letters of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (London and Boston: Virtue & Company, Publishers, 1906), 84
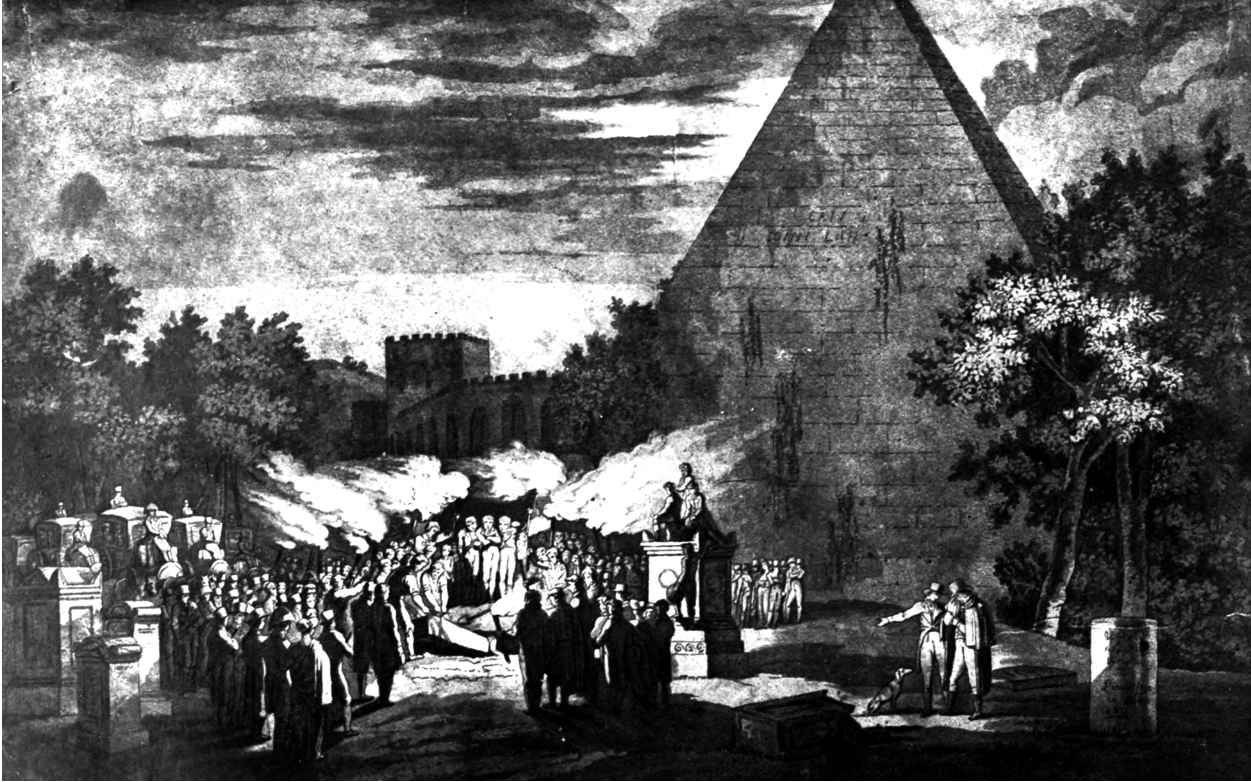[133] Ibid.
[134] Ibid.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Ibid.

Figure 2: "A Night Burial in the Protestant Cemetery in Rome," engraving after a painting by Pinelli. The burial ground represented as Keats and Shelley would have seen it in the early nineteenth century. From *The Bulletin of the Keats-Shelley Society.*

Shelley's description combined the natural attributes of the space, the memory of the dead and the romantic style of his imagination. For him, seeing "the sun shining on its bright grass, fresh, when we first visited it, with the autumnal dews, and hear the whispering of the wind among the leaves of the trees which have overgrown the tomb of Cestius, and the soil which is stirring in the sun-warm earth, and to mark the tombs, mostly of women and young people who were buried there, one might, if one were to die, desire the sleep they seem to sleep."[137] The cemetery's beauty prompted him to choose it as the burial site for his son William, following the child's death in June 1819. The idea that the Protestant Cemetery in Rome, a space he already found sublime, contained the remains of his beloved son heightened the poet's emotional attachment to the place.

John Keats's death in 1821 and his burial in the same cemetery only intensified further Shelley's love of this space of the dead and his literary efforts to associate it with a beautiful death. In his preface to the elegy he wrote for Keats, "Adonais," Shelly told succinctly of the poet's death at the age of 24 and his burial "in the romantic and lonely cemetery of the protestants in that city, under the pyramid which is the tomb of Cestius, and the massy walls and towers, now mouldering and desolate, which formed the circuit of ancient Rome. The cemetery is an open space among the ruins covered in winter with violets and daisies."[138] He continued with the sentiment about the cemetery that encapsulated the romantic idea of a space for the dead. The Protestant Cemetery in Rome seemed so beautiful to Shelley that "It might make one in love with death, to think that one should be buried in so sweet a place."[139]

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[137] Ibid.

[138] Percy B. Shelley, *Adonais: An Elegy on the Death of John Keats, Author of Endymion, Hyperion Etc.* (Pisa, 1821), 3-4.

[139] Ibid.

Keats's friend Joseph Severn who attended to the poet on his deathbed and took charge of his burial and commemoration also found the burial place sublimely beautiful. He connected it with the memory and eternal repose of his friend, lamenting, "Poor Keats has now his wish – his humble wish: he is at peace in the quiet grave."[140] Severn "walked there a few days [earlier], and found the daisies had grown all over it. It is one of the most lovely retired spots in Rome."[141] The natural beauty of the flowers as well as the quiet and secluded space impressed Severn as the proper place for his dead friend. Furthermore, he continued, it would be impossible to "have such a place in England."[142] He visited "it with a delicious melancholy which relieved [his] sadness."[143] The landscape of the cemetery according to Severn and Shelley provided the kind of mournful beauty that they wanted for their friend, and it seemed like a space fundamentally different from burial places at home.

The Protestant Cemetery in Rome, already a site of interest to British travellers, because indelibly connected with the literary fame of Keats and Shelley, which prompted it to become a site of "pilgrimage" for generations of British visitors and authors. Shelley perished several years after Keats and the well-known cremation of his body took place near the Livorno burial ground. Friends brought his ashes to the cemetery in Rome so that they could be interred close to his fellow poet and adjacent to his beloved son. Visitors soon came to the Protestant Cemetery to pay homage to both men. After frequently reading "Adonais," "Shelley's beautiful dirge over the remains of poor Keats," one author "often resolved, if ever fate should allow [him] to visit Rome, to make a pilgrimage to the spot where the two poets repose together, beneath the wall of the ancient city."[144] Upon his arrival the visitor mused, "This was the spot where the remains of one of the greatest poets and most extraordinary geniuses of modern times repose. Fitter grave poet could not have than this secluded spot—this nook in the ancient wall of Rome, with the blue Italian sky overhead, the dark cypress waving above, and the silent and desolate ruins of the imperial city mouldering around."[145] He again read "Adonais" as well as some of Shelley's other poems and reflected, "in the cold unimaginative climes of the north it may seem like sentimental folly to talk of feeling affected over a poet's grave. But here, amidst the solitary ruins, and under the blue sky, life is quite a different thing, and all the poetical feelings and faculties of nature shoot out luxuriant and unrestrained."[146] Being in the space led the traveller to feel in touch with his emotions in a way that he thought impossible at home. He appreciated, "There was no one to see [him there], no one to laugh at [him]."[147] This solitude allowed him to "give full scope to [his] natural feelings" and to feel "more deeply."[148] The space for the dead in Rome, as well as the memory of those who inhabited it, produced for the visitor an emotional response unlike anything he thought possible at home.

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[140] William Sharp, *The Life and Letters of Joseph Severn* (London, 1892), 105.
[141] Ibid.
[142] Ibid.
[143] Ibid.
[144] "A Visit to the Grave of Shelley," *The London Investigator*, Vol. II, No. 13 (April, 1855), 1.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Ibid.
[147] Ibid.
[148] Ibid.

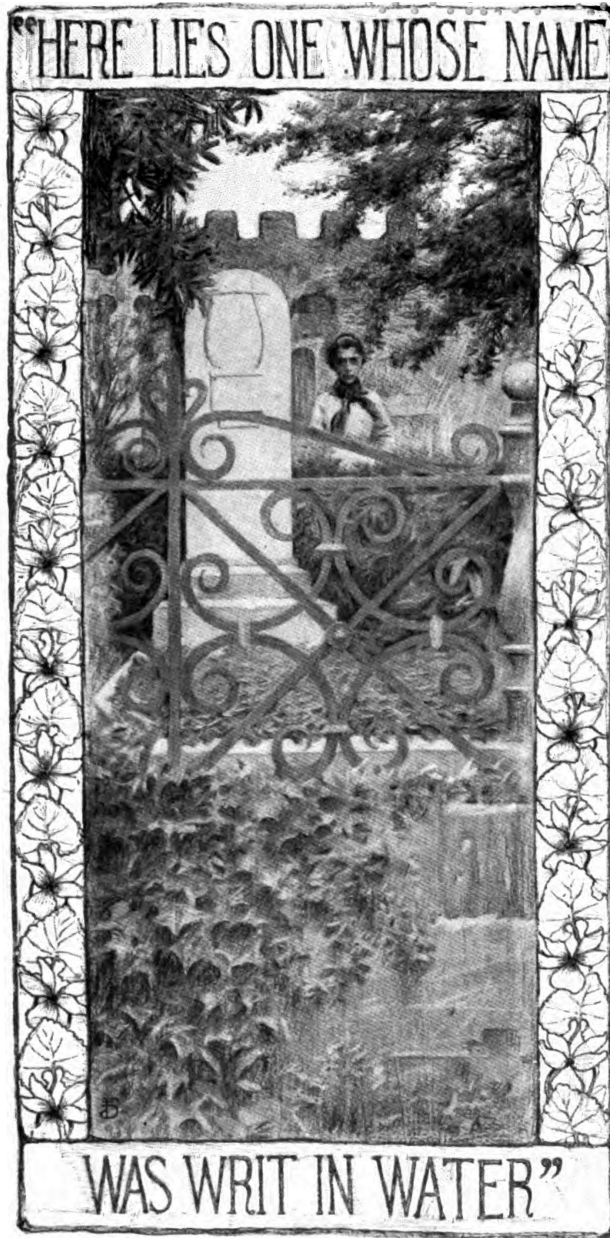Figure 4: Painting of John Keats's grave by William Bell Scott, 1873. From the Ashmolean Museum, WA1893.3.

Figure 3: Representation of John Keats's grave at the Protestant Cemetery in Rome from the late nineteenth century. The etchings that frame the image (along with some of the words from the epitaph) replicate the flowers that grew on the poet's burial place. From Laurence Hutton, *Literary Landmarks of Rome* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1897).
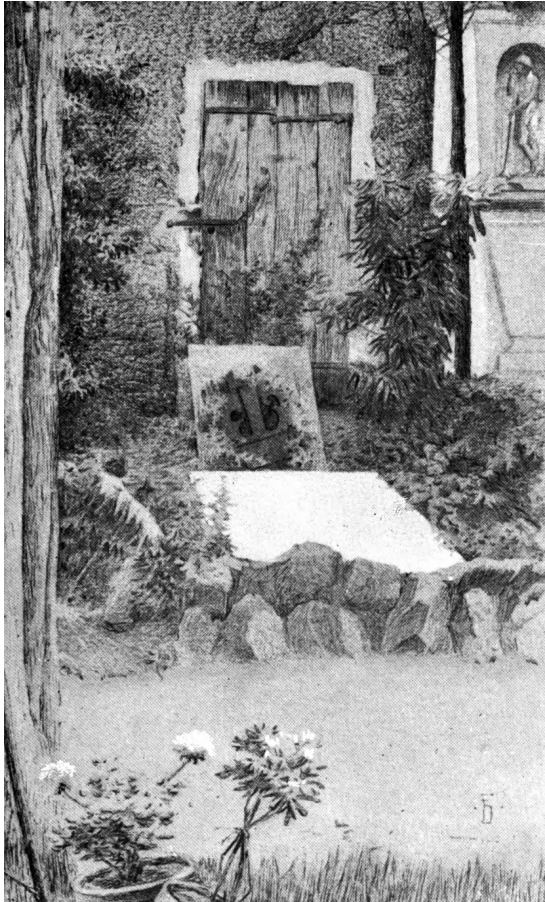
Figure 5: Representation of Percy Shelley's grave at the Protestant Cemetery in Rome from the end of the nineteenth century. From Laurence Hutton, *Literary Landmarks of Rome* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1897).

Figure 6: Painting of Shelley's grave by Walter Crane. From the Ashmolean Museum, WA1942.77.

Other travelers experienced the same kind of emotional response to the graves and to the cemetery as a whole. Upon his arrival in Rome, one visitor told his companions to drive "to the Protestant cemetery" before anything else because he "wished to pay [his] homage to the grave of Shelley."[149] Another author acknowledged at the end of the nineteenth century the cemetery's significance because of the poets' graves. She explained, "Keats was buried in the Protestant Cemetery at Rome, amid the ruins of the Honorian walls, that retired and verdant place, which, for his sake and that of Shelley, has become a place of pilgrimage to the English race for ever."[150] The presence of the poets' graves in the burial ground made it sacred to this visitor who assumed that all her countrymen would feel a similar affinity.

Visitors also connected the space for the dead with the obligations of the living. One traveller declared that in the Eternal City, "You *must* think, or at least feel; and the thoughts which Rome suggests but aggravate your troubles or create them."[151] Amidst this cacophony, "There are spots…where…one may find a morning's sense of something like repose. The spot that Shelley said made him almost in love with death makes it almost possible also to be at temporary peace with life. He, at least, is here at peace with all things, under the long broad triangular shadow of the monument of Caius Cestius."[152] It was the presence of Shelley's remains that "turned the Protestant Cemetery into a perpetual place of pilgrimage."[153] Despite the sacrality of the space, the visitor "found his tomb sorely neglected" and "could not bring [himself] to quit Rome without seeing to the gravestone being cleansed, the roses being brought into subjection, and fresh violets planted."[154] The poets' graves as well as the cemetery itself became not only places that Britons felt compelled to visit but also sites that they would attend as though they contained the remains of family members or friends.

Just as the Protestant Cemetery in Rome became a place that intensely interested British travellers, other burial grounds in Italy similarly evoked tourists' imaginations. Some accounts presented cemeteries as comparatively more interesting than sites characteristic of Italy itself. The *London Magazine* unambiguously dismissed the entire city of Livorno as "the very home of vulgarity and dullness" and as a place containing "nothing fine in art or nature, no antiquity, no curiosity."[155] It continued, "the only thing which deserves any attention is the English burial ground."[156] Visiting the city mattered not to see the architecture of an "ideal" Renaissance urban plan or the neo-classical buildings there but to see the Protestant cemetery. Another traveller concurred, "There is little to be seen in Leghorn; but…the English burying-ground, a spacious area handsomely laid out, and well kept up, and enclosed by low walls and iron rails."[157] For generations of British visitors to Italy, this burial ground seemed more appealing than any other architectural or landscape features of the city or surrounding area.

Travellers found the Livorno burial ground fascinating in part because it contained the grave of the eighteenth century author Tobias Smollett. Like the novelist Henry Fielding's grave in the Lisbon cemetery and the remains of Keats and Shelley in the Protestant Cemetery in Rome, British

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[149] "Leviter Legenda," *Titan*, Vol. XXVII, (London: James Hogg & Sons, 1858), 163

[150] Charlotte Price, "Famous Poets; John Keats" in *Belgravia: A London Magazine* Vol. 87, (May – August, 1895) (London: F.V. White and Co., 1895), 428.

[151] "A Winter in Rome," *Temple Bar* Vol. X, March, 1864 (London: Ward and Lock, 1864), 561.

[152] Ibid.

[153] Ibid.

[154] Ibid.

[155] "Sketches on the Road," The London Magazine Vol. V January, 1822 (London: Taylor and Hessey, 1822), 65.

[156] Ibid.

[157] John D.D. Aiton, *The Lands of the Messiah, Mehomet, and the Pope* (London, Dublin, and Edinburgh: A. Fullerton and Co., 1852), 542.

visitors associated the literary fame of the individual with the sanctity of the space for the dead. Smollett's grave, "a plain and modest monument" nonetheless occupied a place in the burial ground "to which every Englishman repairs."[158] By describing the experience of visiting the cemetery using the second meaning of the verb "repair," the author evoked the Latin "repatriare," or to "return to one's country."[159] The account provided proof of the grave's popularity with British travelers in the form of its description of "a thousand names…scratched upon it, sure, though unsightly testimonials, that no common dust lies there. Poor Smollett! the ocean rolls between his country and his grave; but, perhaps, he is fortunate, for here he will be remembered, and there he will not be forgotten."[160] When James Holman arrived in Livorno in 1820 he immediately "proceeded with [his] valet to visit the English burial ground, where, amongst many other neat tombs, may be seen that of Smollet, who has here a small monument erected to his memory."[161] Seeing the grave prompted him to have an emotional reaction and to think of "the character of this man as deduced from his writings."[162]

Even travellers not from Britain reacted to Smollet's grave and connected the cemetery with his country. A French visitor found the space "singularly touching" despite how "the excessive brilliancy of its marbles gives it rather the appearance of an immense statuary's workshop."[163] It seemed difficult "to bear unmoved the aspect of these tombs of foreigners and travellers who died far from their native land."[164] The grandiosity of the monuments did not evoke this reaction. Rather, "the inscriptions" on the graves, "remarkable for [their] affecting conciseness and simplicity of grief" that memorialized "travellers, full of youth and hope, lovers of learning and the arts, came to enjoy the present and by-gone glories of the land that has devoured them."[165] For this author, "The most celebrated of these tombs is not, however, of such melancholy memory; it is the pyramid consecrated by his countrymen to the historian and satirical novelist, Tobias Smollett, who died at the age of fiftyone years, when English consul at Leghorn."[166] In this account of the Livorno burial ground all of the tombs, as well as that of Smollet, forged an emotional connection between living and dead.

Instead of comparing Smollet's grave to others in the Livorno burial ground, other travellers located their emotional reactions in rhetorically aligning it with those of authors similarly interred elsewhere. In the *Diary of an Invalid*, an account of a trip to Italy in search of health, the author explores "the English burying ground at Leghorn, in which lie the bones of Smollet" and "draws…the same sort of tributary reflection, as that to which the tomb of Fielding at Lisbon had before given birth, and with similar justification."[167] The review characterized visits to the burial ground as displaying "a whimsical bias in [the author's] predilections," and nonetheless concluded this style "would bring his taste into dispute with persons less critically censorious than [themselves]."[168] Visiting graves and writing about it seemed like a sentimental activity that might

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[158] "Sketches on the Road," 65.

[159] *Oxford English Dictionary*

[160] "Sketches on the Road," 65.

[161] James Holman, *The narrative of a journey, undertaken in the years 1819, 1820, & 1821* (London: F.C. and J. Rivington, 1822), 123.

[162] Ibid.

[163] M. Valery, *Historical, literary, and artistic travels in Italy*, Translated by C.E. Clifton (Paris: Baudry's European Library, 1839), 413.

[164] Ibid.

[165] Ibid.

[166] Valery, *Historical, literary, and artistic travels in Italy*, 413.

[167] "Review of *The Diary of an Invalid* by Henry Matthews," *The British review and London critical journal*, Vol. XVI, (London: J. Hatchard and Son, 1820), 270.

[168] Ibid.

open travel writers up to criticism but it provided an opportunity for a genuine emotional experience.

These responses to the Livorno burial ground extended beyond individual graves to the space as a whole. One author thought it "impossible for the tourist to enter…the cemetery at Leghorn without feelings of deep melancholy."[169] The burial ground produced this feeling because of the presence of "many of his countrymen who are at rest there, in this land of the stranger, passed their last moments with no friendly hand near!"[170] He acknowledged the interest in particular individuals within the cemetery. It contained the graves of, "The invalid…who had sought the sunny shores of Italy on the pilgrimage for health, or the young and strong, cut off by the summer fever of this abode of malaria, are no doubt the most numerous occupants of the 'Cimeterio Inglese.'"[171] More significantly, however, the space collectively prompted "the traveller, who comes to look upon the classic ruins of this lovely land, to let this spot also claim a moment of his time. It is due to those who rest there. Its effect will not be lost on himself."[172]

Figure 7: "A view of the English Burial Ground at Leghorn, Humbly inscribed to the Reverend C. Neat British Chaplain at Leghorn," Engraved by C. Verne, 1834. From Gery Milner-Gibson-Cullum and Francis Campbell Macauley, *Inscriptions in the Old British Cemetery of Leghorn* (1906).

Numerous authors similarly related their emotional responses to the Livorno burial ground and they generally seemed affected by the idea of their countrymen dying far from home. One

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[169] M. Vicary, *Notes of a residence at Rome, in 1846* (London: Richard Bentley, 1847), 211-212.
[170] Ibid.
[171] Ibid.
[172] Ibid.

visitor devoted her time "to an examination of the English cemetery; where repose the mortal remains of so many of [her] countrymen, who came to this mild climate, in the vain hope of recovering health, and remained to die."[173] She believed, "A cemetery, at all times and in all places a sight that appeals to the feelings, does so most forcibly when sacred to our compatriots, in a foreign land: and [she] could not look at the graves, without thinking how many fond hearts have yearned to behold these last resting-places of the loved dead, from whom seas divide them."[174] For this visitor to Livorno, as well to countless others, the response to the burial ground seemed more emotionally intense because of the idea that the dead somehow belonged elsewhere. The melancholy these writers described in cemeteries abroad came about not only because of the dead but also because of their geography.

The design within the Livorno cemetery also evoked the attention of visitors. One account declared, "no sort of order or symmetry in the burials seems to have been adopted" which led the author to conclude "that the curiously scattered positions of the seventeenth century tombs, point to a military regulation preventing an agglomeration which might have proved serviceable shelter to a besieging enemy."[175] The tombs from the early period "are nearly all gable-shaped; some few are of great artistic beauty; others a veritable object lesson in the lost art of cutting lasting letters in marble; all are in quiet good taste, both as regards their form and the inscriptions which distinguish them."[176] Ultimately, the visitor concluded, "Nothing for a moment disturbs or jars upon our senses or finer feelings, and one cannot but come away from the Old Cemetery with an increased admiration for our seventeenth century forbears."[177]

Nineteenth century visitors to cemeteries in India responded similarly and also tended to connect the dead to the history of British influence in the subcontinent. Touring Surat's burial grounds, as well as the Park Street Cemetery and other sites, prompted travellers to construct a vision of the past that legitimated the increase of British power and the East India Company's transition from merchant to ruler. Although Surat's tombs originally reflected the cosmopolitan character of the seventeenth century city's mercantile connections with various countries, by the early nineteenth century British visitors considered the burial spaces relics of the past that proved their superiority. Milburn's survey of the east declared "The burial places of the Europeans in the suburbs, are generally visited by strangers, some of the tombs being large and handsome buildings, formed of the best materials, and highly ornamented, more particularly those belonging to the Dutch."[178] Understanding the tombs of the Company's former commercial rival as generally more extensive than those of the seventeenth century British Factors prompted Milburn to reflect on the remarkable triumph of his countrymen in the past. The *Report of the Great Trigonomentrical Survey* concurred in this interpretation. For visitors to Surat, it declared, "The principal objects of interest are the English and Dutch burial-grounds outside the walls to the north."[179] It interpreted them to show how "The old factors seem to have vied with each other in having magnificent tombs erected over their remains; but now many have fallen, and many are almost past repair."[180] For the Survey, as well as other nineteenth century accounts, the disrepair of seventeenth century British tombs in

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[173] Countess of Blessington, *The Idler in Italy* (Paris: A. and W. Galignani and Co., 1839), 378.

[174] Ibid.

[175] Gery Milner-Gibson-Cullum and Francis Campbell Macauley, *Inscriptions in the Old British Cemetery at Leghorn*

[176] Ibid.

[177] Ibid.

[178] Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, 157.

[179] "Extract from the Narrative Report, dated 7th September 1877, of Lieutenant J.E. Gibbs, R.E., Officiating Assistant Superintendent, 2nd Grade, in charge of the Guzerat Party," *General report on the operations of the Great Trigonometrical survey of India*, 21.

[180] Ibid.

Surat amounted to disrespecting those whose efforts in the past laid the foundations for the Raj.

Even in the late eighteenth century, visiting spaces for the dead in India produced the same kind of emotional response in visitors. The fictional Sophia Goldbourne described her walks through the Park Street Cemetery in a way that inverted and subverted the binary relationships between life and death, and home and abroad. She lamented to her friend Arabella, "the Bengal burying-grounds…bear a melancholy testimony to the truth of my observations on the short date of existence in this climate."[181] Goldborne drew contrasts between home and abroad to augment the pathos of her account. She wrote, "Obelisks, pagodas, etc., are erected at great expense; and the whole spot is surrounded by as well-turned a walk as those you traverse in Kensington Gardens, ornamented with a double row of aromatic trees, which afford a solemn and beautiful shade: in a word, not old Windsor Churchyard, with all its cypress and yews, is in the smallest degree comparable to them; and I quitted them with unspeakable reluctance."[182] For Goldborne, the space seemed more like a beautiful public garden at home than a mournful space for the dead in a churchyard.

Visiting other spaces for the dead abroad prompted authors to compare them to gardens as well as to the prototypical urban cemetery, Pere Lachaise in Paris. One traveller in the Livorno burial ground found it "really very touching, and very pretty; and one would be quite contented with it if one had not seen the *Pare de la Chaise,* which, in its own kind, we must fairly confess we do not hope to see equalled. It is the most remarkable object in all France, and it is the most singular outbreak from national character that we ever witnessed."[183] Another visitor concurred, after his guide "conducted [him] to see the burying ground belonging to the English factory, which is interesting enough from the variety of tombs, monuments and inscriptions," he "noticed Smollett's tomb" and then concluded, "It is on the whole an interesting spot, tho' not quite so much so as the cemetery of Pere La Chaise at Paris."[184] Visitors in the nineteenth century understood the Livorno burial ground, as well as other similar spaces for the British dead abroad, as fundamentally dissimilar to churchyards at home and more like gardens and the urban cemetery in Paris.

Even before visitors noticed the similarities between the Livorno cemetery and Pere Lachaise, the landscape and design of British burial grounds abroad served as a model for planners who hoped to create urban spaces for the dead away from churchyards. They sought to emulate the layout of these enclaves for the dead abroad as well as the plans and vegetation that made these spaces seem like gardens. The desire to create in Britain that which they experienced abroad originated from the emotional affect that these spaces had on their visitors. Travellers thought that the mournfulness of spaces for the dead abroad could be recreated at home with the proper landscape design and plantings.

Travellers visiting Livorno paid a significant amount of attention to the landscape of the burial ground. One visitor related hearing a native of Livorno who "wished to make a favorable impression" about the city and "spoke, not of its sudden rise, its harbor, or commerce, or canals, but of its *burying ground.*"[185] The space for the dead stood apart from the otherwise "dull common-place character" of the place which travellers would find "an odious place, were it not for the protestant cemetery."[186] The garden features of the burial ground as well as the natural beauty of the space made it so attractive. The author described it as "a spot just without the city, of only a few acres in

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[181] Blechynden, *Calcutta Past and Present*
[182] Ibid.
[183] "Sketches on the Road," The London Magazine Vol. V January, 1822 (London: Taylor and Hessey, 1822), 65.
[184] William Edward Frye, *After Waterloo: reminiscences of European travel, 1815-1819* (London: William Heinemann, 1908).
[185] "Architecture in the United States," *The American Journal of Science* Vol. XVII, No. I, January, 1830, 109-110.
[186] Ibid.

extent, its only ornaments an iron railing, cypresses, weeping willows, and marble tombs; and yet so strong is its redeeming character, that Leghorn never comes to my mind except in bright and cheerful colors."[187] Other accounts placed more emphasis on the tombs that commemorated the dead. One visitor remarked the "English burying ground is very neat—having a great many monuments in excellent taste. The monuments are generally of white marble, pyramids, cones, urns, columns, and plain slabs."[188] Still other travellers connected the tombs to the natural environment and declared "where marble tombs, in the green shade of solemn cypresses, serve as memorials of the pride which clings to man's heart in his darkest hour, which follows him to the 'narrow house,' and makes him seek distinction even in the dust."[189] This kind of space for the dead seemed to nineteenth century observers as a fitting way to mark their lives as well as to inspire an emotional response in visitors.

The landscape design of the Protestant Cemetery in Rome seemed similar to Livorno in the view of some travellers. One visitor in the mid-1820s remarked, "The burying-ground for strangers is not less beautiful and interesting than the Protestant Cemetery at Leghorn."[190] The space, he wrote, "lies in the form of an exact square, enclosed by a moat ten feet in width and fifteen in depth, laying bare the pavement of the old Ostian Way. The sides of the entrenchment are neatly walled up with substantial masonry, and a draw-bridge, with a gate kept locked, forms the only entrance."[191] Apart from the enclosure he found the herbage particularly noteworthy, explaining, "Copses of pine, yew, elm, acacia, and other shrubs, together with a coat of rank grass enamelled with the red poppy and a variety of wild flowers, shade the grounds, half concealing the beautiful white marble monuments rising amidst the foliage."[192] This landscape prompted him to conclude, "If a stranger could be reconciled to a grave in any foreign soil, the seclusion and quiet of this cemetery, lying on the banks of the Tiber, under the very walls of Rome and overshadowed by its venerable monuments, would present fewer repulsive ideas than any other spot, and have a strong tendency to overcome an attachment to the tombs of his ancestors."[193] This was, of course, rephrasing Shelley's sentiments about the cemetery and it reveals how others besides the poet began to consider the space an especially beautiful one that could reconcile for the living the pain of death.

The landscape of the Protestant Cemetery in Rome developed not through a central plan for the entire space but instead resulted from decisions to honor particular individuals' graves. For instance, in 1821, "Lady Synnot…placed six cypresses about the graves of her child and husband" and took "a melancholy pleasure in watching their growth."[194] These trees proved controversial because they obstructed the view of the Roman pyramid and "Cardinal Consalvi visited the spot and gave instructions that the cypresses should be immediately dug up."[195] Lady Synnot enlisted the help of a Prussian diplomat "who also had a child buried" in the cemetery and persuaded the Cardinal "to rescind the order with regard to the cypresses already growing."[196] He also forbade "further planting of trees in the burial-ground."[197] Nevertheless, British residents seemed to ignore this instruction and continued to landscape the cemetery without more objections from Church authorities. In fact after

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[187] Ibid.

[188] Silas Pinckney Holbrook, *Sketches, by a traveller*, (Boston: Carter and Hendee, 1830), 155.

[189] "Sketches on the Road," 65.

[190] Nathaniel Hazeltine Carter, *Letters from Europe*, Volume 2 (New York: G. & C. Carvill, 1827), 343.

[191] Ibid.

[192] Ibid.

[193] Ibid.

[194] Gay, "The Protestant Burial-Ground in Rome: A Historical Sketch," 15.

[195] Ibid.

[196] Ibid.

[197] Ibid.

Percy Shelley's death his friend Edward Trelawny wrote to Mary Shelley that he "planted six young cypresses and four laurels in front of the recess."[198] Trelawny assured her, "It is a lovely spot."[199]

Travellers who came to the cemetery in order to pay homage to the graves of Keats and Shelley concurred with Trelawny's succinct assessment of the space's beauty and described in detail the landscape design that evoked such feelings. On the environment surrounding Shelley's grave one traveller remarked, "The cool seclusion of this dim nook, surrounded by green leaves and peeping flowers, might be such as the ethereal poet himself would have selected during his life-time for a last resting place."[200] He previously wrote that upon his arrival in Rome "The first object that [met his] eye on entering the city by the upward course of the river [was] the Protestant burial-ground."[201] The entire cemetery appeared "situated on a gentle slope falling from the ivied walls—a beautiful spot, planted with tall cypresses that rise above its graves, dispensing a solemn gloom about their muffled precincts."[202] This visitor found the space to be the most "soothing" as any in Rome and it seemed "surrounded with an atmosphere of repose."[203] For another visitor decades earlier, this "last home of [his] countrymen [had] a fascination" and he was "saddened at the sight of so many finding a grave there, away from their country, but the sadness is blended with interest, and [he] felt that such a spot would almost reconcile one to the doom." [204] The cemetery's remoteness from the city gave it a "silence [that] equals the loneliness, and both harmonise with the scene, which has something weird in its beauty."[205]

Visitors to the Protestant Cemetery in Rome as well as to other overseas burial grounds found their landscapes and aesthetics contrasted favorably with churchyards at home. One traveller to Lisbon in 1811 described the burial ground "planted with judah trees and cypresses which shade it at all times from the sun, and impose a sombre and melancholy aspect suited to the solemnity of the place. Seats are placed in them, and they are graveled like the alleys of a garden."[206] Describing his visit the following decade, Rev. William Morgan Kinsey observed, "The cemetery is extensive, and planted with a variety of trees not usually seen in our northern churchyards, and which, mingling their rich and deep foliage, create a welcome shade for those who have hearts to pause here and learn a lesson from contemplating the untimely wrecks of mortality."[207] Both visitors understood the landscape of the Lisbon burial ground as forming an appropriately mournful environment.

Advocates for cemetery reform in Britain took up these sentiments about burial grounds abroad and used them to formulate theories for the improvement of spaces for the dead at home. John Claudius Loudon described the Lisbon cemetery as a "picturesque" garden, "planted with pine trees, which give a somewhat melancholy shade: verdant shrubs adorn the avenues, and flowers are planted on the graves."[208] In 1825 *The London Magazine* thought that the Lisbon burial ground provided an exemplary model for reform that could be replicated in the metropolis. Advocacy for urban cemeteries at home, it reminded readers, should learn from the experience of visiting burial grounds abroad. There, "In traversing the shady walks, surveying the appropriate monuments, and enjoying the tranquil solitude of the cemetery of Lisbon in particular, the mind is led to contemplate

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[198] Ibid, 28-29.

[199] Ibid.

[200] William Davies, *The Pilgrimage of the Tiber* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Low & Searle, 1875), 34.

[201] Ibid.

[202] Ibid.

[203] Ibid.

[204] S.W. Fullom, *Rome Under Pius IX* (London: Charles J. Skeet, 1864), 254-255.

[205] Ibid.

[206] "Extracts from the Journal of a Gentleman on a Visit to Lisbon," *The Monthly Anthology* Vol. X (May 1811), 294.

[207] William Morgan Kinsey, *Portugal Illustrated* (London, 1828), 108.

[208] Loudon, *Encyclopaedia of Gardening*, 293.

the lot of mortality with a kind of melancholy satisfaction, and connecting its own destiny with that of those who animated the kindred dust around, can think with a feeling of resignation, that— *Discedam, explebo numerum reddarque tenebris.*"[209] The Latin, evoking Virgil's *Aeneid*, loosely translates as, "I will leave your company, retire to the shade, and perform my penance" and expressed the way that the landscape for the dead could produce a contemplative affect among the living who visited the space.

The landscape design of the Livorno burial ground and its characteristics that differed from those commonly adopted in Britain also inspired cemetery reformers. The Scottish painter Hugh William Williams visited Livorno on his Italian tour in 1819 and concluded the "burying grounds abroad, with few exceptions, are clean, elegant, and tasteful, the fit abode of the dead, and pregnant with instruction to the living."[210] Loudon too noted the design characteristics of the cemetery and wrote, "*At Leghorn*, the English burying-ground has some of the tombs surrounded by cypress trees, others by neat railings of ironwork. The ground is enclosed by a wall."[211] Josiah Conder observed in his guidebook to Italy, "To an Englishman, the most interesting spot in Leghorn, is the *Campo Inglese*, or English burial-ground, without the walls. It is inclosed with an iron rail, and surrounded, in the Oriental manner, with cypresses."[212] For these and other visitors to the Livorno burial ground, the landscape design influenced their perception of the space and seemed worthy of emulation at home.

Several authors like Conder noted the characteristics of the Livorno burial ground being especially eastern or Oriental and asserted that these features produced more reverence for the dead than commonly observed in Britain. One commentator lamented, "Even the Turkish burying grounds are more attended than ours. They are generally places of favourite resort. The principal promenade in the evening for the inhabitants of Pera, (the chief appendage to Constantinople) is a very extensive cemetery, which slopes to the harbour, and is planted with noble cypresses, (the funereal tree,) and thickly set in many places with Turkish tombs."[213] Loudon concurred in his assessment of Turkish burial grounds. They "are generally out of the city, on rising ground, planted with cedars, cypresses, and odoriferous shrubs, whose deep verdure and graceful forms bending in every breeze, give a melancholy beauty to the place, and excite sentiments very congenial to its destination."[214] It seemed surprising to early nineteenth century observers that eastern culture more reverentially honored the dead than the standard European practices. One traveller remarked, "It cannot but appear strange that a people so dull and unenlightened as the Turks, should in this respect show more sense, and even more taste, than nations in every other respect their superiors."[215] They resolved to emulate the aspects of the design that they found more evocative, as their countrymen had already done organically in Livorno, Rome, and elsewhere.

Advocates for garden cemeteries also noted connections between reformed European spaces for the dead and the overseas sites from which they drew their inspiration. A visitor to the Mount Auburn Cemetery in the 1840s made literal and metaphorical links between the prototypical American garden cemetery and the European models. He found one monument "to the memory of Rev. Samuel H. Stearns" whose "remains…lie in Pere la Chaise," thus connecting the two urban spaces of the dead.[216] Mount Auburn itself seemed "beautiful but solemn" to the visitor who found

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[209] "New Cemetery Project and Cemeteries," *London Magazine* Vol. XII (July 1825), 370.
[210] Hugh William Williams, *Travels in Italy, Greece and the Ionian Islands* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Co., 1820), 199-200.
[211] Loudon, *Encyclopaedia of Gardening*, 46.
[212] Josiah Conder, *Italy*, Vol. 3 (London: James Duncan, 1831), 55.
[213] Williams, *Travels in Italy, Greece and the Ionian Islands*, 199-200.
[214] Loudon, *Encyclopaedia of Gardening*, 298.
[215] "New Cemetery Project and Cemeteries," 370.
[216] "A Visit to Mt. Auburn," *Local Loiterings and Visits in the Vicinity of Boston* (Boston: Redding and Co., 1846), 28-29.

it "a sweet and graceful thought to contemplate such a place for the last repose of the beloved—a spot where their flesh might rest in hope, and where sorrowers might repair in the spirit of cheerful resignation to sanctify their graves by memorials of affection."[217] The author incorrectly attributed this relationship between a cemetery visitor and a space for the dead to John Keats, professing his agreement with the sentiment, "It would almost make one in love with death to be buried in so sweet a place."[218] The words actually came from Shelley's preface to "Adonais," but for the visitor to Mount Auburn the evocative feeling of the urban, garden cemetery seemed inextricably linked to Keats, Shelley, and the space in Rome just as it was to Pere Lachaise.

Even more than noticing the aesthetic similarities, contemporaries interested in cemetery reform explicitly based their plans on perceptions of the overseas burial grounds. John Strang's proposal for a garden cemetery in Glasgow that would mimic Pere Lachaise included his favorable assessments of several burial grounds abroad. He found it "strange that our countrymen who show such comparative indifference to their last resting-places at home should be so much alive to their outward decoration abroad."[219] There were "in the world no cemeteries more beautiful, more tasteful, or more affecting" than "those of the English at *Leghorn*, *Nice*, and *Rome*."[220] Strang visited the burial ground at Livorno several years before composing his treatise and considered the space for the dead abroad to be the epitome of a garden cemetery. Its location "beyond the walls of the city…amid vineyards and gardens" and the place itself "adorned with cypresses and weeping willows" gave it a landscape that Strang found evocative.[221] He advocated a similar design for the Glasgow cemetery. There he wanted "the trees thinned as open grove, with ornamental clumps added, of shrubs and evergreens, while the surface should be laid down in rich grass."[222] Cemetery reform in Scotland meant emulating the landscape design that he found already existing in spaces for the British dead abroad.

Beyond the natural beauty of the Livorno burial ground, Strang identified the extraterritoriality of the space as a compelling part of the aesthetic that became a metaphor for the impermanence of human existence itself. He noticed, "many hundred marble monuments raised to the memory of those wandering Britons, who, in their vain search for a sanatory sky, had here left the last traces of their footsteps."[223] Like other visitors who found the space emotionally compelling because it contained the remains of those who died away from home, Strang thought that spaces for the dead abroad conjured an affective response in the living. He wanted to replicate this experience for those who would visit the new cemetery in Glasgow so that they too could reflect on their mortality as he did when he visited Livorno.

Advocates for cemetery reform in Britain who took a more cautious approach than Strang still accepted the idea that benefits would be derived from removing the dead from churchyards. They too looked to burial grounds abroad as a representative model. The prospectus for one burial society in London promised a "Pere la Chaise, or British Burying Ground Society" that would follow the example of ancient Rome, which "became mistress of the world by the sound policy" of interring the dead away from the living.[224] Although *The London Magazine* criticized "the scheme of buying our graves from a Joint Stock Company," it nonetheless observed "a good deal of the reverence for monuments and churchyards which superstition had a tendency to heighten, has

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[217] Ibid, 18-19.
[218] Ibid, 19.
[219] John Strang, *Necropolis Glasguensis* (Glasgow: Atkinson and Company, 1831), 36.
[220] Ibid.
[221] Ibid.
[222] Ibid, 44.
[223] Ibid, 36.
[224] Cited in "New Cemetery Project and Cemeteries," 364.

disappeared in this Protestant country, with masses and purgatory."[225] Churchyards in Britain have "few temptations to living visitors" and "always give one the idea of being the very *last* place one would wish to go to" because they contain "few monuments and no trees, shrubs, or flowers to attract attention."[226] Even in the capital, "where our churchyards are not thoroughfares, like those of Westminster and St. Martin's, we either avoid the sight, or pass by them with as much indifference as a field of rubbish."[227] The magazine advocated a plan for reformed cemeteries and "strongly urge[d] the propriety of uniting…picturesque effect with public convenience."[228] New cemeteries should be chosen near London in part by "the nature of their soil" and "should be surrounded by a high wall."[229] After expounding on Pere Lachaise and the way that it embodied these characteristics, receiving frequent visitors as a result, the article concluded with the observation that some places for the British dead already seemed organized along these lines. It noted how the "English or Protestant burying grounds at Lisbon, Oporto, Leghorn, and some other towns on the continent, seem to be formed on a similar model in point of ornament, and leave nothing to be desired in point of seclusion, decency, and solemnity. They present in this last respect a perfect contrast to our town churchyards at home."[230]

IV. Conclusion: The Politics of Religion and Cemeteries Abroad

Nineteenth century advocates of urban cemeteries, guided by their admiration of Pere Lachaise and the enclaves for British dead abroad were to produce a new relationship between the living and the dead by moving the dead out of churchyards.[231] This development seemingly could fit into a narrative of secularization, or at least into one of the declining influence of the church, measured by the breaking of attachment to the parish. It could also conform to a narrative of Whiggish progress and reform that culminated in more sanitized and beautiful spaces for the dead. Urban cemeteries, guided by British burial grounds abroad, seemingly substituted a modern relationship between the living and the dead for a more traditional one. Some of these places originated in part because of the politics of religious toleration but by the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries they also stood as monuments to secular authority and civil administration.

Yet, instead of divesting their attachments to Protestant Christianity, many early modern spaces for the British dead abroad became more closely attached to the Established Church as well as to other Protestant denominations during the nineteenth century. Burial grounds abroad remained closely linked to the politics of religion, and caring for the dead even in these quintessentially urban and modern spaces for dead became increasingly reconciled with Anglican Christianity. Furthermore, they remained spaces that represented a multiplicity of interests, at once religious, secular, political and aesthetic.

In some respects these burial grounds abroad always embodied a version of Protestant Christianity, even if it differed from the parish-based system prevalent in Britain prior to the nineteenth century. In Calcutta, for instance, although the East India Company conceived of the Park Street Cemetery as a civil administrative answer to problems of health and used the space as a secular pantheon for its esteemed officials, the space received Anglican consecration soon after its establishment. The Company considered the religious rite something of an afterthought but

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[225] Ibid.
[226] Ibid.
[227] Ibid.
[228] Ibid.
[229] Ibid.
[230] Ibid, 370.
[231] Laqueur, "The Places of the Dead in Modernity"

provided for it nonetheless. Less than a year after the Council directed the establishment of the new cemetery, "The President acquainted the Board that, the New Burying Ground near Mr. Vansittart's garden being now ready, they desired the clergyman to consecrate it, as the sickly season [was] approaching." Yet the consecration was delayed. On the same day, August 25, 1767, the new cemetery received its first body, that of John Wood, a writer in the Council House. The nineteen-year-old Sarah Pearson, who died on September 8, 1767, followed. Yet, by the following May, the Rev. William Parry, wrote to the Council expressing concerns about the cemetery. He was "required to consecrate [it] for immediate use" and therefore requested they "make such an allowance for bearers to attend duty there as you may judge necessary and sufficient for that purpose."[232] The Council allocated an additional thirty rupees per month in order to hire bearers. The authority over and responsibility for the cemetery clearly emanated from the East India Company's administration. The lack of consecration did not prevent roughly a year's worth of burials taking place there but the Company still felt obligated to provide material support to the religious figures who would sacralize the space.

During the nineteenth century, as British influence and rule in the subcontinent expanded, new burial grounds retained some of the characteristics that defined Park Street as fundamentally unlike its counterparts at home while simultaneously being more clearly established as religious spaces. In the 1820s the Bishop of Calcutta, Reginald Heber, journeyed throughout India visiting and consecrating religious institutions. His most important task on his visit to Dum Dum was the dedication of two churches, which the Bishop dutifully performed, "having previously obtained the sanction of Government for the performance of the ceremony, both here and at St. James's in Calcutta, as also a written assurance from the Governor in Council, that the buildings should thenceforward be appropriated to the worship of God after the forms and laws of the English Church."[233] Heber's actions encompassed the spiritual authority granted by his vocation as well as his obedience to the secular power of the government. After the churches, "The consecration of the cemetery followed, wisely here, as in all British India, placed at some distance from the Church and the village."[234] Heber understood the space for the dead as steeped in religious meaning, yet still disconnected from the living because of the concerns about health. Essentially, the lack of a churchyard burial regime in British India did not seem to threaten the Established Church's spiritual authority over spaces for the dead.

On the rest of his tour the Bishop consecrated a variety of other spaces for the dead, new and old, as well as other religious institutions. At Dhaka he dedicated a burial ground that he described as "a wild and dismal place, surrounded by a high wall, with an old Moorish gateway."[235] Like the others in India, it had been established "at a distance of about a mile from the now inhabited part of the city…surrounded with a wilderness of ruins and jungle."[236] This burial ground originated about a century before Heber's visit and thus had received many interments before its consecration. Approaching the fort at Munger in Bihar, which had been captured by the British in the 1760s and formed as an administrative district in 1812, Heber noticed "a small but neat English burial-ground, fenced in with a wall, and crammed full of those obelisk tombs which seem distinctive of European India."[237] He consecrated the cemetery, as he did many others, and imbued it with Anglican religiosity that it previously lacked. Heber's journey signifies one way in which some spaces for the dead in British India became more associated with religion in the nineteenth century

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[232] Blechynden, *Calcutta Past and Present*
[233] Heber, *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India*, 43.
[234] Ibid, 44.
[235] Ibid, 198.
[236] Ibid.
[237] Ibid, 291.

than they had previously. It furthermore reveals how these places represented a multiplicity of overlapping aesthetics and meanings.

The Protestant Cemetery in Rome had less of an explicit connection to Anglican Church than the spaces for the dead that Heber consecrated in India, but it too remained linked to the politics of religion and toleration in the 1820s. At the same time as Keats and Shelley mused about the sublime (and natural) beauty of the space, others considered it a proxy for political debates regarding Catholic Emancipation in Britain. Lord Colchester, who happened to be in Rome during the winter of 1821, "had taken a prominent part" in the "negotiations between the leading non-Catholics in Rome and Cardinal Consalvi" regarding plans to expand the cemetery.[238] Frustrated by what he perceived to be Catholic intransigence on the issue, Colchester "brought up the…difficulties with regard to the protestant burial-ground in Rome as an example of impenitent Catholic intolerance" during the Catholic Emancipation debate when he returned home.[239]

Colchester used the issue to bolster his case against political toleration for Catholics in Britain. In June 1822 he told the House of Lords that "Amongst the latest proofs of the same unchangeable hostility to protestants as such, the Court of Rome has recently refused to protect from insult and destruction the protestant tombs which have been erected within the walls of Rome; and has refused this reasonable request to the joint solicitation of all the protestants of Europe there resident."[240] Colchester argued that since, in his opinion, the Papacy only marginally tolerated dead Protestants at Rome, Catholics in Britain should not receive full political rights. Although he opposed Emancipation on numerous other grounds as well, Colchester's use of the space for the dead as proof of intolerance rather than the opposite revealed one way in which the cemetery abroad remained connected with the politics of religion at home.

On the other side of the issue, the Vatican attempted to counteract Colchester's claims with physical changes to the burial ground that it intended to demonstrate its continued toleration of non-Catholics. Perhaps by improving the space for dead Protestants in Rome the Vatican might be able to help the situation of Catholics in Britain. The same summer as Colchester's speech "and entirely at the expense of the 'Apostolic Chamber,' a sunk fence was dug round the old burial-place; another eligible spot of ground beyond the pyramid was surrounded by a solid wall, and henceforth assigned for the Protestant cemetery."[241] In an attempt to help the cause of Catholics in Britain the Papacy demonstrated its toleration for the non-Catholic dead in Rome.

Some authors in the nineteenth century began to associate the cemetery with Christian spirituality despite, and in some cases, because of its romantic beauty. A deeply religious man who visited the Protestant Cemetery in Rome understood Christianity in the space in order to reconcile Shelley's atheism. He observed that even though the poet "was no Christian, and he made no secret of his unbelief…those who can look below the outward form and surface, will find more of the real and genuine spirit of Christianity in his poems than in the poetry of half those who are admired as moral and religious writers."[242] Ultimately, this visitor connected literary romanticism with Christian religiosity through the affective experience of visiting Shelley's grave. He concluded, "No one ever knew him without loving him. Many love him who never knew him—many who knew him only as I do, from his works, feel for him as for a familiar friend, and grieve over the sad story of his untimely end. Peace be with him – may his ashes rest lightly under the green sod beside the old grey wall."[243] The Protestant Cemetery in Rome could be both a religious space for the dead and a secular one.

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[238] Gay, "The Protestant Burial-Ground in Rome: A Historical Sketch," 22.
[239] Ibid.
[240] Lord Colchester, *Speeches Upon Roman Catholic Claims* (London, 1828), 54.
[241] Basil Hall, *Patchwork* (London: Edward Moxon, 1849), 292-293.
[242] "A Visit to the Grave of Shelley," *The London Investigator*, Vol. II, No. 13 (April, 1855), 1.
[243] Ibid, 3.

Other spaces for the British dead abroad, including comparatively new ones established during the nineteenth century, held meaning for some visitors that combined religiosity, natural beauty, and what might otherwise be construed as secular imperatives for the care of the dead. For instance, in 1876, an Evangelical newspaper reported, "The united Protestants of Florence are this month in great joy…there is no obstacle now to the use of the cemetery ground secured for Protestant dead of all denominations."[244] The account continued, "At last the beautiful cemetery, outside the city, in which so many of our well-known British dead are lying (Mrs. Barrett Browning and others), will be closed, and in a few years an equally lovely 'God's acre' on the southern slopes of Florence will contain the peaceful ashes of…Protestant believers from all parts of Christendom."[245] For the devoutly religious, this space for the dead that held a variety of characteristics that could have defined an urban, garden cemetery, detached from a parish churchyard, still seemed perfectly compatible with their version of Protestant Christianity.

The British burial grounds abroad that began in the seventeenth century produced new sets of political claims as well as a new aesthetic of death. These enclaves for the dead developed initially as a response to particular local circumstances, usually as expressions of religious toleration that frequently became manifestations of the colonial community's commercial and political power. The experiences of travellers visiting these places to see the notable graves of their countrymen introduces a type of affective relationship between the living and the dead seemingly unlike that which existed at churchyards in Britain. Cemetery reform advocates sought to replicate these feelings of melancholy and mournfulness in new spaces for the dead that they planned in the metropolis, so they adapted many of the distinctive landscape and design features from the burial grounds abroad. Most notably, they enacted a physical dislocation of the dead from churchyards to cemeteries outside of cities. Yet, these places for the dead did not become devoid of religious spirituality. They continued in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to evoke a multiplicity of meanings and place a variety of demands on individuals, civil society and the state that depended most on the perspectives and affinities of the living.

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[244] "Protestant Cemetery at Florence," *Evangelical Christendom* Vol. XXX (March 1, 1876), 76.
[245] Ibid.

Chapter 2: Civil Cemeteries Abroad and the British State

In 1888 a group of bureaucrats representing the major government departments attempted to formulate a consistent policy for managing British cemeteries abroad. Led by the Deputy Master of the Mint, they compiled information about every overseas place for the dead that received public funds or that somehow belonged to the state. Motivated by reducing expenditure and imposing efficiency, the group inventoried and categorized this haphazard collection of burial places based on information from a Foreign Office circular. The inquiry produced a list of 136 locations scattered across numerous countries, containing thousands, if not tens of thousands, of individual graves.[246] Maintaining them had cost the Exchequer nearly £9,000 during the preceding decade, a figure that did not include those separately provided for in the budget for diplomatic buildings abroad or those military burial grounds included in the budgets of the War Office and Admiralty.[247] The ever-stingy Treasury viewed this expenditure spiraling out of control, yet it did not question the idea that there should be specifically British spaces for the dead around the world.

The numbers of these places, the amount of money spent on them, and their spread across the globe reveal that a unique cultural institution, the British Cemetery, originated during the nineteenth century. Unlike similar necropolises elsewhere in Britain or Europe, they owed their existence neither to the decline of churchyards nor to the rise of discourses about public health. British cemeteries abroad encompassed seemingly paradoxical characteristics. Their secular and inclusive nature defined them, yet they often originated because of confessional differences. They contained the bodies of Anglicans, Presbyterians and Catholics as well as some Jews and possibly Muslims. Because of their association with the British Government they frequently did not require proof of religiosity for interment so they quite likely contained a fair number of atheists, agnostics, and un-believers as well as those of established faiths. Many, like those in Buenos Aires, Argentina and Montevideo, Uruguay, could be characterized as Masonic because of the prevalence of Freemasons' symbols on graves. The "British Cemetery" moniker holds this eclectic group together and suggests how nationality and government involvement became necessary conditions for establishing spaces for the dead abroad.

These places became organized by their Britishness not because many of their occupants originated from the British Isles but instead through the activities and involvement of the government, which demonstrates one way that British culture and institutions spread in parts of the globe not formally colonized. The State's often ambivalent and inconsistent role in the establishment and operation of cemeteries nonetheless proved a crucial and necessary condition to their global proliferation. Like many other developments in nineteenth century public administration, the government's involvement stemmed from a mixture of vaguely worded Acts of Parliament, gradually accrued civil service precedents, and stubbornly persistent localisms. Despite attempts by the Treasury to cease spending public funds on their upkeep and maintenance, cemeteries abroad continued to receive inconsistently and unevenly distributed financial support from the government into the late twentieth century. Furthermore, in a classically Foucauldian way, narratives about the body prompted the establishment of many of them and additionally generated more discourse about them as the government attempted to categorize and regulate them.

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[246] "Report of the Inter Departmental Committee on British Cemeteries Abroad," TNA:PRO FO 412/38. The number of cemeteries in the report both under-counted some and over-counted others, for instance, the old and new burial grounds at Madrid and Montevideo each appeared as separate entries while the individual Crimean War burial grounds in the Bosporus region were grouped together.

[247] "Appendix," "Report of the Inter Departmental Committee on British Cemeteries Abroad," TNA:PRO FO 412/38

How did it happen, for instance, that in the late 1950s the Foreign Office exchanged hundreds of letters and cables with the Shanghai consulate regarding the disposition of over 7,000 graves in the Bubbling Well Cemetery only to have fewer than 30 families in Britain (less than ½ of 1%) express any interest in their relatives' remains? Simply put, why did the British State care about this cemetery and numerous others? How did it come to expend significant amounts of effort and money on providing British space for civilians who died abroad?

One readily apparent explanation would suggest that it responded to the needs of expatriate communities who cared for their deceased friends, as they would have at home. Individual sentiment and private mourning certainly prompted many burials and the establishment of burial grounds. The precarious, nebulous and transitory position of British communities abroad also provides some explanation for why they might want their own spaces for the dead. However, these accounts do not explain how the "British Cemetery" developed as an answer to particular burial problems all over the world. Furthermore, they do not explain why the British Government seemed at times to pay more attention to cemeteries abroad than relatives of those buried in them. This chapter uncovers the pivotal role of the British Government in the establishment and maintenance of spaces for the dead around the world. Its ambivalence and changing ideas toward these places reveal the contours of the liberal state's relationship to managing the dead bodies of its citizens.

This chapter demonstrates how the complexity of caring for the dead abroad led to the development of specifically British places for the dead in foreign countries and how the involvement of the State helped create, sustain and define the British Cemetery abroad. The Inter-Departmental Committee's Report represents the chronological mid-point (rather than the conclusion) of the story, but the chapter commences with an account of the development of British cemeteries prior to 1888. The interplay between the expansion of the Consular Service after 1825 and the spread of British commercial interests overseas provided the impetus for the establishment of many of these places with government support yet in the absence of a specific official directive from London. In particular, the activities of consuls asserting the rights of Protestants in predominately Catholic countries led to the development of the British Cemetery as a secular and liberal space for the dead. British cemeteries frequently emerged as a result of particular concerns by consuls, in some cases as a result of narratives about the mistreatment of bodies. The struggles over and the establishment of such a place in Madrid represent the culmination of this view of the government's role in providing space for non-Catholic dead. Although the Madrid Cemetery was successful the financial cost and the increasing expenses on other cemeteries coincided with the professionalization and reform of the Treasury and Civil Service which led to the Inter-Departmental Committee of 1887-8. Yet, even as the Report attempted to end the financial burden of maintaining cemeteries abroad, it created new obligations for the State as a consequence of its bureaucratic organization of information. Every issue related to cemeteries abroad became an "exceptional case" that commanded the attention of government departments because the land frequently belonged to the British State. Even though they abjured financial responsibility, government bureaucrats stubbornly refused to abandon cemeteries entirely, leading to situations in which it appeared that the State cared more about the dead than relatives or families did.

I. The Consular Network and British Cemeteries

In the early nineteenth century, the Consular Act and its reform of the low-level diplomatic bureaucracy provided the legal and institutional foundations for the establishment of new British cemeteries abroad. Several provisions asserted the government's responsibility to assist expatriate communities with the establishment of cultural and religious institutions, in particular chapels and burial grounds. Furthermore, and more significantly, the 1825 Act prompted the reform,

reorganization and expansion of the Consular Service. It placed official representatives of the State, albeit very low-ranking ones, on the ground in a variety of places outside of formal British control and directed them to conduct themselves without engaging in corrupt practices. These bureaucrats became intermediaries between the government in London, the expatriate community, and the local government. They shaped the development of the British Cemetery as a unique cultural institution through their responses to the demands of each constituency as well as their personal ambitions. Some consuls additionally shaped and presented narratives of the mistreatment of bodies into official reports that propelled Foreign Office support for new spaces of the dead that would remedy these illiberal practices.

Quite self-consciously, the Act attempted to transform a loosely organized network of officials around the world into a professional service. Although the government had long authorized consuls in foreign ports, the Act standardized what had been an informal and often corrupt position, usually held by merchants with their own private trading interests in addition to their official duties.[248] It reiterated and expanded upon an attempt made by Lord Castereagh as Foreign Secretary a decade earlier to delineate consuls' duties to facilitate commerce.[249] Lord Canning's Act in 1825 professionalized the service by standardizing the fees that consuls could collect and the pay that they would receive. At a time when "old corruption" in many areas of public life came under scrutiny, the Act gave consular posts the characteristics of reformed government offices by insisting that those who held the position refrain from private trading. Consequently, it established a legal framework for the global network of bureaucrats who would represent the British State abroad, in addition to the economic interests of its citizens.

The Act contained several provisions designed to spread British culture and institutions. It instructed consuls to assist with the establishment of churches, chapels, hospitals, and burial grounds for local British communities and directed them to apply for financial support from the government. Article 10 charged consuls with protecting and promoting Anglican religion through establishing houses of worship for the living and burial grounds for the dead. Consuls would have authority over these places and could raise money from British subjects in the area for them, which the government would match. Article 11 directed consuls to send the plans for these institutions to London for approval. Locally they should "convene and summon a meeting of all His Majesty's subjects residing at such foreign port" at least once a year to deliberate on finances and management. Yet, Article 15 specified that consuls and their superiors at the Foreign Office retained the authority to modify any decisions by local residents that did not conform to British law or interests. Thus, the Act led British Consuls to believe that part of their official duty involved developing institutions for their countrymen's spiritual needs and promoting social, cultural, and religious interests under the auspices of the government.

The reform and professionalization of the Consular Service coincided with other commercial and geopolitical realignments that impacted the reach of British government officials abroad. In 1825 the Levant Company, which had represented British commercial interests in the Mediterranean and Black Sea regions since 1581, voluntarily disbanded. Although it had lost its trading monopoly in the middle of the eighteenth century, it maintained a network of merchants who served as consuls across the Levant. The Consular Act enabled many company employees to be replaced by new officials serving the reformed bureaucracy. Additionally, the period witnessed the beginnings of the "Great Game" and tensions between the Britain, Russia, and the Ottoman Empire in the eastern Mediterranean.

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[248] Charles Ronald Middleton, *The Administration of British Foreign Policy 1782-1846* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1977), 247-248.
[249] Ibid., 248.

British civilian cemeteries in this area, with several notable exceptions, trace their origins to the period after 1825. Several, such as the burial grounds at Smyrna and Constantinople, transferred directly from the Levant Company to the British Government upon the Company's dissolution. Many others followed the spread of British communities and consuls in the mid-nineteenth century. Alexandria, Egypt, gained a British cemetery in 1839. In Jerusalem Vice-Consul Young obtained the land for a cemetery in 1840. Numerous others across the region, especially in Greece, Turkey, and the Black Sea coast of Russia originate from the 1850s and the Crimean War period. The Ottoman Sultan granted British consuls permission to establish cemeteries throughout his domains concomitant with receiving military support from Britain and France against Russia. Throughout the eastern Mediterranean region, consuls spread as a result of British economic and political interests and they in turn established spaces for the dead.

A similar process unfolded much more rapidly across Latin America following the wars of independence and the demise of New Spain in the early nineteenth century. Across South America the number of British consuls increased dramatically in the 1820s, prompted by the expansion of commercial opportunities for British merchants. Additionally many Britons who fought in Simon Bolívar's armies decided to remain following independence. Some, like the Liberator's aide-de-camp and close friend, Belford Hinton Wilson, became consuls in the newly independent cities of South America.

Spaces for British dead spread across the region during the 1820s and 1830s because of a combination of factors: the increase in numbers of consuls, the instructions they received, the secular and liberal character of the new republics, and the growing number of British trading communities. Only Brazil had British burial grounds from the period before independence. The Portuguese government granted land in Rio de Janeiro in 1808 and Recife in 1814. In the decade following independence, consuls founded three other cemeteries in Brazil: Bahia (1825), Maranham (1827), and Para (1829). The consul founded the Valparaiso, Chile, cemetery in 1823. Consuls established new burial grounds in Bogotá, Colombia, in 1825 and Panamá in 1827. The British cemetery in Mexico City came in 1825, following a decree by the Mexican government directing provincial authorities to provide such spaces. The initial British cemetery in Peru, at Callao, came the following decade, in 1836. Carácas, Venezuela, had gained one a few years before it in 1831. Buenos Aires, despite its relatively large British community prior to independence, had a cemetery specifically for them set aside only in 1821, a year prior to the establishment in that of the South American version of Pere Lachaise, La Recoleta.

Although the newly independent Latin American republics claimed a secular, liberal tradition, in contrast with orthodox Spain, these new spaces for the dead nonetheless became set apart by nationality and defined by their Britishness. In each of these cities consuls purchased the land or obtained a grant from the local government and often registered the burial ground in their own names or in that of the government. Although frequently they allowed burials of Americans or Europeans without exception they referred to the spaces as British burial grounds or cemeteries. Often consuls used establishing such a place as a way to demonstrate their efficacy to superiors in London. They triumphantly heralded their accomplishments in the cemeteries themselves. Consul Belford Hinton Wilson in Peru commissioned a local British resident to create a "very scholar-like inscription for the English burial-ground" in Latin.[250] The text claimed the space for the dead in the name of the British community, under the auspices of the consul, and recorded his name for posterity.[251] The British character of these places predominated.

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[250] Archibald Smith, *Peru as It Is: A Residence in Lima* (London: Richard Bentley, 1839), 166.
[251] The inscription begins: "Degentes per hæc loca Britanni, auspice suo Consule Belford Hinton Wilson"

Many of the new spaces for the dead across South America explicitly embodied the gratitude of the newly independent nations for British assistance in their revolutionary struggles. The municipality of Bogotá, Colombia, presented land for a cemetery to Colonel Patrick Campbell on December 14, 1825 "as a token of gratitude for the services rendered by the British who fought on the side of Bolívar in the war of Independence."[252] The gift came about because the municipality wanted to honor "the self-denying, long-suffering and valiant soldiers of the British Legion, of the Battalion Numancia and the Red Hussars [who] had shared the hardships, misfortunes and triumphs of our struggle for emancipation."[253] In 1936 Colombia's Minister of Foreign Affairs Jorge Soto de Corral affirmed the cemetery's "very deep significance in the relations between the British Empire and Colombia."[254] The cemetery itself reminded him "of the heroic and self-denying efforts of the soldiers of the British Legion during our struggle for liberty" and "therein rest the remains" of many Britons "whose names are linked to many of the most distinguished families of Bogotá."[255]

Campbell's successor William Turner claimed credit for establishing the space, despite the earlier land grant, when it moved to a new location in 1834; and he gave it some of the aesthetic features that would mark British cemeteries around the world. Like Consul Wilson in Perú, Turner commissioned an inscription in Latin to adorn the cemetery entrance and mark his role in its development.[256] A verse from Job, also in Latin, accompanied the marking of the space as a British Cemetery and declared "There the wicked cease from troubling and there the weary be at rest."[257] Turner also included poetic verses in Latin and in English, without attribution, that emphasized the connection between the cemetery space and the experience of death overseas, "The rich, the poor, the sorrowing and the gay / Lie here imbedded in one common clay; / Far from their homes, they rest in foreign ground, / But heav'n's dear road from ev'ry land is found."[258] The poem evoked the Beatitudes and mingled a Protestant and Evangelical view of death and salvation with civic egalitarianism. The space beyond the inscription manifested these commingled ideologies. Yet, as British Ambassador Spencer S. Dickson asserted "It is not a 'Protestant Cemetery', as it has sometimes been designated, for it is at the service of all, irrespective of race, nationality or creed." Administering it, for Dickson, amounted to "a trust which had in years past been confided to the British Legation" with "a deep-rooted and sentimental significance in the relations" between the two countries.[259]

Similarly, in Montevideo, Uruguay, the cemetery, begun in the late 1820s, by Consul Thomas Samuel Hood also reveals the complex interplay between an expatriate community, an ambitious consul, and a newly independent nation that resulted in a specifically British space for the dead. It demonstrates that government involvement, initially through the consul, led to space for the dead being termed "British" rather than "Protestant." Initially Hood constructed an account of dead

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[252] "British Cemetery of Bogota," TNA:PRO WORK 10-65.

[253] Enrique Ortega Ricaurte, *Cementerios de Bogotá* (Bogotá: Editorial de Cromos, 1931).

[254] No. 406, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bogotá to British Ambassador, 12 May 1936; TNA:PRO WORK 10-65.

[255] Ibid.

[256] "HOC SEPULCHRETUM CIVIUM BRITANNORUM PROPRIUM GULIELMUS TURNER PRIMUS LEGATUS BRITANNUS QUI LITERAS REGIAS FIDEMQUE FACIENTES IN HANC CIVITATEM PERDUXIT DICAVIT ANNO SALUTIS MDCCCXXXIV"

[257] Job, Ch 3, Verse 17; The Latin "HINC IMPII VEXARE DESINUNT ET HIC REQUIESCUNT PESSI"

[258] The poem continues: "Here learn, ye proud, the nothingness of birth, / Of power, wealth, beauty, fleeting gifts of earth; / The richest treasure on the bed of death/ Are love that coast out fear 'and works with faith'; / The succour'd widow's wait and orphan's tear / Are the best passports men can carry here; / To those who bear these gems of price is given / The hope religion shews of promis'd heaven, / Hope in the atoning blood that JESUS gave, / Who lived to teach us, and who died to save". Colombia's Poet Laureate Rafael Pombo translated it into Spanish, see *Fábulas y Verdades* (Bogotá: National Press, 1915), 172-173.

[259] No. 27, British Legation, Bogotá to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 8 May 1936; TNA:PRO WORK 10/65

bodies being mistreated in order to suggest to his superiors that his establishment of a permanent and secure burial ground represented a major accomplishment. Then, when Hood's deputy criticized his supposed neglect of the care for the dead, the resulting Foreign Office oversight explains how and why a small burial ground, like many across South America and elsewhere around the world, thousands of miles from Britain, became indirectly managed and overseen by the government in London.

Hood accepted the position of Consul at Montevideo in 1823, prior to the promulgation of the Consular Act, but his superiors in London expected him to operate according to the rules of the reformed service. The new professional responsibilities and procedures as well as the uncertain political situation in South America proved difficult for him. When he sailed from Portsmouth on HMS Cambridge to assume his new post, Hood felt so uncertain about whether he would return to England that he wrote an obituary in the event of his death overseas.[260] The Foreign Office instructed him to act somewhat independently, under the auspices neither of the Consul-General in Buenos Aires nor that in Rio de Janeiro whose governments were embroiled in war over the fate of what would become Uruguay. Upon his arrival in Montevideo, the Foreign Secretary reminded Hood that his "principal duty will be to protect, to support, and to further the lawful trade and trading interests of the United Kingdom."[261] Yet, he immediately interjected himself into the war between the United Provinces of Rio de la Plata (Argentina) and Brazil and vexed his superiors.[262] The Foreign Office admonished him not to "enter into political discussions or mix [himself] up with the different parties at Monte Video."[263] In addition to overstepping his authority by behaving as a diplomat, he failed in his duties as a clerk and bureaucrat. Superiors found his reports disorganized and sloppy, at times reminding him "it is expected that the letters and reports of occurrences, which they may address to the Secretary of State, should be drawn up in a clear and distinct manner."[264] Nevertheless, some of his dispatches continued to appear "quite unintelligible" to the Foreign Office.[265] Hood frequently failed to communicate with other consuls and consuls-general, and on one occasion neglected to call upon a visiting admiral, prompting a series of rebukes.[266] Hood seemed to be less than effective as a consul as defined by the 1825 regulations, if not downright incompetent.

Following his series of infractions, he used his work establishing a permanent space for his dead countrymen as a way of rehabilitating his professional reputation by emphasizing its importance for Britain. In fact a local resident, John Hall, originally purchased a plot of land for the burial ground, but under the rules of the Consular Act, Hood assumed management of it. He presented it to his superiors as a singular triumph, telling them that prior to his arrival in Montevideo, "Protestants…had not even the privilege of Christian burial in this country but were like dogs carried by stealth and pushed into the sand by the sea side to avoid exumation (sic.) as heretics."[267] Although Hood presented no specific examples of this maltreatment, he nonetheless "felt [it] to be a great national disgrace" and "took means to obtain from the authorities and the clergy a solemn promise that our burials should be respected in any place we should fix upon."[268]

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[260] He left a copy with the Head of the Consular Service, enclosed in TNA:PRO FO 51/1

[261] Despatch No. 1, 10 October 1823; TNA:PRO FO 51/1.

[262] José Pedro Barrán, et. al., *El Cónsul Británico en Montevideo y la Independencia del Uruguay* (Montevideo: Universidad de la Republica Departamento de Publicaciones, 1999).

[263] Foreign Office to Hood, 20 November 1824; TNA:PRO FO 51/1.

[264] Foreign Office to Hood, 19 April 1826; TNA:PRO FO 51/2.

[265] Ibid.

[266] Foreign Office to Hood, 28 September 1827; TNA:PRO FO 51/3.

[267] Hood to Palmerston, 16 July 1832; TNA:PRO FO 51/114.

[268] Hood to Palmerston, 16 July 1832; TNA:PRO FO 51/114.

Hood framed the story as one of his successful advancement of the national interests. Additionally, he explained how he followed the procedure outlined in the Consular Act, when he "convened [his] countrymen who joined readily in subscribing a sum of money with which a piece of ground was purchased about half a mile from the gates of the city and from that time our subjects have been interred without molestation."[269] Thus, in Hood's narrative, establishing a burial ground for Britons who died in Montevideo represented a success because it prevented mistreatment of their corpses and it represented a triumph of his professional conduct.

He again used the burial ground as a way of defending his reputation when his deputy, Vice-Consul Parry, lodged an official complaint with the Foreign Office in 1832 that accused Hood of four infractions. Hood unceremoniously fired Parry after the Vice-Consul managed British interests in Montevideo during the Consul's two-year leave of absence to visit England. Parry alleged that Hood owned a financial interest in a trading ship and, in essence, ran a private trading business while employed by the British government, a common instance of consular corruption that the 1825 Act intended to eliminate. Hood supposedly committed personal misconduct as well, and "brought scandal upon [his] office by [his] attempts upon the persons of females in [his] service" which he compounded "by defaming the object of those attempts."[270] Finally, Parry stated that Hood neglected the needs of the British community in Montevideo because he "abandoned the burying grounds to its fate."[271] The framing of the allegations against Hood suggest that to Parry, and potentially to members of the Foreign Office in London, neglecting to maintain the space for the dead might be as serious a charge as more overt acts of corruption or moral turpitude.

Hood provided what his superiors considered satisfactory explanations for all of the charges and retained his post, but their legacy led to government scrutiny of the burial ground for the subsequent five decades. Ultimately, the Foreign Secretary did "not feel disposed to take any proceeding upon the conduct insinuated" especially "after the perusal of the satisfactory testimonials signed by the British Merchants at Monte Video."[272] Specifically, the Foreign Office declined to investigate the personal allegations because they did not specifically relate to his official post and asked for assurances from Hood and others that he was not engaging in private business dealings. Regarding his supposed neglect of the space for the dead, the Foreign Office requested that Hood "transmit…a detailed report of any proceedings which may have taken place on the subject of the British Protestant Burial Grounds at Monte Video, -- and that you will describe the state in which the Burial Ground now is and whether any funds raised for the support of it remain unappropriated."[273] Hood should be careful about all the charges so they did not "degrade the National Character in the person of the King's Representative in a State so recently established as Monte Video."[274] Although the Consul kept his position, which he would hold for twenty years, the reaction to the charges against him reveals the nascent stages of an official attitude in the Foreign Office that caring for the dead formed an important part of a consul's work in promoting British interests. As the only sanction from the complaints, the Foreign Office directed Hood to report annually the condition of the burial ground.

Consuls elsewhere in South America and across the world usually established spaces for their dead countrymen much less dramatically than Hood did in Montevideo. However, without exception, they understood providing burial grounds as an important part of their official duties. British Government oversight of these places resulted from the Consular Act's provisions as well as

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[269] Ibid.
[270] Parry to Hood, 12 December 1831; TNA:PRO FO 51/7
[271] Ibid.
[272] Foreign Office to Hood (No. 3), 18 April 1832; TNA:PRO FO 51/8.
[273] Ibid.
[274] Ibid.

the growth in the reach of the service following 1825. The Hood episode reveals one way in which the British government became concerned with the care of dead civilians overseas during the nineteenth century. The presence of a British trading community combined with the initiative of government official led to the establishment of a burial ground for British subjects and subsequent complaints about its management led to Foreign Office scrutiny and oversight in an attempt to ensure its effective management.

II. The First British Cemetery in Spain

The expansion and professionalization of the British consular service after 1825 as well as a variety of local factors prompted the creation of new institutions for the care of the dead in Spain just as it had in the former Spanish colonies. Unlike the South American republics, however, in Europe, Catholicism maintained its deep connection with the Bourbon monarchy and formed a powerful political ideology for conservative supporters of King Ferdinand VII and his successor Queen Isabella II. Spanish cultural and political clashes of the post-Napoleonic period made burying Protestants a highly charged and controversial endeavor. One consul's attempt to provide what he considered proper treatment for the dead led to the establishment of the British Cemetery in Malaga in 1829. This burial place, termed by its founder a "British Cemetery," established that the solution to providing interment for Protestants in a Catholic country became identifying the space with nationality. Its characterization as the "first" British Cemetery in Spain signals that it represented a new way of reconciling an old problem of confessional difference because the evidence reveals places for British dead that came before it. Additionally, referring to it as a cemetery rather than a burial ground suggested a character of permanence and ultimately, Malaga not only represented the first British Cemetery in Spain but it also established the characteristics that would define other such spaces.

The long-standing problem of burying Protestant Britons in Catholic Spain resembled the situation that existed in Portugal, however, it seemed less exigent in Spain because fewer expatriates lived and died there than in its Iberian neighbor. Just as the 1654 Anglo-Portuguese Commercial Treaty included a clause permitting the English Factory at Lisbon to establish a burial ground, Article XXXV of the 1667 Anglo-Spanish Treaty provided similar accommodation for dead Protestants in Spain. The Navigation and Commerce Treaty between Britain and Spain accompanying the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 included the same language and reiterated the claim. In principle, therefore, both governments agreed, "a decent and convenient burial-place shall be granted and appointed to bury the bodies of the subjects of the King of Great Britain, who shall die within the dominions of the King of Spain."[275] Since no established British merchant communities existed in Spain like the "Factories" at Lisbon and Porto, no permanent burial grounds for non-Catholic dead developed prior to the Napoleonic Wars. Although the treaties established a legal basis for toleration, in practice permanent spaces for them did not exist.

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the British government began to attend to the issue intermittently. When he briefly served as Minister to Spain from 1795-96 the Marquess of Bute (son of the George III's Tory Prime Minister) purchased a piece of land "to be converted into a burying-ground for Protestants" at a cost of £95.[276] Following his abrupt departure because of the outbreak of war between the two countries, he left "the ground in the charge of the

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[275] "Articles of peace, commerce, and alliance, between the crowns of Great Britain and Spain, concluded in a Treaty at Madrid, the 22 of May in the year of our Lord God 1667" in George Chambers, ed. *Collection of Treaties Between Great Britain and Other Powers*, *Volume II* (London: John Stockdale, 1790), 22.

[276] Lord Bute to Lord Grenville, 21 October 1796; TNA:PRO FO 97/385.

livery stable keeper."[277] Although not an official owner the Spaniard used the land for agriculture and his son continued to cultivate it upon his death. The re-established British Embassy as well as the Foreign Office in London did not seem aware of its existence as a government-owned burial ground until 1831. Since only approximately thirteen British residents perished in the Spanish capital during the first three decades of the nineteenth century received interment in the garden of a convent, whose Superior permitted the Anglican burial service to be read at their funerals, providing a permanent burial ground did not appear to be a significant issue.

Elsewhere in Spain the difficulty of burying dead Protestants periodically caused problems for British officials. When the Consul at Cadiz, Sir James Duff, perished in 1815 Spanish authorities directed his body be buried in the open beach. Appalled at this treatment, the Port Admiral at Gibraltar dispatched a frigate to retrieve it for burial in the British enclave.[278] Duff received a proper funeral and interment at the garrison cemetery. Following William Laird's death in 1824 his "body…was carried off to a place five leagues from this, by a kind friend, and buried in his garden."[279] Undoubtedly other deceased Britons received similar treatment from their friends and relatives. Both the Laird and Duff burial stories appear in the official record because of their status as government officials and the reports of Laird's successor as Consul at Malaga, William Mark.

Appointed by Foreign Secretary Canning in 1825 as a part of the reorganization of the Consular Service, Mark took personal offense to the treatment of dead Protestants in southern Spain and he determined to solve the problem. He presented a type of humanitarian narrative in his passionate appeal to Canning that attempted to alert officials in London to the horrible practice that Mark presumed existed throughout Spain. When a Protestant died, "he is not permitted to be interred by the light of day, but must be smuggled down to the beach at night, and by the light of a miserable torch a few words in the same clandestine way may perhaps be run over."[280] Although penning an official dispatch, Mark dispensed with the typically dry language of bureaucratic reports and instead adopted a rhetorical style full of emotion and pathos. He assumed that the gruesomeness of the burial scenes he described would "make an impression on the living."[281] The "execrable and filthy acts" he described revealed something about the national character as well for they showed the Spanish "hatred of even our dead bodies!"[282] Thus, in Consul Mark's formulation mistreatment of the dead amounted to a significant issue worthy of official attention.

Although not a scientific endeavor, Mark's writing about the improper burials of Protestants in Malaga nonetheless formed a discourse about the body, based on the production of knowledge, generative of politics and productive of additional discourses and ultimately a new institution. He avoided metaphysical language and did not present his concern as one rooted in religious concern about souls or salvation. Yet, the affront he perceived stemmed from the Spanish authorities' unwillingness to allow what they understood as heretical bodies to be buried in the ground, whether consecrated or not. For Consul Mark, this problem rooted in religious intolerance manifested a scene of disgust because he frequently saw the place where bodies had been discarded. The only way to remedy it would be to ensure proper treatment of corpses, which in Mark's estimation necessitated individual burial in a permanent and secure cemetery. Additionally, treating British dead mattered because of the feelings it evoked among the living, Mark explained that he "would not put pen to paper to describe so contemptible a proceeding were it not so repugnant that having to pass

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[277] "Historical Sketch on British Burial Ground at Madrid," TNA:PRO FO 97/385.
[278] William Mark to John Bidwell, 10 May 1830; TNA:PRO FO 72/379
[279] Malaga Consular Despatch No. 5, 29 January 1825; TNA:PRO FO 72/307
[280] Ibid.
[281] Ibid.
[282] Ibid.

the spot every day as the public road lies in that direction I cannot command my own feelings."[283] Consul Mark attempted to present an accurate report of the facts that he thought would spur the Foreign Office to act. He formulated a narrative with emotional appeal in the official dispatch, designed to convey the facts of a moral evil he witnessed and to rouse the reader to remedy it. Consequently, Foreign Secretary Canning ordered an inquiry into burial conditions for British Protestants across Spain and directed consulates to report on the conditions in their region.

Surprisingly, given the compelling account produced by Mark, the reports from his colleagues do not portray systematic mistreatment of the dead and instead presented a view of toleration for Protestantism, albeit limited and locally inflected. The report compiled by the Foreign Office revealed the existence of many burial places for Protestants as well as some acceptance of other non-Catholic religious practices. Prompted by the information from Malaga about "the degrading manner in which the funerals of British Protestant Subjects … and the indecent acts which are committed within the place set apart for their sepulture," Canning instructed the Consul-General in Madrid to "collect from the several British consuls in Spain information as to the practice observed in respect to the funeral rites of British Protestant subjects in the various provinces of that country."[284] Fifteen consulates answered the query with information about spaces for the dead and funeral services. A slender majority, nine of fifteen, reported some piece of land allocated specifically for Protestant burials, however, only two of these had enclosure walls. Four places without established burial grounds permitted interments "in the open beach."[285] Of the remaining two, only the consul at Cartagena reported "no burial place allotted for British Protestant subjects," while at Vigo no specific location existed but instead "when the death of a British Protestant takes place a spot is appointed for the interment."[286] Regarding religious practices, an equal number of consulates (five) reported the prohibition of public ceremonies as did those that indicated, "funeral service permitted to be read."[287] The remaining three did not give any information on religious rites at death. Thus, across Spain, deceased Protestants did not always experience the fate that awaited their bodies in Malaga and a significant disparity existed between what Consul Mark perceived as a problem and the experiences of his colleagues. Indeed, even the burial of Mark's predecessor in his friend's garden could have been characterized in the same neutral way as the consul at Vigo described interments in his area. The contrast between Mark's narrative and those produced from the official inquiry reveal that the perception of mistreated bodies resulted from a different way of knowing and of representing knowledge.

These reports from across Spain led the Foreign Office to drop the issue, but Mark still found the situation in Malaga entirely unacceptable and persisted with his attempts to improve it. Establishing a proper British Cemetery became his passion. He used his official position to lobby successfully the authorities in the region and ultimately the Spanish court in Madrid. Indeed he "never lost sight of the necessity of remedying this outrage on common sense, if not removing altogether the disgusting and illiberal idea that a Protestant was not entitled to Christian Burial."[288] Mark's position emanated from his discourse about the body and his liberalism. Additionally, even though the government did not take up the cause he could pursue it personally because of his consular office. He explained to the Consul-General in Madrid that providing a permanent space for the dead would demonstrate to "the British families and Mariners in the harbour … that their

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[283] Ibid.

[284] Planta to Consul-General Meade, 17 March 1825; TNA:PRO FO 97/385.

[285] Consul-General Meade to Foreign Office, 22 June 1825; TNA:PRO FO 97/385

[286] Ibid.

[287] Ibid.

[288] Malaga Consular Despatch No. 14,19 December 1829; TNA:PRO FO 72/357

Government, ever attentive to their vital interests, carries its protecting care even to the grave."[289] Although his superiors did not seem to share this philosophy as wholeheartedly as he did, they did not object to it because it seemed to be advancing British interests. Furthermore, Mark negotiated with the local Spanish authorities as though he advocated vital national interests confirmed by his superiors in London, explaining to the Governor of Malaga, "the time was gone bye for the British Government any longer to tacitly look on, and see, the Bodies of Englishmen thrown into a sand hole on the sea beach."[290] Ultimately, establishing a permanent cemetery provided Consul Mark with the opportunity to advance his liberal vision of not only the care of the dead but also the proper relationship between government and people.

His persistence led to success and he received an official grant of land from the Spanish Government to establish the British Cemetery in Malaga. The plot, twenty-five yards on each side, Mark enthusiastically reported, was "extremely well situated near the harbour and at no great distance from the general dwelling place of the English Residents."[291] The convenient location would allow the British community to participate in funeral services as well as to visit the graves of their deceased friends and relatives. Mark accepted the land grant and claimed the space "in the name of His Majesty for ever."[292] He immediately sent to the Foreign Office a "Copy of the Grant and correspondence" but he retained the original to serve "as the guide of my successors in future times."[293] Mark expected the cemetery to endure in the future because of his insistence that the government own it. Furthermore, he believed his efforts would provide an instructive example of how British consuls should conduct themselves in the future. Thus, while only tacitly approving of Mark's efforts, the British Government became the owner of the cemetery.

Like other consuls who frequently had to prove their worth to superiors in London, Mark heralded his success establishing the cemetery to the Foreign Office. He expected them to note, "the many difficulties [he] had to overcome and the immense labour it … cost [him] to accomplish this object, and its novelty will call sufficient attention."[294] The difficulty emanated from what he believed were the deficiencies of the Spanish people because "to carry any point with Spaniards perhaps a straightforward course would be the very last means."[295] Denigrating the locals emphasized the necessity of the Consular Service itself because "It is necessary to reside in Spain many years to know the people."[296] Ultimately, he confessed, "This has been the most arduous undertaking of my life" and since the obstacles "have been overcome" his "mind is now at rest on this subject."[297] Mark heralded the establishment of the burial ground and his work "having at length accomplished that which no one ever believed I should," and he assured the Foreign Office "this has been a most serious task and I have laboured at it most heartily but I confess to you that I had my misgivings, nothing animated me to go on but the success which attended me in many other important matters and this was the only material matter lately pending between me and the authorities, so that I fought it up to the end."[298] He hoped the Foreign Secretary "will appreciate what I have done as a public officer."[299] Furthermore, he wrote the following year, the Malaga burial

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[289] British Consulate Malaga to Meade, 11 May 1825; TNA:PRO FO 72/307

[290] Malaga Consular Despatch No. 14, 19 December 1829; TNA:PRO FO 72/357

[291] Ibid.

[292] Ibid.

[293] Ibid.

[294] Ibid.

[295] Ibid.

[296] Ibid.

[297] Ibid.

[298] William Mark to John Bidwell, 19 December 1829; TNA:PRO FO 72/357.

[299] Ibid.

ground provided proof "that some of the Consuls attend to their Duty" and that they were useful to the British State "not only in a commercial but in a political point of view."[300] Essentially Consul Mark used his success to advocate for the consular service as a whole, at a time when their pay and existence as a newly expanded and professionalized service itself faced Parliamentary scrutiny. Providing a British cemetery overseas also constituted a political act and even though it seemed a logical and self-evident solution to a problem from a liberal perspective, it nonetheless represented a novel and unconventional approach to a relatively minor issue.

The first interment in the Malaga cemetery came to symbolize and embody the liberal nature of the institution and further reinforce the contrast between liberal Britain and illiberal Spain. The cemetery became a marker of British liberalism not only for its mere existence as a permanent space for Protestant dead in the midst of a Catholic country but also because of the symbolism and meaning associated with the burial of Robert Boyd. Consul Mark and the official record refer to Boyd as the *first* burial in the cemetery, even though another Briton who died a year earlier probably came before him chronologically and rightly deserves the moniker. Boyd, an Irishman with an inherited fortune of £5,000 and a penchant for adventuresome soldiering, joined a group of anti-monarchist conspirators led by the Cambridge-educated Spanish General Torrijos.[301] The plot to overthrow King Ferdinand VII failed quickly despite the conspirators' connections with many prominent British intellectuals and their hope that the Spanish insurrection would become like the Greek struggle for independence from the Ottoman Empire. The same Spanish governor with whom Mark negotiated for the cemetery land tricked the plotters into leaving Gibraltar with a letter that claimed they would find support for their cause in Malaga. Instead he arrested them and summarily ordered them executed without trial. Consul Mark attempted to intervene and spare Boyd's life because of his nationality. Unsuccessful, he could only provide proper care for Boyd's corpse. According to a Capuchin friar who had ministered to the conspirators as they awaited execution, Boyd's body was "removed in one of the English Consul's carriages," shrouded in "an English colour," and lay in state for a day at the Consul's residence. Ultimately, it received interrment at the newly established British Cemetery with Consul Mark presiding over the Anglican funeral service.[302] The inscription on his grave describes Boyd as a "Friend and fellow martyr of Torrijos, Calderón etc. who died in Malaga in the sacred cause of freedom."[303] Although unable to save his life, Mark provided him with the type of honor at death that would befit a liberal hero.

Boyd's connection to prominent people, as well as the cause for which he, Torrijos, and the others died, caused his story to resonate in Britain and underscored his association with liberal struggles against tyranny. In Parliament the Member for Drogheda, Andrew O'Dwyer, asked the Foreign Secretary whether it would be possible "to obtain satisfaction for this violent outrage" since the Spanish official responsible for the execution, General Moreno, visited Britain soon after the execution.[304] Essentially O'Dwyer presented a legal theory that would gain prominence among human rights practitioners a century later to pursue justice against war criminals. He believed it essential "for the future security of the lives of British subjects" that this member of a foreign government be prosecuted in a British court for an official act committed in another country that nonetheless seemed contrary to British law. In order to defend Moreno's legal immunity, Lord Palmerston declared Boyd's "death…justifiable according to the law of nations" to which several Members vocally disagreed.

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300 William Mark to John Bidwell, 3 June 1830; TNA:PRO FO 72/357.

301 "The Execution of General Torrijos and Robert Boyd, 1831," *The English Historical Review* Vol. 20, No. 80 (Oct., 1905), 763. Boyd previously fought in India and in the Greek wars of independence.

302 Ibid., 767.

303 Ibid.

304 Hansard HC Deb 27 June 1834 vol 24 cc937.

Although Boyd's death never received adjudication in Britain and the case faded from popular and political consciousness, his association in life with a liberal cause bolstered the connection between the British Cemetery in Malaga and liberalism. It notoriety prompted the Foreign Office the following year to direct Consul Mark "to cause the ground in question to be inclosed with the boundary wall, according to the plan and estimate; taking care, however, that the expense shall not exceed the sum of two hundred pounds."[305] The wall and small utility buildings seemed to serve functional purposes in protecting the space, but they also gave the cemetery physical permanence that corresponded to Mark's interpretation of the title deed granting the land to Britain forever.

Establishing the first British Cemetery in Spain at Malaga represented the intersection of private and public interests. Consul William Mark viewed burying Protestants in a Catholic country as a problem in ways that his colleagues at other consulates in Spain did not. His self-professed liberalism understood a permanent British Cemetery as the proper solution to the long-standing issue. Having an enclosed cemetery as opposed to a less formally regulated burial ground represented a liberal answer to the tension rooted in confessional difference. The first interment in the new cemetery, of Robert Boyd, even though probably not chronologically first, further cemented its status as a liberal space for the dead because of the manner in which he died "in the cause of freedom." Ultimately, the British Government became the owner and custodian of this space for the dead not because of an explicit directive but instead because of the private convictions of one of its officials.

III. *Liberalism and Space for British Dead in Madrid*

Despite the establishment and unhindered operation of the cemetery in Malaga, throughout the rest of Spain burying British Protestants remained an ambiguous, contested and locally inflected proposition during the first half of the nineteenth century. The solution of liberal space for the dead did not exist everywhere but building permanent British cemeteries formed one approach to the problem of burying non-Catholic dead in an orthodox country. Yet, in many parts of Spain, interments continued to take place surreptitiously and privately without interference from local authorities. Just as this method of caring for the dead seemed illiberal to Consul William Mark at Malaga in the 1820s, it similarly became untenable for several prominent British residents in Madrid in the 1840s and 1850s. The struggle to establish a permanent British Cemetery in the Spanish capital reveals how discourses about caring for the dead abroad led to new, liberal, solutions to long-standing problems. Nationality, once again, became the defining feature of a new institution for British dead, despite the persistence of confessional politics. The space became the one of the most notable British overseas cemeteries of the nineteenth century, commanding significant sums of public money and official attention, despite the fact that very few Britons either lived or died in the city.

The desire to establish permanent space for the dead emanated from the interplay between local British residents, government officials, and Spanish civilians. Unlike Malaga, where the plan for a cemetery emanated from a consular official, in Madrid several British residents began to pressure the Embassy for its support in the 1840s. The preceding decade the Embassy and the Foreign Office in London re-discovered British ownership of the burial ground originally purchased by Lord Bute in 1796 and once again asserted their claim to it. In 1846 the widow of Don Pablo Marsto, who had cultivated the land in the early decades of the nineteenth century, contacted them to "offer to

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[305] Foreign Office to Malaga Despatch No. 3, 28 October 1830; TNA:PRO FO 72/370.

exchange an equivalent extent of his land against the piece of ground belonging to us."[306] Sir Henry Bulwer, the British Minister to Spain, recommended his superiors approve the exchange because the Marsto family offered to build a wall and enclose part of the cemetery, which would give it a character of permanence. Bulwer requested £278 "to inclose the three remaining sides" and build a gateway entrance because "the British residents here are very desirous that the said burial ground should be completed."[307] The Foreign Office authorized the construction, however, the expense soon increased dramatically. The Consul-General informed Bulwer that building a wall actually would cost "£779 and not £278 as mentioned by mistake."[308] Then, a second estimated provided even more expensive options, asserting that a "solid brick wall with gateway and door [would cost] £1000" while a "wall partly brick and lime with gateway and door [would cost] £800" and a "wall principally of clay with gateway and door [would cost] £500."[309] The Foreign Office admonished Bulwer, "HM's Govt have been misled," and insisted he "send some drawings and specifications of the works to be done, containing a statement of the thickness and height of the walls estimated for."[310] The initial mistake and increasing cost led to additional scrutiny from London and helped propel what began as a simple, local request into a more serious endeavor.

Somewhat ironically, since the British Cemetery itself ultimately would be associated with liberalism, secular concerns about urban growth and public health prevented Bulwer from complying with the Foreign Office instructions. In addition, the Ambassador's perceived involvement with an anti-monarchist uprising compounded the difficulties for the British Embassy's efforts to establish a space for the dead. Bulwer discovered that the cemetery's proposed location might be too close to inhabited buildings. Bowing to nascent public health concerns that regulated the position of burial grounds, he did not take "any more steps with respect to its inclosing."[311] Then a British resident proposed yet another exchange of land to alleviate the new concerns. Bulwer received "an offer from Mr. Manby, an Engineer resident here, to give me another piece of ground suitable for the purpose of burial, which he will inclose, building a small cottage thereupon for a guardian, in exchange for the ground we hold in its present state."[312] The Foreign Office again insisted Bulwer send detailed information and plans of both plots of land, as well as any correspondence with the Spanish government regarding the position of the cemetery. Before he could comply, the Spanish Prime Minister, Ramón María Narváez, Duke of Valencia, expelled Bulwer in May 1848 for allegedly plotting a liberal uprising against the Spanish monarchy and Narváez's conservative government during the eponymous year of revolutions across the continent. Although the British government publicly backed Bulwer and made him a Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath, he left amidst a cloud of mistrust between the two countries.[313] His departure as well as the ongoing concerns about the placement of the burial ground within the city connected the cemetery issue with Spanish concerns about British liberalism.

Some British residents and the consular staff of the Embassy then took up the cause of establishing a permanent cemetery themselves, which only exacerbated the controversy. In 1848 the Rev. James Thompson, a Scottish Episcopalian clergyman resident in Madrid, approached the

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[306] "Historical Sketch on British Burial Ground at Madrid," TNA:PRO FO 97/385.

[307] Madrid No. 228 to Foreign Office, 3 June 1847; TNA:PRO FO 97/385.

[308] Brackenbury to Sir Henry Bulwer, 25 June 1847; TNA:PRO FO 97/385.

[309] Brackenbury to Sir Henry Bulwer, 25 June 1847; TNA:PRO FO 97/385.

[310] Foreign Office to Bulwer, No. 140, 22 July 1847; TNA:PRO FO 97/385.

[311] Madrid No. 53 to Foreign Office, 30 March 1848; TNA:PRO FO 97/385.

[312] Ibid.

[313] Bulwer received the KCB very soon after Queen Victoria's restructuring of the Order in 1847 that opened it up to civil appointments. The investiture ceremony, presided over by the monarch, demonstrates how unambiguously the British Government supported Bulwer even though diplomatic conventions required them to acquiesce to his expulsion.

Consul-General with a proposal to donate land for the cemetery. Thompson's wife perished the preceding year, so the issue of a permanent burial place had both ecclesiastical and deeply personal resonance for him. Prior to Bulwer's departure, Thomson lobbied the ambassador on the cemetery issue but with no British diplomatic relations he took matters into his own hands. He wrote to several aristocratic friends to lobby the Foreign Minister, Lord Palmerston, to intervene. Thompson himself wrote to Palmerston four times in July and August of 1849 seeking an audience to present the appeals of British residents. He hoped that meeting the Foreign Minister would "lead to an early settlement of a matter in which the British nation has suffered in its credit with foreigners, and in which British Subjects have been put to great inconvenience from the decease of their relatives in the Spanish capital."[314] Furthermore, when he received no replies from Palmerston, he obliquely threatened to expose the issue in the press, telling the Foreign Minister about his intention to write "an article on the subject of British burial grounds in Spain for one of our monthly periodicals" and how he would "like to be able to announce in it a satisfactory termination of the case in question."[315] Although Thompson seemed to meet with little success pressuring the British Government, his persistence led to the issue gaining widespread attention.

His article framed the issue as not only one of religious importance but also as a matter of civil liberties. The Evangelical press in Britain initially gave his account wide circulation and it appeared in American religious periodicals as well.[316] Thompson appealed for government action to solve the problem. For British residents in Madrid, the government had "a duty…to provide that, if they die there, their surviving friends shall not be subjected to annoyance from Romish ecclesiastics, and compelled to bury them with the superstitious rites of the Romish Church."[317] In his formulation the freedom to practice non-Catholic religion in a foreign country amounted to a civil right that the British Government should advance and protect. He acknowledged that the cemetery issue mattered to him in "on private and personal grounds" because his wife's body "had to be interred in a waste place."[318] He resolved "not to leave Spain until [he] had seen the dear deposit…committed to a British and Protestant cemetery."[319] Establishing a permanent cemetery with both a religious and a national character would alleviate his personal distress.

Yet, according to Thompson, the British Government seemed to be failing to solve this problem or to support his private efforts to lobby the Spanish authorities. Although Thompson understood that nothing could be done until a new ambassador arrived, he nonetheless believed "delays in this whole subject of British Protestant burial grounds in Spain, are not so much owing to the bureau in Downing street as to our diplomatists in Spain, both general and local."[320] By not successfully establishing a permanent British Cemetery the consular and diplomatic service seemed to fail in their official duties. Furthermore, Thompson assailed the government for acquiescing to the Spanish Royal Decree of Ferdinand VII in 1831 that gave "an order in the shape of a *grant* or permission for the erection of a Protestant burial ground in all the towns in Spain where a British consul or agent should reside."[321] He thought the grant seemed to have less force than the "*right of treaty*" that preceded it and additionally came with the restriction "that there should be no religious

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[314] Thomson to Palmerston, 7 August 1849; TNA:PRO FO 97/385.
[315] Thomson to Palmerston, 11 August 1849; TNA:PRO FO 97/385.
[316] James Thompson, "On British Protestant Cemeteries in Madrid and Barcelona," *Evangelical Christendom: Its State and Prospects* Vol. III (London: Partridge and Oakey, 1849). In the United States, Thompson's article appeared in *The Christian Union* Vol. II (New York: Samuel Hueston, 1849).
[317] Ibid., 276.
[318] Ibid.
[319] Ibid.
[320] Ibid, 277.
[321] Ibid.

service performed on such ground over our dead laid there!"[322] Thompson set out the issue as a failure of political will to pursue a course of action that was self-evidently in the interest of Britons living abroad and furthermore a case of the British Government not advancing the liberal ideals that it claimed to represent.

Furthermore, he argued for integral connection between the right to perform a Protestant burial service and the cause of establishing the cemetery, and he again conflated the issue of religious freedom with the British national interest. He related the funeral of his friend James Henderson, "formerly British Consul-general in Bogota," at which "it was proposed and arranged for, that the burial service of the Church of England should be performed."[323] Despite this seeming concession from the Spanish authorities, they sent a military officer to observe the ceremony who insisted that the coffin be opened to verify that the religious service was indeed a funeral and not simply ordinary Anglican worship. According to Thompson, the officer informed the British mourners that he was there "to see that all things are conducted in due order and according to your own wishes."[324] From the officer's attitude Thompson drew a lesson about the national character of Spain and the way that the British Government should best approach the problem of a permanent cemetery. The problem, he declared, "is our British and Protestant indifference about using and manifesting our religion in Spain," while the officer "display[ed] … the noble Spanish character, with all its faults, in favor of our religion and customs."[325] Accordingly, Thompson believed that "all that we have to do is to act firmly on our religion, and on our civil rights, and when we do so we shall have all we wish, and not only be permitted to do what we should, but be honoured also by Spain and Spaniards for our proper conduct."[326] Assertiveness, Thompson argued, formed the solution, but "By our timidity and weakness in these matters, we do not gain the esteem of Spaniards, but suffer in our own character."[327] The British Government needed to do more to protect and advance the cause, which would result in improved, rather than weakened, relations between the two countries.

Thompson identified other Spaniards, apart from the officer at the funeral, who supported the rights of British Protestants seemingly more wholeheartedly than their own government and connected liberalism in the two countries. Newspaper editors, such as those of *El Clamor Publico*, approved of establishing a British Cemetery because of the liberal message it would embody. According to Thompson, they wanted, the "burial ground…in some public place, where it would be seen frequently and by many, and with the purpose…of thus preparing the people for perfect religious liberty."[328] The newspaper's editor and proprietor offered to contribute money for the purchase of land for the cemetery and hoped the Spanish could "deliver it…free of all charge, as a testimony of [their] respect for the British nation, and as proof of [their] desires in favor of full religious liberty."[329] Thus, establishing a British Cemetery in Madrid mattered not only to Protestants such as Rev. Thompson but also to Spanish liberals who understood the space symbolizing toleration and serving domestic political goals.

Coverage of the cemetery controversy in conservative Spanish newspapers mapped onto longstanding domestic political debates about monarchy, religion, and modernization that defined the short nineteenth century in Spain. In 1849 the government of Juan Murillo signed a concordant with the Vatican affirming Catholicism as the state religion but providing for state supervision of the

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[322] Ibid.
[323] Ibid.
[324] Ibid, 278
[325] Ibid.
[326] Ibid.
[327] Ibid.
[328] Ibid.
[329] Ibid.

Church's role in education. Although the 1848 Carlist uprising in Spain (the Second Carlist War) is not typically associated with the liberal revolutions across the continent that year, it reveals a society constantly on the brink of turmoil and deeply anxious about the perceived threat of anything "liberal". For monarchist newspapers that supported established tradition, and for Queen Isabella II, anything–even the limited toleration for a space for dead Protestants–seemed like a threat to the country's stability. In Barcelona *El Áncora* vehemently opposed the cemetery because, "Two forces and anchors serve as the foundation of the Spanish nation, Catholicism and the monarchy, the throne of our kings and the religion of our parents."[330] Space for dead Protestants in the capital seemed to undermine both of these foundations because it indicated weakness on the part of the government. Thus, the Spanish nation itself would be undermined.

In Britain both the London press and provincial newspapers expressed outrage at the apparent refusal of the Spanish government to recognize fully the right of Protestants to celebrate funerals in Madrid. Their editorializing emphasized national pride and the perceived affront to Britons. It was not simply an issue of confessional difference or even one of Catholic intolerance, but instead the press emphasized the way that Papist values supposedly defined the Spanish national character. The British government had a duty to confront it not for religious reasons but because of the obligation to its own people. Evoking prior military sacrifices for Spain during the Napoleonic conflicts, *The Standard* declared, "If in any country on the face of the earth British Protestants ought to be the objects of more peculiar honour and gratitude by its ruling dynasty, that country is certainly SPAIN."[331] Yet, because the Spanish government proposed to limit the scope of funerals in Madrid, the article lamented how "British Protestants are treated in the nation which they redeemed from utter ruin, and by a family which they transferred from a dungeon to a throne; but the ingrates are *Papists*, and that tells all."[332] Catholicism explained Spanish intolerance and it defined the national character. Another newspaper marveled "This is the way that Spain treats a nation to whom it owes its independence, and who have spent millions on its behalf! Truly, the insatiable rancour of the days of the Armada is not yet passed away."[333] Other editorials similarly predicted a decline in diplomatic relations between Britain and Spain. The *Leicester Chronicle* implored, "Nor should this treatment of Protestants be forgotten in our future dealings with the Spaniard. It is scarcely the thing to have an ambassador to represent Great Britain at a court where the national religion is thus treated with opprobrium and contempt."[334] British newspapers tended to conflate national identity with Protestantism, and viewed the Spanish unwillingness to grant land for a cemetery with an insult to the British nation.

Narratives about the supposed mistreatment of dead factored into newspaper accounts as well and served to demonstrate powerfully the moral exigency of the British cause. One former British resident in Madrid wrote to *The Times* about a Protestant funeral he attended there. The solemnity of the interment became disrupted by "a considerable number of spectators…[who] follow[ed] us through the streets…occasionally saluting us with opprobrious names reflecting both on our religion and our country."[335] These insults to the living paled in comparison with the disrespect accorded to the deceased. According to the *Times* correspondent the Spanish crowd

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[330] "Cementerio Protestante en la Corte," *El Ancora* No. 1355 (15 September 1853). "Dos Fuertes y anchísimos cimientos sirven de base á la España, el catolicismo y la monarquía, el trono de nuestros reyes y la religion de nuestros padres."

[331] "Popish Liberality," *The Standard*, 17 February 1852.

[332] Ibid.

[333] "The Burial of the Dead," *The Sheffield & Rotherham Independent*, 17 September 1853, 2.

[334] "Religious Liberty at Home and Abroad," *The Leicester Chronicle: or, Commercial and Agricultural Advertiser*, 3 September 1853.

[335] "British Burial-Ground at Madrid," *The Times* 6 September 1853, 8.

described the scene, " '*El entierro del perro muerto*,' the funeral of the dead dog" and he concluded his letter by imploring, "let not our countrymen be buried like dogs."[336] The dead received this inappropriate treatment because of Spanish prejudice, and they deserved better because of their identity as Britons.

Some newspapers articulated an even broader variety of religious toleration and civic secularism predicated upon equal treatment of the dead, resulting from narratives of mistreatment of bodies. The case of the British Protestants in Madrid proved exemplary of the inhumanity and illiberalism of the alternate view. In an articulation of what might be termed a declaration of rights for the dead, one newspaper asserted, "that a dead body, simply because it is a dead body, ought to elicit no other feeling than respect."[337] Furthermore, "whether, when living, he belonged to Romanism, or Protestantism, or Mohammedanism, or Paganism, or any other *ism*, the living ought to treat his corpse with decency, and allow his fellow-believer to inter it without molestation, much more without insult."[338] Conversely, mistreating bodies and disallowing proper treatment revealed a backward and illiberal society. Those "who can cherish hatred and put it forth against a lifeless carcass are brutes, not men, whatever be their religion, for in that form there dwells no thing upon which malice can fasten—it is simply a forsaken shrine, and neither heresy nor contumacy may be predicated of it."[339] This classically liberal and modern approach to burial emanated from the view that Spanish intolerance led to mistreatment of bodies and the British Government had a duty to protect the rights of Protestants abroad because of their nationality.

Despite the widespread publicity of the issue and the release of official correspondence between Lord Howden and the Spanish Government, British newspapers frequently dramatized and embellished the controversy, which propelled public opinion and further official involvement. They incorrectly suggested and inferred that no burials of Protestants took place in Madrid prior to the 1850s, declaring that while "permission to form the cemetery was virtually secured by treaty fifty years ago," the cemetery "has until now been opposed, evaded, or delayed."[340] Decades passed because of political and social upheaval in Spain and the British Foreign Office's disinterest in the matter until the 1840s. Another newspaper similarly mangled the history, suggesting that the issue arose because the city had grown up around the land purchased by Lord Bute in 1796 and that the Spanish Government objected to moving an established institution.[341] Ultimately, the newspapers' mischaracterizations of the issue served to portray the Spanish Government as unreasonable and to emphasize the necessity of British Government attention to the problem.

Parliamentary Committees considered the issue in 1853 and 1854 in order to sanction the expenditure of public funds to establish the cemetery. The Office of Works and Foreign Office proposed sending a British architect to Madrid in order to produce plans and supervise construction of a permanent cemetery. Some Members expressed concern about "whether there was really any necessity for" to someone experienced (and expensive) "to superintend so trifling a matter as the erection of a wall round a cemetery."[342] John Ayshford Wise, Member for Stafford, viewed the cemetery expenditure as frivolous since "very few English visited Spain, and still fewer Madrid…as it had been well said that travellers went there to stare and to starve, and to be eaten and not to

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[336] Ibid.
[337] "The Burial of the Dead," *The Sheffield & Rotherham Independent*, 17 September 1853, 2.
[338] Ibid.
[339] Ibid.
[340] "Religious Liberty at Home and Abroad," *The Leicester Chronicle: or, Commercial and Agricultural Advertiser*, 3 September 1853.
[341] "Popish Liberality," *The Standard*, 17 February 1852.
[342] Hansard HC Deb 31 July 1854 vol 135 cc 1026-57.

eat."[343] Furthermore, "he really thought this Vote was one more of sentiment than necessity" and he reminded his colleagues "how Votes of this class were increasing. From £4,000 in 1844, we had crept up now to £7,500."[344] Other Members wondered about the religious nature of the proposed cemetery, asking whether it would "be consecrated by a bishop of the Church of England?"[345] Apart from Britons of the Established Church, would "the bodies of Dissenters…be received there for interment?"[346] More generally, would baptism in any Protestant Church be required for burial, wondered Member for Southwark, Apsley Pellatt. The Financial Secretary to the Treasury, James Wilson, assured the committee that public money must be spent because of the "perfect fever of indignation upon the subject and…the strongest possible feeling ran through the metropolitan press and the press of the country generally" on the topic.[347] Furthermore, because the British residents in Madrid "were few in number, and in a comparatively humble position in life" only the government could assume the cost. Thus, instead of providing a rationale for no government help, the lack of a prominent and wealthy British community proved the necessity of the state intervention.

Furthermore, Wilson argued, the issue came down to one of national pride and public duty. Establishing the cemetery "became a question of whether the British Government should not take steps to remove the flagrant abuse which had been made a matter of charge against every person concerned in the administration of British affairs in Spain." He asserted "the Government had felt it its duty to take such steps and to take advantage of the opportunity which had presented itself for putting an end to this state of things." In response to the Members concerned about religious issues surrounding the space for the dead, Wilson provided an ecumenical synthesis of positions that stressed nationality, "the cemetery would be consecrated by a Protestant bishop" but "it would be open to all British subjects."[348] Thus, the involvement of the government, propelled by an active and interested press and a critique of supposed mistreatment of bodies, resulted in the establishment of a hybrid space for the dead, religiously and nationally defined, and called the British Cemetery.

As for the financial cost and the work to build the cemetery, ultimately, the Office of Works proposal for a more expensive project succeeded over the objections of the Treasury. Ultimately, Sir William Molesworth, the former Commissioner of Works and Buildings, declared "the plans submitted to the Board of Works by the Treasury were so unsatisfactory, and the estimates were so uncertain, that he was persuaded that the cheapest and most efficient mode of having the works executed was to send out a competent person to superintend them."[349] The Committee voted £1,400 for the project, £300 of which to compensate the architect for supervision. Two years later Parliament voted an additional £827 because the work continued much longer than originally anticipated.[350] Although some Members still found "it most unreasonable to send a person like Mr. Albano [the architect] all the way to Madrid, merely to superintend the building of a wall round an acre of ground and of a lodge at the entrance to the cemetery" ultimately Parliament and the bureaucracy sanctioned exactly that.[351]

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[343] Ibid.
[344] Ibid.
[345] Ibid.
[346] Ibid.
[347] Ibid.
[348] Ibid.
[349] Ibid.
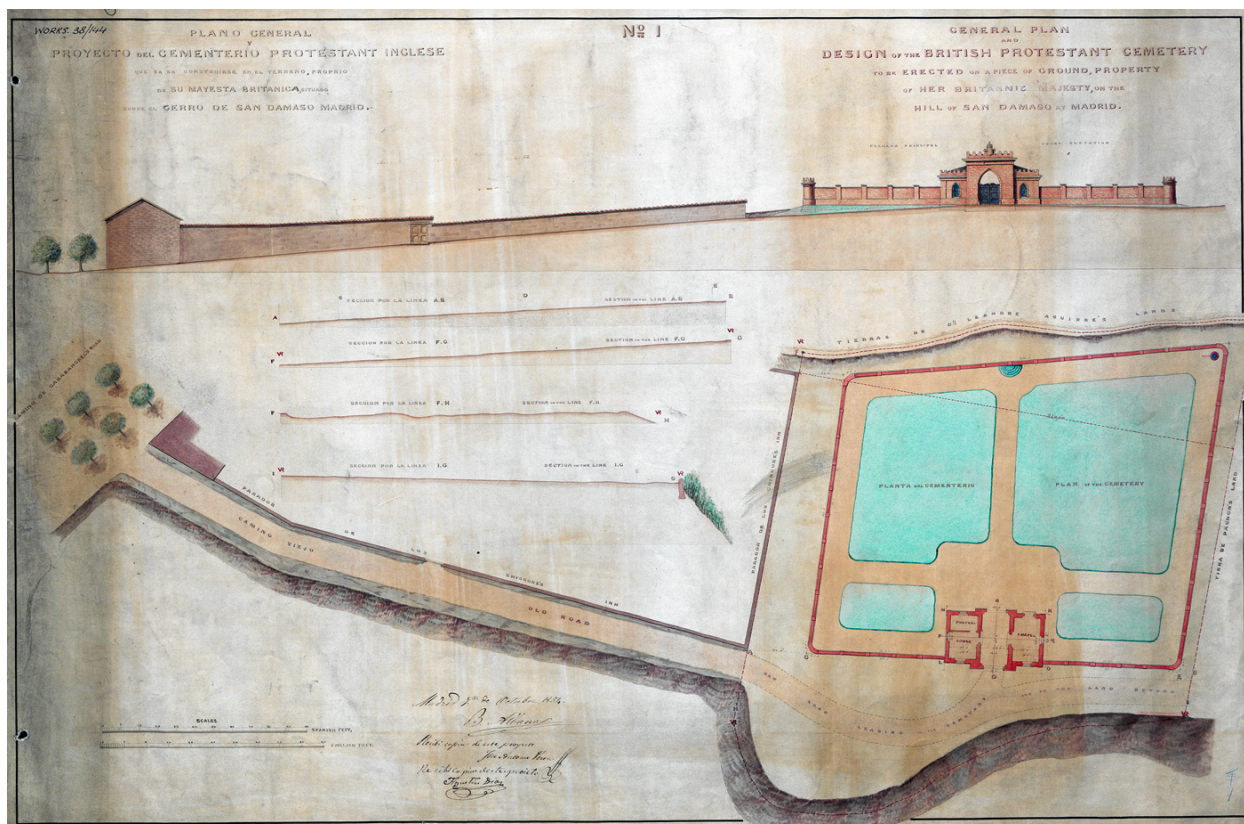[350] Hansard HC Deb 3 July 1857 vol 143 cc 272-96.
[351] Ibid.

Figure 8: "General Plan and Design of the British Protestant Cemetery, No. 1". The first of the set of plans produced by the British architect sent to Madrid to oversee construction of the cemetery. From TNA:PRO WORK 38-144
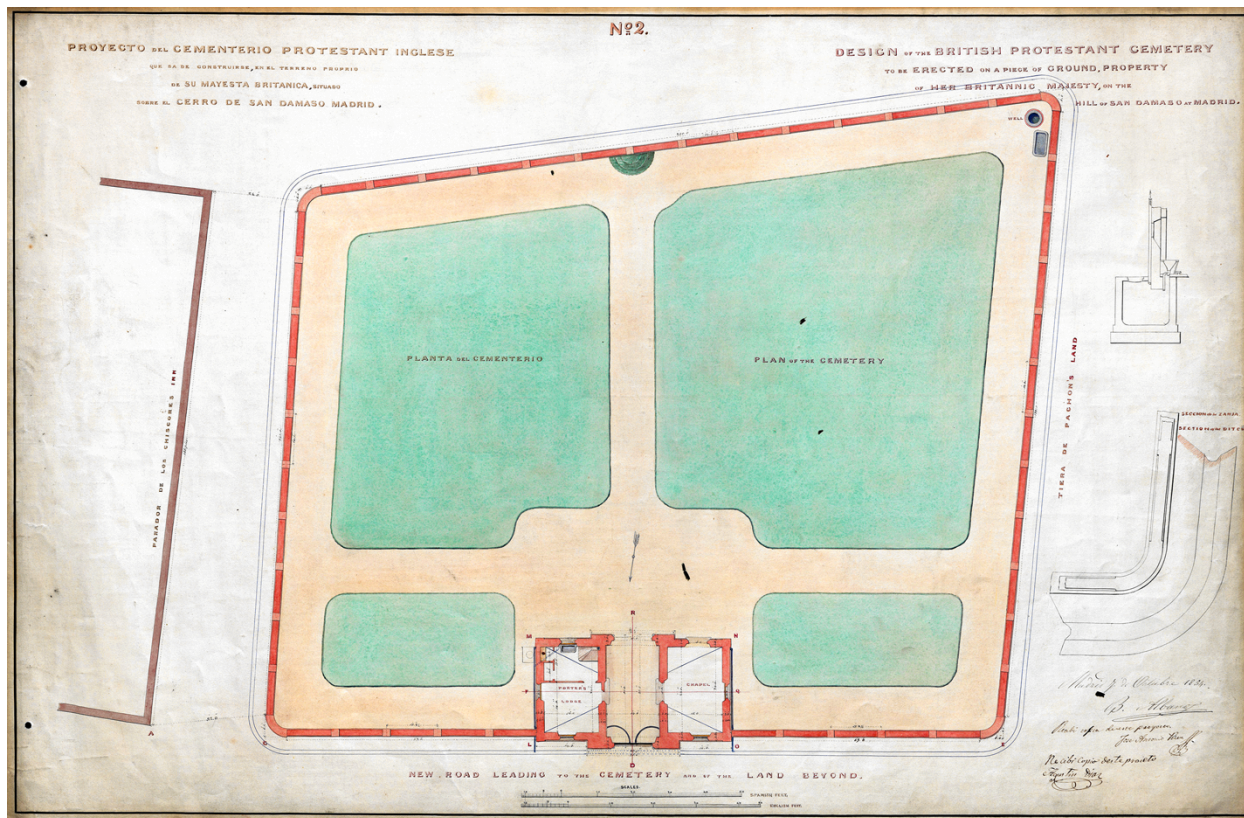
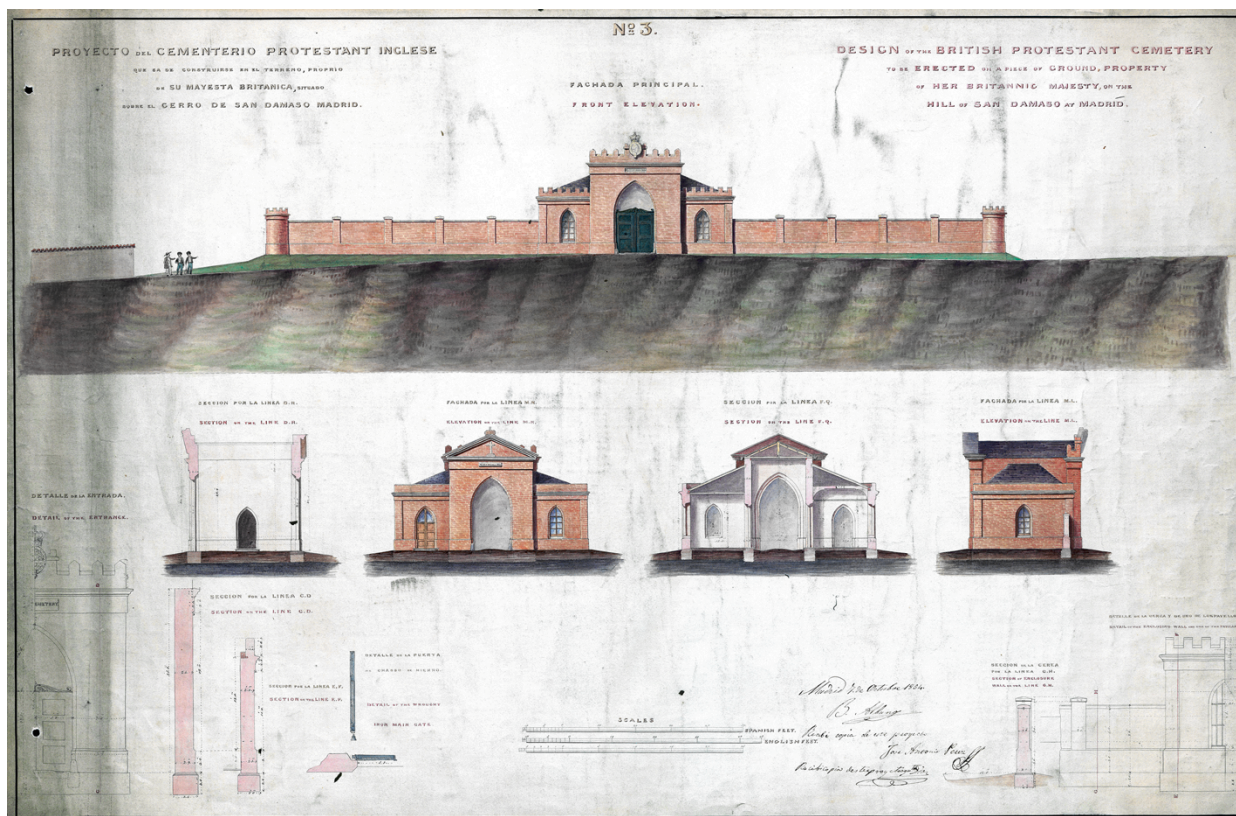Figure 9: "Design of the British Protestant Cemetery." TNA:PRO WORK 38-144

Figure 10: "Design of the British Protestant Cemetery." The street facing façade of the main entrance featured Queen Victoria's coat of arms to represent the British state. Inside the cemetery the gatehouse building's architecture resembled a Protestant chapel. TNA:PRO WORK 38-144

Burying dead Protestants in Madrid, as in many other cities across Spain and in other predominantly Catholic countries, presented difficulties for families and friends of the deceased. Yet, in the middle of the nineteenth century a new solution to this old problem emerged from a critique of the supposed mistreatment of bodies and the personal feelings the Rev. Thompson successfully translated into both an issue of religious and political concern. The British Government's response formed in the absence of a specific directive. Rather, it evolved in response to demands that it protect the rights of Protestants and advance a liberal interest. Its involvement with the issue ultimately transformed a local and relatively small-scale problem into one that mapped onto international relations and that became essential to national prestige. All of these factors combined to explain how and why the state would expend significant sums of money on a cemetery for very few.

IV. The Inter-Departmental Committee on British Cemeteries Abroad

Concerns about the financial cost of establishing overseas cemeteries, first raised by Foreign Office bureaucrats who felt misled by changing estimates for enclosing the land at Madrid and later championed by incredulous Members of Parliament like Ayshford Wise who wondered why the government should spend on an issue of sentiment, culminated in a government inquiry in the 1880s. Additionally, when the Inter-Departmental Committee on British Cemeteries Abroad convened to investigate government spending on burial grounds, other well-known reforms and reorganizations of the civil service and government informed its work. The Committee and its Report represent an attempt by the bureaucracy to organize and arrange systematically the haphazard process by which

the British Government found itself custodian of many burial grounds around the world. Like many other similar endeavors, in attempting to organize information impartially it nonetheless made ideological choices and created categories that would affect the way that bureaucrats operated in the future.

Some of the civil service reforms and internecine rivalries between departments of the period affected the direction and shape of the Committee's work. In 1854, the Northcote-Trevelyan Report famously began the process of establishing a professional and impartial civil service by mandating meritocratic recruitment and promotion. It also inaugurated the tradition of Treasury-led commissions of inquiry into the workings of government itself. The Playfair Commission of the 1870s followed with the plea for "some division of labour and pay" in the civil service, without which, they warned it would be "impossible to establish either any general system for testing efficiency, or any system of pay or promotion which will stimulate and reward efficiency, or remove grounds for discontent."[352] Furthermore, Playfair called for dividing clerks into categories that would correspond to higher and lower divisions and they reiterated the core principle of Northcote-Trevelyan, competitive and merit-based recruitment to the civil service. However, the following decade, when the Ridley Commission examined the structure of the civil service, the Permanent Secretary to the Treasury lamented, "hardly any of the Whitehall offices have had the upper part of the Playfair scheme applied to them" and the earlier report's recommendations had not been implemented in other departments either.[353] The Ridley report, published the same year as that from the Inter-Departmental Committee on British Cemeteries Abroad, concluded that how difficult it was to implement the universally agreed upon principles of civil service organization. These reports and plans for the civil service not only informed the individual bureaucrats who would categorize British spaces for the dead abroad but they also provided templates for conducting inquiries and organizing information.

The decades-long dispute between the Treasury and the Foreign Office regarding the operating costs of maintaining the government buildings and personnel abroad for the more particular and specific context of the Committee's work. The Foreign Office's overall budget had been capped by Parliament in 1833 at £180,000 and by the 1850s its operating costs approached the ceiling.[354] Critics such Richard Cobden, John Bright, and the Select Committee on Official Salaries began to question the seemingly high cost of paying British diplomats, especially compared to their counterparts from other countries.[355] Furthermore, following Northcote-Trevelyan, the Treasury pressured the Foreign Office to professionalize lower level diplomatic staff attached to Embassies, requiring them to be paid regular salaries and selected by merit rather than patronage. The Diplomatic Salaries Act of 1869, resulting from lengthy negotiations between the Foreign Office and Treasury, settled some of the squabbling over personnel but maintaining diplomatic buildings abroad remained unsettled.[356] The government owned Embassy buildings at Paris and Constantinople, both of which had needed significant repairs, and it leased many others, such as those at Brussels, Madrid, and St. Petersburg.[357] The Treasury's insistence on economy prompted many quarrels with the Foreign Office. Formulating official policy for burial places formed part of these disputes. Although Embassy buildings clearly cost significantly more to operate, the British

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[352] Playfair *First Report*, P.P., 1875 [C. 1113], XXIII; *Reports of the Civil Service Inquiry Commission* (Playfair Reports), P.P., 1875 [C. 1113, C. 1226], XXIII

[353] Cited in Greenaway, *The Dynamics of Administrative Reform*, 34

[354] Raymond A. Jones, *The British Diplomatic Service 1815-1914*, (Waterloo, Ontario, Canada: Wilfrid Laurier Press, 1983), 97.

[355] Ibid.

[356] Ibid., 106-109.

[357] Ibid, 106.

Government by some measures actually owned more space for the dead overseas than it did buildings for its diplomats.

The Interdepartmental Committee's authority emanated from the Treasury, even though its composition of members from a range of government offices attempted to convey collaboration. Its instructions asked "the several Departments concerned, viz., the Foreign Office, Colonial Office, Admiralty, War Office, and Works…in concert with this Department (i.e., the Treasury) [to] arrive at a common policy in dealing with…charges in connexion with the maintenance of Cemeteries abroad."[358] C.W. Fremantle, the Deputy Master and Comptroller of the Mint, represented the Treasury; Sir Clement Hill, Assistant Clerk, the Foreign Office; Augustus W.L. Hemming, Principal Clerk, the Colonial Office; G.B. Blount, from Department of the Accountant-General of the Navy, the Admiralty; Lt-Col. G.E. Grover, R.E., Assistant Director of Works, for the War Office; and H.W. Primrose, C.S.I., Secretary, the Office of Works. Apart from the dominance of the Treasury within the group, its composition is notable for its absence of anyone representing the Church of England or any ecclesiastical concerns. The group of senior bureaucrats approached the problem of managing space for the dead as solely one of management and did not consider any kind of religious needs.

The structure of the report and the categories it created reflected budgetary priorities and Treasury concerns as well. The third paragraph of the Report explicitly declares that the Committee "excluded from [its] consideration…Cemeteries at British naval and military stations, such as Malta and Gilbraltar."[359] It did not consider these British Cemeteries under its jurisdiction because such places "form a recognized part of the Establishment of the stations, and the expense incidental to their care and maintenance is regularly provided for in the Estimates of the Admiralty and War Office."[360] Although other cemeteries might be understood as part of the diplomatic establishment, the crucial difference was where and how they appeared in departmental budgets. The committee included other seemingly more ambiguously placed cemeteries within this category as well. Those "at Cairo and Alexandria, the existence of which is due to the British occupation of Egypt, and which are used in connexion with our garrison in that country" did not merit scrutiny by the Committee either.[361] They, like the others, fell outside the Committee's scope because "so long as this occupation shall continue the maintenance of the burial grounds in question will, we conceive, remain, as now, a charge upon Army Votes" and "on the withdrawal from Egypt of Her Majesty's Forces some arrangement should be made with the Egyptian Government under which that Government might undertake the care and maintenance of the Cemeteries."[362] Yet, the Committee members did not abjure future expenditure on these places, declaring, "failing such an arrangement, their care would of course devolve upon Her Majesty's Government in the same way as that of other burial grounds which owe their origins to the operations of war."[363] Besides the active military and naval cemeteries that already received financial support from the War Office and Admiralty, the Committee created two categories based on political geography, those in British colonies and in foreign countries. Colonial cemeteries "may be left, as now, to local care" and as territories in the future might be constituted as British colonies care should "be delegated to the Colonial Government."[364] The bulk of the Committee's work, then, concerned those cemeteries in foreign countries, which to the group meant places for the dead overseas not provided for in departmental

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[358] "Report of the Inter Departmental Committee," 3.
[359] Ibid.
[360] Ibid.
[361] Ibid.
[362] Ibid.
[363] Ibid.
[364] Ibid.

budgets. Within this category, the Committee subdivided the cemeteries into three headings: Civil, Military, and Naval. Military cemeteries the Committee understood as those that "owe their origin to British military operations in foreign countries" and "as a general principle…must continue to be maintained in a condition of fair preservation."[365] The "comparatively few" naval cemeteries "consist[ed] for the most part of isolated graves, or groups of graves, of seamen who have been buried at places touched at by Her Majesty's ships" and should be maintained by the Admiralty for £100 per year.[366] Those that remained, "by far the most numerous" category the report termed "civil cemeteries" that emanated from "the action of British residents abroad, who, not being permitted to bury their dead in the Cemeteries belonging to the general community, or desiring to possess separate burial grounds for their own nationality or religion, have provided burial places of their own."[367] Budgetary thinking and the priorities of the Treasury thus served to categorize places for British dead abroad. Consequently, "Civil Cemeteries" abroad after 1888 would mean spaces for the dead for which the British Government assumed partial financial and managerial responsibility. Neither could they be abandoned because they were British nor could they be fully supported because they cost too much.

The Committee grappled with how to pay for civil cemeteries and the issue of whether the British Government should be obligated to maintain them. In order to disavow financial obligation, it ignored the integral role that consuls played in their establishment and instead asserted they "were established and have been subsequently maintained without recourse to pecuniary aid from Her Majesty's Government."[368] In order to account for the frequent instances of official funds paying for these cemeteries, the Committee suggested "exceptions to this rule have frequently occurred, and such aid has been granted, either towards the cost of purchase, or of maintenance, or of both, the principle of such assistance having been recognised and defined by sections 10 and 11 of the Consular Act of 1825."[369] Treasury bureaucrats could not by themselves nullify an act of Parliament that permitted spending that they found excessive, but by presenting expenses authorized by the Consular Act as exceptions to the rule they created an administrative precedent for the civil service that would endure for at least a century.

Ultimately, and seemingly counter intuitively, the Committee's attempt to clamp down on expenditures actually opened up more possibilities for British Government involvement in the management and operation of cemeteries abroad precisely because of its focus on finances. With authoritative certainly it declared, "The time has arrived when all Government grants in aid of Cemeteries exclusively used for civil interments should cease."[370] For those cemeteries actually owned by the British Government, the Committee was "of opinion that arrangements should be made, when the circumstances admit of it, for vesting the property in…the British community of the place" that would take care of ongoing expenses by levying burial fees.[371] The Committee omitted specific consideration of places that lacked a substantial number of British residents or of those that required more financial support than local residents could provide. Since it did not recommend abandoning any British Cemeteries entirely, the Committee left the British Government in place as an administrator of last resort. If locals could not maintain them, they could always turn to London for support even though the official policy stated that they should receive nothing.

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[365] Ibid., 5.
[366] Ibid.
[367] Ibid., 4.
[368] Ibid.
[369] Ibid.
[370] Ibid.
[371] Ibid.

Furthermore, both implicitly and explicitly, the Report confirmed the relationship between these places and British nationality. The vast majority of spaces for the dead could be considered government owned land and remained classified as British Cemeteries. It did not recommend partnership with other countries as a solution to the problem of providing ongoing maintenance. Only four (Athens, Barcelona, Jeddah, and Tangier) of the many cemeteries it investigated had "an international character."[372] Curiously, the Committee omitted the Protestant Cemetery at Rome, administered by the Swiss in an ecumenical fashion that contained John Keats's grave as well as those of other prominent Britons. The exclusion of Rome as well as the explicit mention of the four others as "international" reveals that the Committee considered "Civil Cemeteries" in general to mean those defined by their Britishness.

The Inter Departmental Committee on British Cemeteries Abroad turned out to be an abject failure if evaluated by its own stated goal of trimming government expenditures. Although it clearly delineated policy recommendations that instructed government bureaucrats to cease funding Civil Cemeteries overseas, its work did not result in less time, attention, and money paid for cemetery maintenance. Instead, it established categories that left over a hundred spaces for the dead around the world in a nebulous position without official ongoing financial backing yet continuing to be owned by the British Government. Indeed, in the decades following the Report and well into the twentieth century requests from Britons overseas for financial support of burial places increased dramatically and each had to be thoroughly investigated and treated as an exception to the rule. Furthermore, because the Committee defined so many places for the dead as "British Cemeteries" they became even more clearly defined as national space even if the government professed official disinterest in their continued financial needs.

V. "Cemetery Problems" after 1888

Despite the edict of the Inter Departmental Committee that cemeteries abroad should not receive financial support from the Government, they continued to garner official attention and money during the twentieth century. In part this contradictory situation resulted from the structure of the report itself, which only concerned itself with fiscal policy and did not consider what should be done with the many cemeteries owned by the British Government. Furthermore, Foreign Office bureaucrats in London as well as consuls and diplomats abroad refused to abandon the places and increasingly relied upon their status as British soil to appeal for funding, even though such support patently contradicted the conclusion of the Committee. Ultimately, across the globe in the twentieth century, the Foreign Office's erratic responses to local conditions that affected cemeteries abroad only served to reinforce the connection between such spaces and Britishness.

Spaces for the dead overseas usually commanded official attention following the Committee's Report when they came under threat from local development or reached a level of physical deterioration that local consuls found unacceptable. In Spain tensions associated with secularization caused difficulties for the administration of British cemeteries. Surprisingly, the British Government advocated a position contrary to secular control of cemeteries. In 1932 the Spanish Republican Government promulgated a law for the secularization of cemeteries and for the removal of Catholicism from the institutions of the dead.[373] Article 2 declared, "Existing private cemeteries shall be respected, but no new ones may be opened nor may existing ones be enlarged."[374]

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[372] Ibid.
[373] "Enclosure No. 1: Law for the Secularization of Cemeteries," Madrid Despatch No. 32, British Embassy Madrid to Foreign Office, 3 March 1932; TNA:PRO FO 185/1748.
[374] Ibid.

Furthermore, "Municipalities shall directly control the administration of such cemeteries, for which purpose they shall examine within one month all acquired rights in connection with interments. They shall determine what such acquired rights are and who are the persons entitled to enjoy them."[375] The law seemingly provided a process through which the British Government could end its involvement in providing burial spaces for Protestants in Spain, and other provisions established that municipalities would manage interments and cemeteries in a secular manner. Nevertheless, members of the British diplomatic establishment in Spain expressed serious reservations with the law that revolved around losing control over these cemeteries. The Consul-General in Madrid consulted a legal adviser to interpret the law as well as how the British Government might continue to manage them. The Foreign Office concurred and directed "every effort should be made to maintain the view that acquired rights exist within the meaning of article 2 of the law in respect of all British subjects in perpetuity."[376] It felt confident that the Spanish Government would agree but worried that the law might "operate to prevent persons other than British subjects being buried in British cemeteries."[377] This, in turn, would create a financial crisis for the cemeteries since they usually charged double or triple fees for interments of non-British bodies. If that happened, the Foreign Office instructed the Madrid Embassy "to treat the matter as analogous to expropriation and to demand compensation."[378] Ultimately, the British Government's reaction to the Spanish law reveals the continued importance of British control over burial places even when the initial need for space to accommodate Protestant dead in a Catholic country no longer existed.

The Consul-General in Madrid instructed the British consulates under his supervision to report on the status of cemeteries in their areas as a practical means to countering the law. The resulting report, when contrasted with the similar document produced approximately a century earlier following Consul William Mark's characterizations of Protestant burials, reveals the spread of British Cemeteries in Spain. The British Government owned thirteen, or slightly more than half, of the twenty-five listed on the chart. British companies owned or previously owned an additional five. Only one, at Santander, purported to be maintained by consular representatives from a variety of European governments; however, the Foreign Office noted, "The cemetery cannot now be regarded as British property although it was originally intended to be a British Protestant cemetery."[379] Three had Spanish ownership, or represented a space set aside in a municipal cemetery. Two others had "doubtful" or disputed ownership and one other was "Probably not [property of] His Majesty's Government."[380] Instead of prompting the British Government to divest itself of cemeteries in Spain, the secularization law resulted increased Foreign Office scrutiny of burial places in order to form a legal rationale for maintaining control of them.

For those cemeteries that it did not possess clear title, the Foreign Office attempted to construct an ownership record in order to assert that the cemetery was in fact "British." The Vice-Consul at Cartaghena reported, "Whether it is right or not to describe the Cemetery as 'British' I cannot say, but the permits for burial given by the Municipal Judge are addressed to the Caretaker of the 'Cementerio de los Ingleses', and everybody knows it as such."[381] The Foreign Office relied upon this characterization to list the cemetery owner as "His Majesty's Government." At Tenerife the Consul reported that the Port Orotava cemetery, originally established by a British company, "can

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[375] Ibid.

[376] Foreign Office to Madrid Embassy No. 134, 7 April 1932; TNA:PRO FO 185/1748.

[377] Ibid.

[378] Ibid.

[379] Ibid.

[380] Ibid.

[381] British Vice Consulate, Carthagena to British Consulate, Malaga; 24 October 1924; TNA:PRO FO 185/1748.

no longer, except perhaps in part, be regarded as a British cemetery."[382] Furthermore, he opined, "any further interference on the part of the Civil Authorities…might prove a deterrent to British visitors coming to the locality in search of health, many of whom have laid their bones there and who were attracted there…by the knowledge that should they not recover their health, they would find there a resting place for their remains, among their own people."[383] Thus, the Foreign Office should recognize the space as a British Cemetery and assert ownership over it with the Spanish Government. Instead of winding down its involvement with cemeteries, inquiries as to legal ownership served as a counterweight to the lack of government money and pressured the Foreign Office to increase its involvement with such places.

The British Cemetery in Madrid, undeniably government property, seemed to be threatened by the secularization law as well, which prompted the Foreign Office to re-assert control over the space. Initially the Consul-General hoped to "claim that the Cemetery is extra-territorial and therefore exempt from the provisions of the new Act."[384] If that legal approach proved untenable, he suggested, as recommended by legal advisers in Madrid and London, that the British Government assert "the Cemetery was purchased and constructed primarily for the burial of British subjects, all British subjects who may die in future in Madrid have acquired now the right to be buried in the Cemetery."[385] In either approach the Consul-General proposed advancing a claim based on nationality, either that individuals' had the right to certain treatment as Britons or that the cemetery itself had to be considered British soil.

The Spanish Civil War and General Francisco Franco's triumph over the Republic relieved the legal pressure on British cemeteries in Spain by rendering the secularization law moot, yet it resulted in physical damage to many of them. The Madrid Cemetery received shelling from Franco's army because of its proximity to Republican front lines. Ambassador Sir Samuel Hoare appealed to the Foreign Office for financial support to repair it, declaring it "essential to our prestige to spend the sum of about 30,000 pesetas in completing the necessary repairs."[386] Hoare believed it "particularly derogatory to our position in a country where religious observance holds so prominent a part in the national life, that the British Cemetery in Madrid should remain in so disgraceful a state."[387] He concluded his appeal by evoking prestige again and declaring the "disrepair is at present bringing both the British community and the Anglican Church into disrepute."[388] The British Government had an obligation to spend money on it because it represented a physical manifestation not only of the Protestant church but also of Britishness itself.

British cemeteries in Spain represent a particular and somewhat anomalous case because of the history of confessional difference and national rivalry, yet, across the globe similar spaces for the dead commanded official attention. Even after the Inter Departmental Committee Report, cemeteries' connections to the British Government only increased, manifested through the ownership of land and the legalities of property deeds. Across South America British cemeteries tended to receive more local financing because of established expatriate communities engaged in the commercial activities of informal empire. Nevertheless, whenever land ownership issues arose the Foreign Office intervened in order to ensure that the spaces for the dead remained British soil under their control. In the 1870s and 1880s a complicated case of land transfer and exchange between British residents and municipal authorities in Montevideo, Uruguay, resulted in the cemetery's

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[382] British Consulate Tenerife to British Embassy Madrid; 17 March 1932; TNA:PRO FO 185/1748.
[383] Ibid.
[384] H.M. Consul, Madrid to Head of Chancery, British Embassy Madrid; 18 January 1932; TNA:PRO FO 185/1748.
[385] Ibid.
[386] Sir Samuel Hoare to Anthony Eden, 27 Feburary 1941; TNA:PRO FO 369/2710.
[387] Ibid.
[388] Ibid.

relocation. The title deed to the new piece of land listed the British Government, not the name of the consul, as the registered owner. In 1936 the Bogotá Cemetery, administered by the British for over a hundred years based "solely on sentiment and tradition," received additional legal sanction from the Colombian Government, at the urging of the departing British Ambassador.[389] An exchange of diplomatic notes affirmed the British Legation's administration of the space, which increased the British Government's formal control of it despite the institution's financial independence.

In other places the re-assertion of a cemetery's British character occurred when local land ownership issues threatened such spaces, especially in the period following the Second World War. In addition to its perpetually inconsistent approach to spending money on overseas cemeteries, the Foreign Office continued to struggle with legal title issues related cemetery land. Additionally, it frequently relied upon asserting its ownership of land to prevent graves from being disturbed or bodies being moved. For instance, in Iran, numerous small cemeteries needed financial support for repairs and refurbishment in the 1950s. Ambassador Sir Roger Stevens informed the Foreign Office his "inconvenient conclusion" that restoring the cemetery at Khorramshahr, near the large oil-refining city of Abadan, would be "misguided and would represent a serious waste of taxpayers' and other peoples money."[390] Additionally, Stevens wondered why the Government should care about the place since it did not own the land. The claim that the British Government had "no title deed to the property" appeared first in his "case against rehabilitating Khorramshahr."[391] The Foreign Office concurred, "There is indeed a strong case for abandoning the cemetery…especially as it now appears that it would be impossible to reconstruct the cemetery in such a way as to show who was buried there."[392] Yet, even in the absence of money to support the cemetery or clear ownership of its land, the Foreign Office could not abandon it entirely. One official in London noted, "Unless we pay adequately for the upkeep of cemeteries of this sort, which means a permanent caretaker, and probably considerable expense on water, etc., they very soon get into a state much more distressing than a complete reversion to nature."[393] The Foreign Office had an obligation, which it lacked the resources to restore fully and to maintain completely these cemeteries, to abandon them properly.

In this sense, "reverting to nature" was not a natural process at all but rather one that had to be managed, and "abandoning" one location's memorials necessitated creating a new commemoration elsewhere. The Foreign Office ultimately "decided to erect a memorial in a cemetery at Abadan to commemorate persons who are buried in a Christian cemetery at Khorramshahr, the latter cemetery having proved an impracticable position to repair. We do not envisage anything of a grandiose nature for this memorial, but it has to accommodate some forty names, with perhaps a suitable inscription."[394] Thus, even when it ostensibly lacked the money to maintain a cemetery and the legal authority over it the Foreign Office remained committed to the production of commemoration.

The Foreign Office expanded its interest with other cemeteries in Iran, even as it claimed to be reluctant to spend money on them. In 1955, the Embassy in Tehran sent a consular official to inspect the cemetery at Bushehr, even though "Bushire is a dying town…[it] has ceased to have any significance whatever as a port. …There is no British community. The climate in summer is unspeakable. There is very little fresh water. There is no chance we can see of this trend being

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[389] TNA:PRO WORK 10/65
[390] Roger Stevens to Foreign Office, TNA:PRO FO 369/5179.
[391] Roger Stevens to Foreign Office, TNA:PRO FO 369/5179.
[392] Kemball to Wright, TNA:PRO FO 369/5179.
[393] TNA:PRO FO 369/5179.
[394] Ranken to Dolan, 6 December 1955, TNA:PRO FO 369/5179.

reversed."[395] In addition the Embassy determined that the cemetery "belongs to either the Government of India or Pakistan," therefore, "the question of its abandonment or otherwise is of concern to them rather than to Her Majesty's Government….It seems clear that Her Majesty's Government have no standing at all to deal with the cemetery."[396] The consular official nonetheless sailed on H.M.S. Flamingo in September 1955, "motor[ed] out" to the cemetery, and "found the property desecrated, many of the headstones having been broken and some of the graves opened up."[397] He reported that there was "no point" to restoring it because "there is not one British subject in Bushire to-day [and]…no guarantee that it would not be destroyed again tomorrow."[398] Instead of spending money repairing the site, he suggested that the Embassy "remove the tablet with the names" at the cemetery, erect a monument that incorporated this tablet elsewhere in Iran, and allow "the property…to revert to nature."[399] Proceeding in this manner suggests that the British were making new monuments and engaging in other forms of commemoration even as they ostensibly abandoned a cemetery.

The Foreign Office hoped to abdicate its responsibilities for the cemetery at Kermen, but even in this case abandoning meant an increase of government involvement. The Anglican Bishop of Iran asked the British Ambassador and the Foreign Office for a contribution of £40 a year toward this cemetery's expenses. In reply the Foreign Office declared the cemetery more religious than secular. They declared it "not a British cemetery" and furthermore believed "there is no question (now, anyway) of its being maintained or replaced for the benefit of future B[ritish] S[ubjects]."[400] Additionally, they explained to the Embassy, "we cannot seek authority for the payment of £40 a year for the up-keep of a cemetery in which only 8 known British subjects are buried and situated in a town where there is no British community."[401] Even in the face of such overwhelming reasons for dismissing the Kerman Cemetery entirely, the Foreign Office still would not abandon it completely. It offered to "negotiate on…behalf [of the Christian community] with the Municipality for the grant of a new piece of land in exchange for the old."[402] Furthermore, government money would "pay half of the cost of a memorial tablet, if anyone else will pay the other half."[403] Although it did not want the responsibility for the eight British graves in Kerman, the Foreign Office did not want them forgotten about either. Dismantling cemeteries long neglected as well as ones like Kerman that the Foreign Office did not even consider to be British nonetheless resulted in new government involvement with the care of the dead.

Despite the policy established by the Inter Departmental Committee on Cemeteries Abroad in the late 1880s, British spaces for the dead around the world continued to receive government attention and financial support well into the twentieth century. Often particular local developments, such as the Spanish law secularizing cemeteries, or the actions of diplomats and consuls on the ground in Colombia, Uruguay, Iran, and elsewhere led to situations in which the British Government became even more formally linked with cemeteries than it had been previously. Throughout the period following the Committee Report, bureaucrats at the Foreign Office displayed reluctance to do nothing at all about spaces for the dead overseas. Even when they felt forced by finances or legal issues to abandon a cemetery, they did so in ways that led to either new institutions

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[395] Marten to Ranken, TNA:PRO FO 369/5295.
[396] Ranken to Marten, TNA:PRO FO 369/5295.
[397] Bennett to British Embassy, Tehran, 21 September 1955, TNA:PRO FO 369/5179.
[398] Ibid.
[399] Ibid.
[400] Notes in file TNA:PRO FO 369/5295.
[401] Ibid.
[402] Hermann to Pierotti, 25 April 1956, TNA:PRO FO 369/5292.
[403] Hermann to Pierotti, 25 April 1956, TNA:PRO FO 369/5292.

for the dead or new forms of commemoration. The British Government seemed to face constant problems with cemeteries around the world in the period following the Second World War, prompting one Foreign Office official to preface a memorandum, "Yet another Cemetery" issue. Furthermore, when an American diplomat approached him for help locating a grave, the exasperated bureaucrat "explained to [his] visitor that we too have Cemetery problems, and that… we had to give precedence to British Cemeteries."[404]

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[404] TNA:PRO FO 369-5178

Chapter 3: British Soldiers' Graves in the Nineteenth Century

In 1811 the British merchants of Lisbon penned a vehement protest to Lord Wellington. They complained that some of his soldiers had interred the body of their commanding officer in the merchants' burial ground. In the midst of the Napoleonic Wars, this group of wealthy British traders, whose very survival depended on the presence of Wellington's army and its success against the French, thought the burial of Brigadier General Coleman amounted to "a very extraordinary and unprecedented instance of aggression" against their property.[405] They insisted that Wellington instruct his officers to bury their comrades in government owned land.[406] Military dead belonged in the "piece of ground…provided by the British Government as a receptacle for the remains of those officers and Soldiers who might die in this Metropolis."[407] At the beginning of the nineteenth century, these British civilians did not feel any sort of patriotic or national obligation to care for dead soldiers.

Furthermore, the merchants expressed stronger feelings than mere indifference; they considered the military burial in their cemetery profane. They objected, "that a spot considered as sacred amongst all Nations for the pious and religious purpose to which it is nobly destined and applied should on any occasion have been exposed to the sacrilegious insult of an armed force."[408] They had "horror and indignation" the general would be buried in "that sacred repository of the revered remains of our Forefathers and our own immediate relatives and friends."[409] People with whom they had personal relationships mattered more; and, a stranger, even though he died in their country's service protecting their lives and property, did not belong. In the merchants' view, the objection to the burial amounted to something entirely different from loyalty to their country which they expressed through obsequious praise for Wellington and the living members of the army in Portugal.

This chapter traces how over the course of the nineteenth century the British soldier dead became a national responsibility and caring for them became associated with pride in country. It questions how, when, where, and why the British government and the public began to valorize dead soldiers and to believe that they deserved decent burial regardless of their rank or accomplishments in battle. Contrary to much of the historiography on war and memory that revolves around the Great War, the key moment of change in British attitudes was the Crimean War of 1853-56. During this conflict, for the first time in modern European history, combatants on both sides buried their dead in marked graves. Not only for military men in the field and their families and friends at home, but also for the government the dead and the care of them were significant parts of understanding the war. Although the reasons why the dead became important in the Crimea and the languages used to valorize them drew upon traditions from the Napoleonic Wars, it was Christian religious faith that fundamentally changed the nature of British commemoration.

Following the Crimean War, three decades of public interest in the British burial grounds near Sevastopol reveal the way that the sites became *national* cemeteries. The burial grounds originated not from organized state or military planning, but rather from the actions of individual soldiers "on the spot" who cared about their comrades. Although the government believed in principle that it should maintain them, it hardly conceived of them as national shrines from their

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[405] "British Factory to Lord Viscount Wellington," Lisbon, 22 December 1811; TNA: PRO FO 173/7

[406] The merchants frequently expressed alarm to Wellington about the prosecution of the war. (see especially post-war accounts in Robert Southey, *History of the Peninsular War*, 448; and William Napier, *Peninsular War*, Book XIV, 392 which stresses the great extent to which the merchants profited from the war).

[407] "British Factory to Lord Viscount Wellington," TNA: PRO FO 173/7.

[408] Ibid.

[409] Ibid.

inception like the American government treated Civil War battlefield cemeteries. Public perceptions of neglect and criticisms of government inaction caused an increasingly intense rhetoric of national responsibility for the burial grounds in the 1860s and 1870s. The condition of the Crimean burial grounds reveal the missteps and disorganization that characterized the British state's minor role in war commemoration during the nineteenth century. The consensus among military, government, and elite public opinion that there was a national obligation to care for dead soldiers developed partly in reaction to this perception of governmental incompetence. Staunchly pro-military elites, veterans, civic organizations, and members of the royal family first articulated the view that war graves were sacred because the soldiers died in their country's service. For some, they were "more sacred than the family tomb."[410] Literary and visual representations of military burial grounds in the Crimea as well as soldiers' graves in far away places spurred public interest and action in Britain. Ultimately, interest in proper care for the war dead and the link between patriotism and proper military burial in the period prior to the Great War culminated with military, governmental, and civic group action during the second South African War of 1899-1902. This resulted in the names and burial places of almost all British soldiers recorded for the first time.

Concomitantly, the idea that it was more honorable for a dead soldier to be buried where he fell on the battlefield then to be returned to his family for private interment gained wide resonance among the British public. This led to an increasing feeling of obligation by the public and the government to pay for military burial grounds and their upkeep even if located far from home. During the Napoleonic Wars, burying generals or admirals mattered; but, by the time of the Crimean War at mid-century, the most well known British military burial was of a non-aristocratic captain: Hedley Vicars. Well before 1914, British military burial practices during the nineteenth century reflected an evolving style of commemoration that would become institutionalized and normalized after the Great War.

I. Death, Military Heroism, and Pride in Country

The Lisbon case suggested that, while there was no widespread public belief in 1811 that the war dead deserved special treatment because they gave their lives in their country's service, the government and military already provided something for the fatalities of war. Upon his arrival in Lisbon, Lord Wellington directed the British envoy to the Portuguese court to secure land for a military burial ground. In late eighteenth century Britain, burial grounds specifically for the military existed near the Plymouth and Haslar naval hospitals, Chelsea Hospital, and some barracks.[411] Men of rank as well as heroic leaders, especially those who died in battle, received public attention at death. Neither was venerating the heroes of war a new phenomenon for the British nor was it uniquely English or British. The new development during the nineteenth century was the sense of moral obligation that soldiers' should be interred in military burial grounds and that reverential treatment, initially only given to heroic leaders, should be the standard for all, regardless of rank or accomplishments in battle.

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[410] *The Times*, 26 September 1867, 6.

[411] William Tait, *A History of Haslar Hospital* (1906) declares, "The whole land to the south-west of the hospital…was used indiscriminately as a burial ground in the early days of the hospital." Tait further asserts that while no burial register exists for the early period, in 1779 there were 807 deaths and in 1780 there were 909 deaths in the hospital. An archaeological project in 2008 attempted to excavate some of these remains, see Andrew J. Shortland, et.al., "Burials of eighteenth-century Naval personnel," *Antiquity* 82:317 (September 2008). Richard Green, "The Naval Hospital Burials at Yarmouth" [ONLINE, http://doun.org/transcriptions/articles/view_article.php?document_id=25610] provides information on some early burials at Yarmouth.

Heroic military figures received elaborate funerals that functioned as public spectacles in the early modern period. Hundreds witnessed the burial procession of Sir Philip Sidney following his death at the Battle of Zutphen in 1586.[412] Similarly, Edward Montagu, first Earl of Sandwich, received a public funeral and interment in Westminster Abbey following his death at the Battle of Solebay during the Anglo-Dutch Wars in 1672.[413] Even though the Duke of Marlborough survived the battle of Blenheim, he too received public honors at death in 1722: a funeral procession including soldiers, heralds, and seventy-two military pensioners from Chelsea Hospital, each one representing a year of his life.[414] Official and public interest in the death rituals for heroic military leaders formed a long-standing part of British patriotic culture whether they died in battle or years later.

The funeral spectacle following the death of General James Wolfe at the Battle of Quebec on September 13, 1759 followed this tradition but began a more modern relationship between a military leader's death in battle and public patriotism. Popular culture characterized Wolfe as a man who sacrificed his life for his country and the treatment of his death inaugurated some of the characteristics of British commemoration that would gain wider resonance in the nineteenth century. News of his death and victory in battle arrived in Britain several days after a somber dispatch from the general that seemed to presage defeat, which heightened the drama for London newspapers and the reading public.[415] The outpouring of patriotism linked to the fallen leader in popular culture expressed "national" pride. Theatrical performances, obituaries, biographies and other written works celebrated the dead general and his triumphant sacrifice for Britain. In Manchester one performance promised a theatrical rendering of "the General expiring in the Arms of Minerva … And Fame, triumphing over Death, with this Motto: He never can be lost, who saves His Country."[416] Wolfe's death scene itself became important to the public understanding of his heroism because of Benjamin West's allegorical painting that depicted the general as Christ-like yet wearing an authentic uniform.[417] The death of Wolfe and the public representations of it began the linkage between battlefield heroism, sacrifice, and national pride in the British public imagination.

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[412] Theodor de Bry depicted it in thirty-four illustrations included in Thomas Lant's *Procession at the Obsequies of Sir Philip Sidney*.

[413] J. D. Davies, "Montagu, Edward, first earl of Sandwich (1625–1672)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19010, accessed 10 Aug 2011].

[414] John B. Hattendorf, "Churchill, John, first duke of Marlborough (1650–1722)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2010 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5401, accessed 10 Aug 2011]. Although originally interred at Westminster Abbey, twenty-two years later Marlborough's remains moved to the completed chapel at Blenheim, emphasizing that an individual and his heirs controlled the physical body.

[415] Stuart Reid, "Wolfe, James (1727–1759)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29833, accessed 10 Aug 2011].

[416] K. Wilson, "Empire of Virtue: the imperial project and Hanoverian culture, c. 1720-1785" in L. Stone, ed., *An Imperial State at War: Britain from 1689 to 1815*, 150.

[417] Underlying the West's depiction is biblical imagery: Wolfe on the ground at the center of the painting suggests Christ at the base of the cross and the British flag "punningly invokes the cross" (Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth's harlot: sacred parody in Enlightenment England*, 130). The overall message of West's painting stems from how "he establishes a unity that makes every figure contribute to the single impression of awe, grief, and exultation focused on Wolfe." (Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth's harlot: sacred parody in Enlightenment England*, 131-2). The painting and its numerous reproductions served to "encourage prominent Britons to see themselves as heroes of a national and imperial epic." Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, 178. The painting itself ends up important in the forging of Canadian national identity too and it comes to symbolize Canada's "coming of age as a nation" when the British government gives the original to Canada in 1921 in gratitude for the Canadian sacrifices during the First World War, see Ruth B. Phillips, "Settler Monuments, Indigenous Memory: Dis-membering and Re-membering Canadian Art History" in Robert S. Nelson and Margaret Rose Olin, eds., *Monuments and Memory, Made and Unmade*, 288.

While public representations emphasized General Wolfe's sacrifice of his life for his country, his burial remained a familial matter. A large crowd turned out when his embalmed body arrived at Portsmouth on November 17, 1759, and "guns were fired from the ships at Spithead, and all the honours that could be paid to the memory of a gallant officer, were paid on this occasion."[418] Nevertheless, the burial itself occurred privately, and the general's corpse "was interred in…the family vault at Greenwich."[419] However much his heroism and sacrifice mattered to the public, his dead body belonged to the family as traditionally held by common law. The official commemoration in Westminster Abbey contrasted with the private treatment of his body in St. Alfege Church. Wolfe's death reveals the beginning of the link between national pride and the dead military hero but the final part of the death ritual remained private and familial.

General Sir Ralph Abercromby's death at the Battle of Abukir in 1801, like Wolfe's at Quebec, came with a British victory; and he, too, received a public funeral spectacle. Unlike Wolfe's burial, however, Abercromby's public interment benefitted British strategic interests. The general's heroism became an important part of the popular account of his death as well.[420] Even after receiving his fatal wound, he remained at his post until he could be sure of victory. The dying Abercromby directed that his burial take place on Malta, and his military funeral there served to legitimate British rule of the recently conquered island.[421] Because he advocated British occupation, "no more fitting place than Malta could be selected for his body to rest."[422] The decidedly militaristic funeral consisted of Abercromby's staff officers as pallbearers, a procession of British and Maltese soldiers, and the absence of the general's family.[423]

Abercromby's burial overseas underscored the separation of the physical body from the efforts to preserve his memory at home. Parliament voted a pension for his widow and named her baroness of Aboukir, which would pass to "to the heirs-male of his body" upon her death.[424] Government funds paid for a memorial erected in St. Paul's Cathedral. In his native Scotland, the Town Council of Edinburgh "resolved that a monument to the memory of Sir Ralph Abercromby should be erected on the wall of the High Church."[425] Instead of a funeral procession in Britain, the "Edinburgh Volunteer Brigade…performed a grand military spectacle…. They were dressed in 'deep funeral uniform,' while the bands performed 'plaintive pieces of music, some of which were composed for the occasion.' The crowd of spectators…was immense, and the scene is said to have been 'solemn and impressive.'"[426] Even though the general's body remained overseas, the public need to mourn his death in Britain prompted commemoration ceremonies that recreated a funeral at home.

The burial and memorialization of Admiral Horatio Nelson following his death at the battle of Trafalgar on September 21, 1805 combined characteristics of Abercromby and Wolfe's

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[418] *The British Chronologist* Vol. III (1775), 311.

[419] Ibid.

[420] Abercromby displayed kindness to the men under his command on his deathbed, like Wolfe, which added to public perceptions of his heroism when they were recorded in newspapers and print. The wounded general even directed that the blanket used to carry him from the field be returned to its owner. The story is retold in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. It also became emblematic of a general taking care of his troops; see for instance Charles Phelp's hagiographic treatment of General Ulysses Grant, *Life and public services of General Ulysses S. Grant* (1868).

[421] Hardman and Rose, *A History of Malta During the French and British Occupations*

[422] Ibid.

[423] "Maj.-Gen. Pigot was the chief mourner"; "Following him were Brig.-Gen. Moncrieff and Maj.-Gen. Villettes. Then came the officers of the regiments quartered in Malta, including those of the Maltese militia and the Neapolitan battalion." Hardman and Rose, *A History of Malta During the French and British Occupations*

[424] John Kay, *A Series of Original Portraits and Character Etchings* (Edinburgh: Hugh Paton, 1838), 109.

[425] Ibid.

[426] Ibid.

interments. The public, patriotic, and militaristic spectacle of the admiral's funeral differed from Wolfe's private burial and more closely resembled Abercomby's interment at Malta.[427] Nelson's body came back to England for burial. Even his sailors insisted upon it, because they who "brought him out…would bring him home."[428] The funeral itself required a significant amount of planning and stage management. Its positioning of the military, specifically the navy, at the center of the spectacle with admirals as chief mourners pleased the King and achieved universal approbation from officials of state.[429] The event played prominently in the creation of British identity that resulted from the Act of Union of 1801 because the new flag, the Union Jack, draped the coffin.[430] Although Nelson's funeral manifested the confluence of several potent forces in British society–the monarchy, navy, City of London interests, and the Church of England, among others–its importance in the tradition of British burials of military heroes expanded upon earlier practices but enacted them on a much grander scale.

Conversely, the public representations of Sir John Moore's death and burial eight years later emphasized the lack of spectacle and his desire to be interred on the battlefield away from home as more heroic than bringing his body back to Britain. Moore perished during the Battle of Corunna in January 1809, the last engagement of a long and bloody retreat across the mountains of northern Spain to the sea.[431] The disastrous campaign, full of suffering for soldiers and breakdowns of morale, culminated in a defensive victory or a narrow escape at best.[432] Mixed initial reaction in London changed into a consensus that it was a British victory. Both the government and its critics valorized Moore's memory. The general's supporters argued that criticizing him was unfair because he died on the field of battle while government ministers defended their conduct of the war by praising the general as well. Lord Castlereagh, the Secretary of State for War, proposed a memorial in St. Paul's Cathedral.[433] Critics of the government embraced Moore's memory because "All minor considerations are forgotten in the involuntary tribute of national gratitude to the services that have added new splendour to the national character."[434] Regardless of the success or failure of the war

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[427] Jenks, "Contesting the Hero," focuses on the disciplining of the crowd at the funeral and how spectators perceived it differently based on their social position while Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation* emphasizes Nelson's coffin itself outside of the context of the funeral spectacle. Brockliss, Cardwell, and Moss argue that Colley, Jenks, and others place insufficient weight on Nelson's funeral as a formative moment of British national identity, since it was the first major event to center on the new flag and Trafalgar itself was the first major battle won by the new "United Kingdom" of Great Britain and Ireland.

[428] T. Pocock, *Horatio Nelson* (1987), 333; N. A. M. Rodger, "Nelson, Horatio, Viscount Nelson (1758–1805)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19877, accessed 10 Aug 2011].

[429] Laurence Brockliss, John Cardwell, and Michael Moss, "Nelson's Grand National Obsequies," *English Historical Review* CXXI, 490 (Feb. 2006), 166.

[430] Ibid, 181.

[431] Ever since the evacuation to England of roughly 15,000 men under Moore's command politicians and later military historians have debated the general's abilities and culpabilities. Had Moore lived the shape of the subsequent debate about the conduct of the war against Napoleon and the relationship of the British public to the military would have taken a different course. Nonetheless, it is clear that he entered the public imagination not only because he died but also because he presided over "the most famous and terrible retreat ever made by the British Army until the great retreat from Mons to Paris in 1914," Sir Henry John Newbolt, *The Book of the Thin Red Line* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1915), 11.

[432] Christopher Hibbert, *Corunna*. One account attempted to find some praiseworthy conduct by individual units, "amidst the gloom with which the disastrous news from Corunna has involved us" because "it is natural to catch eagerly at every little circumstance which has tended to maintain the national character, and to prove the individual superiority of our own troops over those of the enemy," *The Times*, 24 January 1809, 2.

[433] Hansard HC Deb 25 January 1809 vol 12 cc.138-9.

[434] Hansard HC Deb 25 January 1809 vol 12 cc.143.

effort and irrespective of political differences about strategy, both the government and its critics praised the general because he gave his life in battle.

Although Moore's deputy compared him to other deceased British military leaders, his death and burial did not follow the same pattern as theirs. Lieutenant General John Hope observed that the "much lamented" general, "like the immortal Wolfe," died prematurely. Unlike Wolfe, however, Moore wanted burial overseas. The first published account of his interment explained that he had "no desire to have his remains conveyed to England," so consequently "they were interred in the Citadel at Corunna on the Monday evening."[435] One memoir, published the following month "lament[ed] that his funeral obsequies were not more solemnly performed" because they took place overseas and in the midst of a hasty retreat.[436] Initial reactions to Moore's death recognized the dissimilarities between his funeral and those of other military heroes but did not praise its informal style or the circumstances that necessitated it.

The lack of a funeral at home prompted speculation about the scene and caused authors to emphasize the military camaraderie they imagined it represented. One report confessed its construction of the burial scene, the author could not "help mentally viewing the honoured remains of the departed hero buried by his brother officers."[437] Furthermore, he beheld them "during the sad ceremony" and understood "the impressions which they felt at that awful moment; impressions that the virtue, the talents, and the death of their late commander, at once combined to produce, and which they have indeed very generally excited."[438] Moore's untraditional military interment prompted literary imaginings of comradeship that would otherwise have been observable if the ceremony took place in London.

Public perceptions of Moore's death and burial fundamentally changed with the publication of Reverend Charles Wolfe's poem which made his burial on the battlefield symbolic of the general's patriotic sacrifice. An account in the *Edinburgh Annual Register*, itself an invented retelling, provided the inspiration for the poem. It included dying words from Moore, "you know that I have always wished to die this way," a claim about the relationship of his conduct to his country, "Sir John Moore preserved the honour of England," and a narrative of the funeral:

> A grave was dug for him on the rampart there, by a party of the 9th regiment, the aides-du-camp attending by turns. No coffin could be procured; and the officers of his staff wrapped the body, dressed as it was, in a military cloak and blankets. The interment was hastened; for, about eight in the morning, some tiring was heard, and the officers feared that, if a serious attack were made, they should be ordered away, and not suffered to pay him their last duty. The officers of his family bore him to the grave; the funeral service was read by the chaplain; and the corpse was covered with earth.[439]

The burial itself was necessitated by circumstances, yet inflected by the officers' desire to remain properly reverential despite the need to evacuate the area. Wolfe's poem emphasized the absences from a typical funeral for a heroic military leader:

> Not a drum was heard, not a funeral note,
> As his corse to the rampart we hurried;

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[435] "The Sally Schoener is Arrived at Plymouth from Newfoundland," *The Times*, 26 January 1809, 3.
[436] *European Magazine and London Review* (February 1809), 87.
[437] Ibid.
[438] Ibid.
[439] *The Edinburgh Annual Register* (1810), 458.

> Not a soldier discharged his farewell shot
> O'er the grave where our hero we buried.[440]

Similarly, "No useless coffin enclosed his breast" and, ultimately, "We carved not a line, and we raised not a stone, / But we left him alone with his glory."[441] The poetic representation underscored the glory of battlefield burial, away from home, and without the trappings of the usual public spectacle. Like the earlier accounts of the death scene, it relied upon imagination and literary license that emphasized military comradeship rather than familial mourning. The poem became one of the most repeated and memorized sets of verse in the English language during the nineteenth century.[442] Repetition helped to ingrain in the British public imagination the idea that burial on the battlefield was the proper way to treat the soldier dead.[443]

The literary representations of Moore's burial presented a new belief system for a military hero's funeral. General Wolfe's death approximately fifty years earlier began the association of dead soldiers with public patriotism in its modern British incarnation. Abercromby's burial on Malta demonstrated how the military hero's body could legitimate occupation and how commemoration and public honors could take place at home while the body remained abroad. Nelson's very public and militaristic funeral in London only enhanced the association between glorious death in battle and national pride. Moore's interment without these trappings, initially a sign of the circumstances of his death, prompted literary imaginings that battlefield burial was the most glorious place for a dead British soldier. Additionally, reactions to Moore's death reveal how military leaders could be valorized for dying in battle even when it was not entirely clear whether or how they were victorious.

II. Religion, Commemoration, and the Crimean War Dead

The lives and accomplishments of Generals Wolfe, Abercomby, and Moore as well as Admiral Nelson figured prominently in the public imagination and death in battle enhanced their fame and reputations. Both during and after the Crimean War of 1853-56 this sentiment and concern with soldier dead became significantly more widespread. It extended downward in the ranks and outwards to encompass all British soldiers regardless of their achievements in battle.

A confluence of factors ascribed to the Crimean War brought about this new attitude toward the soldier dead. The war shared some of the military, technological, diplomatic, and cultural characteristics of the Napoleonic conflicts fifty years earlier and the Great War sixty years later. The British along with their French, Ottoman and Sardinian allies besieged the Russian city of Sebastopol from September 1854 to September 1855, resulting in a relatively static front line and the presence of camps with civilians. The war additionally manifested a changed conception of the ordinary British soldier emanating from the debates about flogging and military discipline and the depictions of the suffering of sick and wounded men. Florence Nightingale's emblematic efforts at the Scutari Hospital reinforced the notion that soldiers deserved decent medical treatment. Soldiers, civilians and journalists produced numerous literary accounts of the war for domestic consumption which gave the British reading public familiarity with the people and places of the war. Sketches, lithographs and, for the first time, battlefield photographs illustrated these stories. Finally, and most

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[440] Charles Wolfe, "The Burial of Sir John Moore after Corunna"

[441] Ibid.

[442] Catherine Robson, "Memorization and Memorialization: 'The Burial of Sir John Moore after Corunna,'" *Materiality and Memory* 53 (February 2009). Robson argues that mass memorization of the poem explains the beginnings of modern commemoration of common soldiers.

[443] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* emphasizes the poem's spread to advance his argument about the importance of literacy and common culture across distance to the production of nationalism.

importantly, Christianity inside and outside the British military created a new expectation of decent and respectable treatment for the soldier dead.

Nightingale's work to improve battlefield medicine and hospital care for sick and wounded soldiers coincides with her interest in decent treatment for dead soldiers as well. During the war as she was "always complaining" to the Secretary of State for War, Sidney Herbert, about the hospital conditions, and she also expressed the belief that government should care for the war dead.[444] Nightingale wrote to Herbert and to Queen Victoria about the necessity of building a chapel for the living and a monument to the soldier dead near the Scutari Hospital. While "the chapel might be done by Private subscription," she wrote, "the Monument ought to come out of Public Funds."[445] She directed her sister, Parthenope, to lobby in London and do "something about the Monument."[446] Unless the Queen had a superseding design preference, Nightingale directed a " 'Wingless Victory' for [the] Chapel] – one single solitary column for [the] monument to greet first our ships coming up the Sea of Marmora. It is such a position – high o'er the cliffs we shall save in vain."[447] She implored her sister, "*Let us live* at least in our dead. Five thousand & odd brave hearts sleep there – three thousand, alas! dead in Jan. & Feb. alone – here."[448] For Nightingale, caring about the welfare of soldiers also meant providing for their spiritual needs and commemorating with monuments and proper burials those who died.

Nurses and doctors at the Scutari Hospital also died and providing religious burial for them exemplifies how caring for the dead, religious practice, and military policy became intertwined during the war. Hospital staff attended the funerals of two Catholic Sisters of Mercy. Soldiers came as well and at Sister Winifred's funeral four of them carried the coffin.[449] Others in attendance included "a motley crowd of sailors [and] soldiers. Revd Father Unsworth officiated. The litany for a happy death was read just as the dear remains were lowered into the grave."[450] Sister Winifred's death and burial reveal a community united in grief, and the involvement of the soldiers suggests that caring for the dead was a multi-denominational and inter-denominational concern for the British Army during the war. Sister Mary Elizabeth's death on February 23, 1856 and funeral reveals similar connections between the British military and civilian communities in the Crimea. It underscores the intense interest of different groups with proper care for the dead. The Mother Superior noticed how "the soldiers in uniform formed in 'double rank and file' at each side up the hill which the procession had to pass."[451] Soldiers of the 89th Regiment, predominantly Catholic, "begged Father Unsworth to ask the captain to allow them off parade, that they might attend the funeral, which he willingly did. Detachments from every regiment joined them."[452] Military men serving near the Scutari Hospital as well as the civilians working to improve care for the sick and wounded buried the dead in marked graves with religious funeral services.

These death rituals and decent burials for soldiers and civilians in the Crimea featured prominently in written and visual accounts of the war. George Brackenbury's anthology, *The*

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[444] Florence Nightingale to Sidney Herbert, 26 February 1855; reprinted in Sue M. Goldie, ed., *Florence Nightingale: Letters from the Crimea 1854-1856* (Manchester: Mandolin, 1997), page 99.

[445] Florence Nightingale to Sidney Herbert, 5 March 1855; reprinted in Sue M. Goldie, ed., *Florence Nightingale: Letters from the Crimea 1854-1856*, 101.

[446] Florence Nightingale to Parthenope Nightingale, 8 March 1855; reprinted in Sue M. Goldie, ed., *Florence Nightingale: Letters from the Crimea 1854-1856*, 101.

[447] Ibid.

[448] Ibid.

[449] Journal of Sister M. Joseph Cooke, *The Crimean Journals of the Sisters of Mercy*, ed. Maria Luddy (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2004), 83.

[450] Ibid.

[451] Journal of Mother Francis Bridgman, *The Crimean Journals of the Sisters of Mercy*, 221.

[452] Journal of Sister M. Aloysius Doyle, *The Crimean Journals of the Sisters of Mercy*, 39.

Campaign in the Crimea, reported the key battles and campaigns of the war and eulogized "the illustrious dead, whose unforgotten graves lie thick in the fatal plains of Balaklava."[453] William Simpson's lithographs accompanying the text provided illustrations of numerous funerals, graves, and burial grounds along with depictions of landscapes, battle scenes, military camps, and the environs of Sevastopol. Simpson's illustration, "Hospital and Cemetery at Scutari," allowed the British public to see where the nurses labored. It also showed as much about burial practices and cemeteries as it did of the imposing military hospital in the background. Depicted are: a Christian funeral procession in progress; orderly and well-marked graves; two military men apart from the funeral viewing other graves; two workers (seemingly grave diggers) resting and engaging in Muslim prayer (Salah); the Scutari harbor; British army buildings with the Union Jack; and the imposing military hospital in the background. The scene intersperses religious, national, military, and cultural meanings into a single tableau.

Figure 11: "Hospital and Cemetery at Scutari," lithograph by William Simpson. From George Brackenbury, *The Campaign in the Crimea.*

Simpson also illustrated the funeral procession following the death of the British Army's commander in the field, Lord Raglan, who succumbed to illness. This image focuses on mourning military comrades and the proper treatment of the corpse. Although Raglan was one of the few British military men whose body was returned to England, a funeral procession took place at the British camp and "the grief inspired by his loss was universal, deep, and sincere."[454] Officers from every regiment attended the procession as well as "the four leading soldiers of four great nations rode at the side of the bier and the elite of the Armies lined for nine miles on both sides of the

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[453] George Brackenbury, *The Campaign in the Crimea* (London, 1854), 41.
[454] Ibid., 89

road."[455] Even though Raglan's body returned home, the funeral procession seemed more meaningful because it took place near the battlefield. One soldier contrasted it with the Duke of Wellington's peacetime funeral in London, "Men who were present at the Duke's burial tell you this funeral, with no studied accessories from the undertaker, was the more imposing of the two."[456] Although the actual burial would be at home, Lord Raglan's funeral procession near the front lines made an emotional impact because of its proximity to the battlefield.

The few soldiers whose bodies returned to Britain from the Crimean War tended to be those of the politically well connected. Contemporaries understood their conveyance home as an exception rather than a rule. The body of Lieutenant-Colonel Lauderdale Maule, who died of cholera at the British camp at Varna on August 1, 1854, eventually returned to Scotland. Although initially buried on the spot, Maule's brother, the Secretary of State for War, ordered soldiers to disinter it at the end of the war and bring it home. The whole occurrence, according to one observer, "seemed rather incomprehensible."[457] The extensive effort necessary to bring Maule's body back shows how exceptional it was during the Crimean War for soldiers' remains to come back to their native land.

The many dead soldiers and officers interred near where they fell in the Crimea caused death and commemoration to form a significant part of soldiers' experience of the war. One officer lamented, "our camps are one gigantic graveyard," and he meant it literally as well as figuratively.[458] He recorded some of his men's graves, like "a simple cross of limestone with poor Daly's name on it and the I.H.S. above has just been put over his remains. It is solid enough to stand for ages if the Russians will leave it alone. It was chiseled out by some of the Sappers tented close to us."[459] Even while encamped in the Crimea, soldiers worried about what would happen to the graves when they left. The religious grave markings prompted reflection on the common Christianity among the British soldiers. Death in war caused "extremes of religious parties [to] accept the one emblem of faith. … Had it been placed over the grave at home, all would have said a Roman Catholic mouldered below."[460] Crosses on graves near the British Crimean battlefields represented dead soldiers more than a particular denomination. The burial grounds defined the military landscape near Sevastopol. Military men did "not know anything more likely to shock a stranger to the scenes in the Crimea than his first discovery that those small heaps round him on all sides, on the bleak hill and damp ravine—everywhere, indeed, where there is a camp, and that is over the whole space—mark the resting-places of our officers and men."[461] Soldiers' graves, monuments, and burial grounds feature prominently in the numerous literary and visual accounts of the British camps in the Crimea.

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[455] "I was at the funeral of poor Lord Raglan on the 3rd, every regiment sending one officer to represent it (don't imagine I was chosen on account of either my ugliness or martial mien, but I was first for duty on the roster—simply came in by routine) as mourner," *The Hawley Letters: The Letters of Captain R.B. Hawley, 89th from the Crimea, December 1854 to August 1856*, edited by S.G.P. Ward (London: Gale and Ward for the Society for Army Historical Research, 1970), 65-66.

[456] Ibid. 65.

[457] Sir John Adye, *Recollections of a military life* (London: Smith, Elder & Co, 1895), 114-115. Adye's account: "On arriving at Constantinople I embarked in a small store steamer, in which there was only one passenger besides myself—a private soldier on his way to England. So, we talked of the war, and on my asking who had ordered him home, he replied: 'The Minister for War, sir.' On my asking why, he said, 'I'm in charge of his brother, sir.' This seemed rather incomprehensible, so I added, 'Where is his brother?' 'Sure, he's in the hold, sir.' This bewildered me still more; but it appeared that the soldier had been present at the funeral of Colonel the Honourable Lauderdale Maule, who died of cholera at Varna just before we left in the autumn of 1854, and had been sent to exhume the body and bring it to England at the request of his brother, Lord Panmure."

[458] *The Hawley Letters*, 35.

[459] Ibid.

[460] Ibid.

[461] Ibid.

These marked graves existed in the Crimea where they had not during the Napoleonic Wars because of the rise of militant Christianity and the reconciliation of religious faith with military service. For the first time, the British public identified with the hardships and sufferings of soldiers and they expressed these sentiments in the language of Evangelical Christianity. Additionally, the linking of military service, "queen and country," and Christianity brought about idealized understandings of the purposes of the war.[462] Specifically, the military career of one officer, Hedley Vicars, and the literary representation of his life and death in Catherine Marsh's Evangelical tract, *The Memorials of Captain Hedley Vicars, 97th Regiment* represent the changes within and outside the British military. Both reveal the emergence of a code of ethics for proper treatment of the soldier dead especially those far from home. *Hedley Vicars*, published near the end of the war in December 1855, provides the rationale for caring for dead soldiers and helps to explain the widespread acceptance of the new ideal.[463]

Much of the book consists of extracts from letters sent by Vicars to his mother and sister at home compiled and edited to maximize their moralistic impact. They display his commitment to burying his comrades in a Christian manner as the preeminent proof of his moral virtue. Vicars frequently ministered to fellow soldiers by performing funeral rites for the deceased. At one burial, he "intended speaking a few words to my men over the open graves of their dead messmates; but it was as much as I could do to get through the service."[464] Vicars started "crying like a child" while "the men cried and sobbed" around him because of their grief.[465] He could not continue the funeral and "It was of no use to try to go on, so I ordered them to 'fall in,' and we went mournfully back to the barracks.[466] Vicars' roles as self-appointed clergyman and military officer defined the scene. While the level of emotion typified the religious biography genre, the representation of soldiers distraught over their comrades was entirely new.

Narrator Catherine Marsh presented Vicars' concern with the dead as an aberration within the military which served to accentuate her hero's Christian virtue. Because "no spiritual instruction was provided for either Protestant or Roman Catholic soldiers, the field was his own. He began his work by undertaking the command of funeral parties for other officers who gladly relinquished to him a task so little congenial to their feelings."[467] Although the military in fact had some chaplains, Vicars interest in the dead made him a noteworthy "Christian soldier."[468] As a result, "he obtained frequent opportunities of addressing the living around the graves of the dead, warning them to flee from the wrath to come, and beseeching them to close at once with offers of free pardon and mercy."[469] Soldiers proved a captive audience for a Christian officer preaching salvation, and the death ritual provided an opportunity to reach them with the spiritual message of salvation.

In addition to the opportunity to proselytize, Vicars hoped to replicate for soldiers far from home the mournful graveside scenes that existed as such integral parts of Victorian death rituals in Britain. He associated these scenes of proper treatment of the dead with home and contrasted them with what he had observed in Greece on his journey to the Crimean battlefields. Vicars described

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[462] Olive Anderson, "The growth of Christian militarism in mid-Victorian Britain," *The English Historical Review* 86:338 (Jan., 1971), 46.

[463] Anderson declares *Hedley Vicars* "a new departure in religious biography" which was not only "an instrument of evangelism among young men and soldiers" but also an offering to "professional soldiers [of] biographical proof that a man of their own day could be a zealous Christian without being any the less good a soldier," 46-47.

[464] Catherine Marsh, *Memorials of Captain Hedley Vicars, Ninety-seventh Regiment*, 172-173.

[465] Ibid.

[466] Ibid.

[467] Ibid., 167-168.

[468] Anderson, "The growth of Christian militarism in mid-Victorian Britain," 53 confirms the increase in the number of military chaplains during and after the Crimean War.

[469] Marsh, *Memorials of Captain Hedley Vicars, Ninety-seventh Regiment*, 167-168.

the "horrid sight" of a Greek Orthodox funeral in which priests carried the corpse in an open coffin "without even a mock air of grief, but looking rather jolly than otherwise."[470] He suggested that if local authorities buried British soldier dead there would be scenes of insufficient reverence or mourning. Observing the Greek funeral procession caused Vicars to redouble his commitment to treat the British soldier dead as he thought they would have been in Britain.

Marsh presented his efforts for the soldier dead as the ultimate proof of his Christian virtue. Caring for the dead made it impossible to doubt "the reality of his religion."[471] Marsh portrays "a young brother officer in whom Hedley Vicars was warmly interested" to give her conclusions about Vicars' religiosity more weight.[472] According to this real or invented comrade, burying the dead, "which…of our English regiment only, sometimes exceeded ten daily," along with the possession of his Bible, marked him as an Evangelical Christian.[473]

Vicars justified the war itself by declaring how Russian enemies desecrated the dead bodies of British soldiers as well as their graves. He confirmed the stories "of the Russians killing our wounded officers and men are too true" and related the case of "poor Sir Robert Newman" who "was left wounded on the ground during the temporary retreat of his regiment…when they returned, he was found stabbed through the head and body in several places."[474] In the face of this horrific treatment of a wounded officer which was contrary to an ideal of gentlemanly conduct or the rules of warfare, Vicars declared, "We all hope soon to have an opportunity of thrashing these savages, and have not a doubt we shall do so when we come across them."[475] Whether real or imagined, reporting the atrocities as a way to barbarize the enemy was not the only way in which caring for the dead proved the virtue of the British army. Newman's death provided a model for the way that dead soldiers could be properly treated as well as a lesson of Christian Evangelicalism. He comforted his sister with the report, "I saw the crude tablet erected over his grave at Balaklava. These words are engraved on it, —'And I say unto you, my friends, Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do. But I will forewarn you whom ye shall fear: Fear Him that after He hath killed, hath power to cast into hell, yea, I say unto you, fear Him.'"[476] The living could be comforted with the knowledge that soldier relatives received decent burial and a tombstone even though they were far from home.

Vicars' own death and burial not long after that of Sir Robert Newman underscored the way that dead soldiers deserved to be treated. The factual circumstances make his death seem like an ordinary and unexceptional one in wartime. On the night of March 22, 1857, Russian soldiers wounded Vicars as he lead an advance. His men carried him back to the British line, but a surgeon did not arrive quickly enough to treat the gunshot wound and save his life. Marsh's account raised it to the level of melodrama by linking her hero's death to that of Christ, since "Lord Raglan's dispatch of March 24 confirmed the death and was published on Good Friday."[477] Vicars' death and burial caused a deeply emotional response in his friend, Douglas Macgregor, who, upon "reaching the encampment of the 97th…saw soldiers digging a grave. It was his. I stood beside them, and spoke to

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[470] Ibid., 152.

[471] Ibid., 158.

[472] Ibid., 157. This is one of the only parts of the book in which Marsh directly quotes someone with such vague attribution. Other "brother officers" of Vicars are named. The anonymous officer reports Vicars quoting from a sermon written by Marsh's father.

[473] Ibid., 157.

[474] Ibid., 219-220.

[475] Ibid., 220.

[476] Ibid., 219-20. The epitaph is Luke, Chapter 7, Verses 4-5.

[477] Ibid., 221. Marsh took some literary license with the dates in order to make her Christian hero's death coincide with Good Friday because the dispatch and the report of Vicars' death appeared in the *Times* on April 2.

them as well as I could for sorrow, and remained till it was finished. Oh! how my heart bled for his dear mother and sisters at home!"[478] Vicars' burial occurred "at three o'clock…All the officers of the 97th were there, with some friends from other regiments, and a large number of the men of his own regiment."[479] The mood, according to Macgregor, was mournful, and "A deep, very deep solemnity prevailed, as the Chaplain read the Funeral Service. It was a touching, solemn hour. Yes, he had all earthly honour, all deep respect."[480] Vicars' death established a precedent for how soldiers should respond to the deaths of their comrades. After this kind of heartfelt personal narrative, the death of any soldier on the battlefield became for readers like a personal loss.

Marsh's narrative sold hundreds of thousands of copies in multiple editions during the years immediately following the Crimean War. It spread the idea of proper care for the war dead around the world. The story of Vicars' life and death greatly moved those who read it, including Anna Whistler. She wrote to her son, the painter James McNeill Whistler, "the memories of Hedley Vicars who was killed in the trenches in the Crimea, gave me such an insight into the scenes of war as I ever should have had. How much a religious spirit may effect & how blessed the missions of a Commander who enlists his men under the banner of the Lord of hosts."[481] For readers like Whistler who did not have a personal connection to Vicars, the religiosity provided a way to empathize with the deaths of soldiers far from home.

The frontispiece to *Hedley Vicars* depicts the intended connections between Christianity, proselytizing, military service, and proper care for the soldier dead. Lines by the prolific Scottish hymn-writer James Montgomery appear below an etching of Vicars' grave: "Go to thy grave! At noon from labour cease / Rest on thy sheaves, thy harvest work is done / Come from the heart of battle and in peace / Soldier go home! With thee the fight is won."[482] The hymn, composed in 1823 to commemorate the death of Rev. John Owen, originally appeared under the title "On the Death of a Minister, cut off in his Usefulness."[483] In the context of *Hedley Vicars*, the lines took on multiple meanings that stressed the compatibility of Vicars' role as a military man with his religious fight to spread the Gospel to his fellow soldiers.[484] Although their interchangeable usage from ministers to soldiers suggests the increasing use of Christianity as a rationale for military service, they also evoked the Hedley Vicars story.[485]

Above the hymn is a stylized etching of the captain's grave which bore only a slight resemblance to his actual grave on the Wozoronoff Road outside Sevastopol and complemented the words to present an evocative message about the proper treatment for dead soldiers. Only Vicars' grave has a gleaming white tombstone with a cross and an inscription, although many other neat and

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[478] Ibid., 303.

[479] Ibid.

[480] Ibid.

[481] Anna Whistler to James McNeill Whistler, July 11, 1856 [ONLINE http://www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence/recno/display/?cid=06474]

[482] Marsh, *Memorials of Captain Hedley Vicars*.

[483] Charles Seymour Robinson, *Annotations Upon Popular Hymns*, 466

[484] The association of the hymn with the care of dead soldiers prompted its use in a narrative of the death of Lieutenant White of the 60th New York Volunteers during the American Civil War. On his deathbed White asked that his body be returned to his family for burial, but when that proved impossible and he was buried on the battlefield his fellow soldiers recited the hymn, which suggests the story of Hedley Vicars being associated with a soldier's death and burial away from home. Richard Eddy, *History of the Sixtieth Regiment New York State Volunteers*, 147. The same lines were also adapted in a Confederate tribute to Stonewall Jackson. *Confederate Veteran Magazine*, Vol. 3, 140.

[485] The words of the hymn became so closely associated with Vicars that when Reverend A.W. Murray used them in homage to a missionary who died in Polynesia in 1855, he carefully noted that they were "words which have been touchingly applied to another loved servant of Christ." Archibald Wright Murray, *Wonders in the Western Isles*, 279-280.

tidy burial mounds of other soldiers appear near it. The image simultaneously suggests Vicars' exceptional status as well as the proper way of presenting a battlefield burial ground.
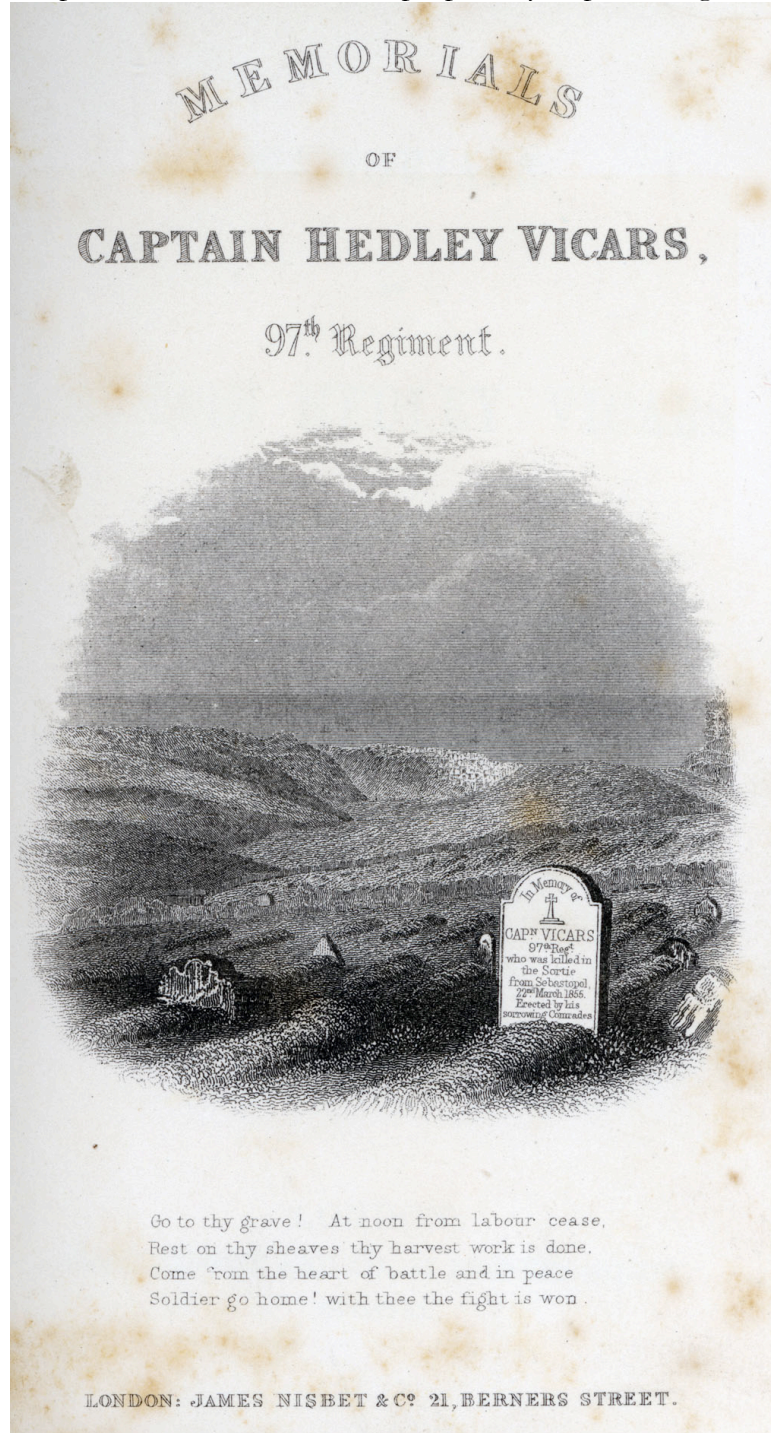

Figure 12: Frontispiece to *The Memorials of Captain Hedley Vicars, 97th Regiment*

Hedley Vicars's activities during the war and Marsh's religious biography of him reveal not only how it happened that so many British soldiers received Christian burials and marked graves during the Crimean War but also how and why so many people in Britain and around the English-speaking world knew and cared about soldiers' graves in the area. Several decades after the war, one

soldier observed, "There are few thinking men throughout the length and breadth of Britain who have not heard of Captain Hedley Vicars, the Christian soldier…what makes his name so dear to thousands who have a heart about them was his unflinching faithfulness, first, to the God of Israel, and, secondly, to his queen and country."[486] Vicars epitomized the new ideal of "Christian soldier" by burying the dead properly. Marsh's representations of his death and burial provided many Britons the opportunity to react emotionally to the death of a soldier far from home just as they might feel over the loss of family member or loved one. The circumstances of the war, especially the presence of concerned civilians doing nursing work, also contributed to the British public's understanding of the war and interest in the care of dead soldiers. Lithographs and photographs allowed them to see the burial places as well; and the newspaper and literary accounts, like *Hedley Vicars*, combined to create the conditions for the first conflict for Britain with thousands of marked soldiers' graves.

III. "The Ruinous Condition of the Burial Grounds": British Crimean Cemeteries after the War

During the decades following the Crimean War, the scattered and disorganized graves of British soldiers in the Crimea who had been buried by religious men like Hedley Vicars and by their comrades became known as Britain's "national cemeteries."[487] Prompted by sustained pressure from newspapers and the public, the government attempted to organize and maintain these burial grounds even though during the war it had no role in planning them. Contrary to the twentieth century practices of war commemoration and institutionalized memory-making, the articulation of these places as national sites, worthy of attention and expense, came about not from state planning but from critiques of government inaction and neglect. Nonetheless, by the mid-1880s when the government declared the Crimean graves "problem" solved, a clearly articulated philosophy of caring for the war dead existed in Britain. The public and government officials increasingly understood dead soldiers, regardless of rank or accomplishment in battle, as national heroes whose burial places they were obligated to maintain.

After the war the Foreign Office and its network of consular officials formed the locus of government activity to secure the graves; yet despite the presence of British officials in the region there was no permanent caretaker for the cemeteries. Neither high level diplomatic efforts nor local activity by consuls on the ground produced an effective ongoing maintenance policy. British diplomats secured the Russian government's agreement to respect the burial grounds adjacent to Sevastopol following the war and local British consular officials relayed reports of their condition to London. Visitors in the region complained about problems with them, like "the ruinous condition of the Burial Ground of the 1st Brigade of the Light Division of the British Army, also of the Burial Ground of the Royal Engineers, and that there are some isolated graves wholly unenclosed and unprotected."[488] Consul General Grenville Murray concurred and reported, "the truth of the forcible representations constantly made" about the condition of the graves.[489] It would be difficult to maintain them because "many of the graves were made on private property belonging to various individuals and the owners show little respect for them."[490] Furthermore, although the Russian government possesses a "great deal of good nature and kindness on the subject…public feeling and private interests here are against them."[491] Murray recommended the British government pay the local monastery of St. George a fee of £100 per annum for the priests to care for the burial grounds,

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[486] Timothy Gowing, *A Soldier's Experience: or, A Voice from the Ranks* (1892), 487.
[487] *The Times*, 26 September 1867, 6.
[488] Letter from Reverend Darling to Consul Murray; 2 February 1859; TNA:PRO FO 65/1508.
[489] Odessa Consular Despatch No. 4: Consul General Murray to Foreign Office; 9 March 1859; TNA:PRO FO 65/1508
[490] Ibid.
[491] Ibid.

and the Foreign Office and Treasury in London approved. The plan failed because the monastery did not want to accept the responsibility, and they told the British government it should take care of its dead soldiers. Although the Superior of the monastery was "most friendly and cordial, and spoke with much feeling of certain British Officers he had known," he was unwilling to become the caretaker of the British cemeteries in the region.[492] In his opinion "it was the duty of every Christian to respect the Burial place of the dead, but that the office of keeping the graves in repair belonged to laymen."[493] Presented with this setback, the Foreign Office instructed Murray to hire someone else with the money previously approved by the Treasury. He was unable to find anyone for the position.

British officials continued to receive information about desecration and neglect of the cemeteries from travelers in the region. The Consul at Kerch, Eldridge, learned "that the grave yards of our brave countrymen in the neighbourhood of Sevastopol are falling into a state of Delapidation from neglect" and directed the Vice-Consul at Theodosia (Feodosiya), Captain Clipperton, to investigate their condition.[494] Eldridge took action without consulting his superiors because he understood "the intention of Her Majesty's Government and the wish of the British Nation that due respect should be paid to the last resting places of those who fell honorably fighting for their country at the siege of Sevastopol."[495] British officials, travelers, and the government in London understood caring for the burial grounds as a collective, national responsibility; but they could not figure out a workable plan to maintain them.

Clipperton's report provided a detailed account of the condition of the cemeteries in the period immediately following the war. Even though the British Army had evacuated their camps less than four years earlier, he observed significant damage. In many of them "the inclosing walls…[have] broken down…by cattle going over them to graze" and "the monuments were considerably dilapidated, inscriptions wantonly effaced and the whole of the cemeteries in want of extensive repairs without which the traces of many of them will soon be utterly lost."[496] In addition, Clipperton provided information about individual burial grounds and graves. In one he discovered a broken cross on the otherwise "fine stone monument erected to the memory of Major Rankin" and, in another, "a monument to the memory of a Captain Savage is entirely destroyed and the stones removed."[497] Some monuments to notable military figures, such as "the handsome marble tablet erected to the memory of Major General Estcourt," needed repair too.[498] General Cathcart's burial place was in disorder, the monument to him having "fallen out of the perpendicular line."[499] Clipperton's report summarized extensive damage to the burial grounds and recommended the government spend thousands of pounds to repair them.

Some cemeteries remained in good condition because of an American resident who unofficially maintained and landscaped them. John E. Gowen of Boston arrived at Sevastopol in 1857 to raise Russia's sunken Black Sea fleet.[500] He took an interest in the British graves, and as a result, "if many of [them]…are still in a comparatively good state of preservation it is entirely owing

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[492] Ibid.

[493] Ibid.

[494] Kertch Consular Despatch No. 64: Consul Eldridge to Foreign Office (8 December 1859); TNA:PRO FO 65/1508

[495] Ibid.

[496] Theodosia Consular Despatch No 19: Clipperton to Eldridge, 17 December 1859; TNA:PRO FO 65/1508.

[497] Ibid.

[498] Ibid.

[499] Ibid.

[500] He achieved distinction for raising the hull of the *Missouri* off the coast of Gibraltar, "Americans Raising Sunken Vessels," *Scientific American* 12:35, 9 May 1857, 278. There were a total of 106 vessels sunk, valued at sixty five million dollars, and Gowen's contract with the Russian government entitled him to a salvage fee for each vessel raised, "Raising of the Russian War Vessels at Sebastopol," *New York Herald*, 3 March 1857.

to [his] zealous care and philanthropic and Christian feeling."[501] A visitor who toured the region explained, "it was his Sunday recreation to visit the surrounding cemeteries, and to note down whatever repairs they needed. These were done entirely at his own expense; and none will ever know the sums he must have expended upon them, or the thoughtful care with which he has tended them."[502] Gowen's private initiative in the years following the war provided the only care that the cemeteries and graves received.

Multiple articles and letters in British newspapers noted his work and his willingness to give visitors tours of the burial grounds. He discovered on one "the slabs that covered the grave of Commander Lacon Usser Hammett, of Her Majesty's ship Albion, had been turned over and the remains of that lamented officer entirely exhumed, the bones as well as some remaining portion of the uniform being scattered around the grave."[503] Despite the "heart-sickening spectacle to behold the last mortal remains of this brave officer [lying] bleaching in the sun," the British visitor took comfort in the assurances from Gowen "that on the following Sunday he would have the remains carefully restored to their former peaceful state."[504] For this work, "the sincerest thanks of every true Englishmen are due."[505] By contrast the British government seemed to be doing nothing, and the visitor insisted that officials should "take such speedy and necessary measures for putting our graveyards in the proper state of repair as to preserve from oblivion the last resting-places of so many brave men."[506] Although everyone agreed in principle that graves should be maintained, private efforts not originating from the government provided the tangible improvements to them.

Gowen reassured interested relatives and the public in Britain with information about the burial grounds and individual graves. He comforted one correspondent with the knowledge that the "grave is undisturbed" and his relative "reposes peacefully in Cathcart's Cemetery."[507] Additionally, Gowen planted rose bushes around this grave "as well as round other graves of your lamented countrymen."[508] About his work generally, Gowen explained to a friend that he "paid great attention to the reparation of the cemeteries where your brave countrymen are buried, and have ornamented the cemeteries where they repose; for you are aware of their barren state, being entirely destitute of trees, and, in fact, all kinds of herbage."[509] Thus, the idea of landscaping British war cemeteries in a style reminiscent of home began in the post-Crimean period with the unofficial actions of an American.

Personal feelings and religious beliefs motivated Gowen initially; and, once newspapers spread the word of his expertise on the burial grounds, he continued his efforts as a matter of courtesy to visitors and correspondents. He empathized with the relatives of the dead and provided a connection between them and graves far from home. After repairing one he wrote, "It must be indeed painful to yourself as well as the friends of this brave officer, who sacrificed his life in the service of his country, and was buried in a far-off land, among strangers, to even hear that such shocking acts of barbarity and sacrilege had been perpetrated."[510] Both Gowen and his wife were devout Christians which influenced their feelings about caring for the graves. Indeed, one visitor reported, "Mrs. Gowen vied with her husband in her attention to strangers; there was no kindness

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[501] Theodosia Consular Despatch No 19: Clipperton to Eldridge, 17 December 1859; TNA:PRO FO 65/1508.
[502] "Ten Days in the Crimea," *Macmillan's Magazine* Vol V (November 1861-April 1862), 307.
[503] "The Graves at Sebastopol," *The Times*, 28 April 1860, 12.
[504] Ibid.
[505] Ibid.
[506] Ibid.
[507] "The Crimean Graves," *The Times*, 2 June 1860, 12.
[508] Ibid.
[509] "Sebastopol," *The Times*, 27 July 1860, 12.
[510] "Graves in the Crimea," *The Times*, 14 June 1860, 9.

she was not ready to show. She, also, had taken her share in care for the graves."[511] She was "deeply interested in the life of Captain Hedley Vicars" and "she had done her utmost to decorate his grave in the Woronzoff Road with flowers. She had even carried sacks of rich earth up in her own carriage, in the hope of making plants grow. Every variety of flower and shrub she had tried, and had even gone to the expense of paying a Russian labourer daily to water the plants through the summer heat."[512] The Gowens' efforts reflected a continuation of the attitude espoused by Vicars during the war and expressed by Catherine Marsh in her religious biography of the "Christian soldier."

Gowen received public and private recognition of his efforts. He "had the honour of receiving a beautiful gold snuffbox" which the local consular officials presented to him in acknowledgement of his work to preserve the British cemeteries.[513] In addition, he received "a piece of plate which was subscribed for and sent to him by the officers of the British army and the friends of those who fell in the Crimean war."[514] The officer who witnessed this gift approved wholeheartedly, declaring, "what he has done is worthy of the public and liberal acknowledgement of a nation's gratitude."[515] Furthermore, Gowen's "exertions have not been the result of a momentary whim, but steady, continuous labour for a period of four years."[516] Ultimately, his care of the graves resulted in the Cathcart's Hill cemetery being "so neatly and prettily…kept" that it "would do credit to an English town."[517] The recognition of Gowen's efforts shows that the public increasingly understood caring for graves as a patriotic duty and one not handled effectively by government officials.

By contrast, the British Government's effort to find a permanent caretaker for all of the burial grounds failed because of the insistence that he be an Englishman. In 1860, Consul General Murray hired a retired Russian officer, Captain Alexander Maute, for the job. Although Murray described Maute as "an artillery officer of English descent, who had high testimonials," others in the British government displayed much less enthusiasm about his choice.[518] Gowen did not approve either, and confided in a letter to Consul Clipperton, "Murray has appointed an old Russian booby, over sixty years old, as guardian of the British cemeteries, who cannot speak one word of any language but Russian."[519] Gowen found Maute personally unsuitable and also thought it "a great mistake to appoint a Russian, for Englishmen could easily have been obtained, and of course they would take an active interest in looking after the graves of their lamented but gallant countrymen."[520] A senior Foreign Office secretary agreed. He wrote that Gowen "is quite right, and it is a national duty to see that the graves of our fallen heroes are kept decently in order."[521] Although there was no Englishman who could take over his duties, Maute's "appointment was cancelled," ostensibly due to his inability to speak or understand English; and the cemeteries again lacked an official custodian.[522] Gowen, their unofficial overseer, left Sevastopol in the mid-1860s.

The British public became increasingly strident that these national sites deserved care and attention from the government. An editorial in 1867 presented the case for official maintenance,

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[511] "Ten Days in the Crimea," 307.

[512] Ibid.

[513] "Sebastopol," *The Times*, 25 March 1861, 5.

[514] "The Tombs Before Sebastopol," *The Times*, 23 November 1861, 10.

[515] Ibid.

[516] Ibid.

[517] Ibid.

[518] "The British Burial-Grounds at Sebastopol," *The Times*, 3 October 1867, 8.

[519] *Society, Politics and Diplomacy 1820-1864: Passages from the Journal of Francis W. H. Cavendish* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1913), 353.

[520] Ibid.

[521] Ibid.

[522] "The British Burial-Grounds at Sebastopol," *The Times*, 3 October 1867, 8.

asserting, "There are few spots so sacred to Englishmen as the burial-grounds around Sebastopol. Extending over 40 miles of country, and being 140 in number, they have received the remains of too many brave men whose names will for ever be dear to their country, and whom she will always delight to honour."[523] Not only were they sacred but also "To many a mother and widow the burial-grounds of the Crimea are as dear as the family hearth, and those lonely graves are more sacred than the family tomb in an English churchyard."[524] Furthermore, the government's responsibility for them should not be abjured to a Russian guardian because "such an arrangement would… seem like abandoning our own responsibility for this sacred trust." The British Government alone could "bestow the care and labour necessary to maintain the graves as English affection would wish." Ultimately, "Neither the nation nor the relatives of the dead would like such a trust to pass out of our hands." The editorial pressured the government to repair and maintain the cemeteries because of a moral obligation not only to the dead soldiers individually but also because of the idea that the sites belonged to the British nation.

Parliament responded to the pressure, demanded action as well, and sent Brigadier-General John Adye and Colonel Charles George Gordon to inspect the burial grounds and recommend how they should be maintained.[525] Elite opinion wholeheartedly supported the tour. A *Times* editorial declared, "The public cannot now be satisfied unless this inquiry is made, and unless some permanent and satisfactory arrangements are made for the future. It concerns the honour of the Government to take the matter in hand without delay."[526] Adye and Gordon arrived in Sevastopol on August 29, 1872 and spent ten days "making a careful inspection of every Cemetery and Memorial of the British Army in the vicinity."[527] They observed how much the cemeteries varied "in their position and size" as well as "in the number of graves and monuments."[528] In addition to the burial places, "there are three commemorative obelisks—at Inkerman, at Balaklava, and in front of the Redan—and there are a few general memorials to brigades and special regiments."[529] Most of the marked graves they found were for officers; but, they also discovered some for common soldiers as well as those of civilians who had lived and died with the army during the war.

Although there was tremendous concern in Britain about desecration and neglect of the graves and cemeteries, Adye and Gordon constructed an account of their condition that emphasized their preservation and made recommendations for their renovation. They attempted to locate and catalogue 130 cemeteries of which the British Government had record. They were able to locate 119 of them.[530] The eleven they could not locate "were small ones, and contained no tablets."[531] In the Appendix, they recorded detailed information about each cemetery: its position, the names found within it, the state of the individual graves, the condition of the boundary walls and miscellaneous remarks.[532] They decided that more than half were "in good order," and they recorded vague descriptions of damage, such as "tablet broken" or "name illegible," for those that were not.[533] Explicitly addressing public concerns about, "the alleged desecration of the tombs," Adye and Gordon "made careful inquiries, and endeavoured personally to satisfy ourselves on the subject by

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[523] *The Times*, 26 September 1867, 6.
[524] Ibid.
[525] "Report on the Crimean Cemeteries," Cmd. 719 (1873). Adye seems to have done most of the work on inspection tour.
[526] *The Times*, 26 September 1867, 6.
[527] "Report on the Crimean Cemeteries," Cmd. 719, 1.
[528] Ibid.
[529] Ibid.
[530] Ibid., 2. The number of cemeteries varied
[531] Ibid.
[532] Ibid., 5-28.
[533] Ibid.

close inspection."[534] It was not widespread in their view, and, when it did occur it was the result of the "wild uneducated people" of the Crimea who "allowed their flocks and herds to stray amongst the graves" or engaged in "idle mischief" rather than "wilful malice."[535] In some "exceptional cases in which monuments have been violently overthrown," they concluded, "the desecration has been the act of persons who have hoped to find money or valuables on the bodies of the dead."[536] Ordinary acts of grave robbing or uncivilized behavior by local inhabitants seemed preferable to systematic destruction of British burial places.

Although the Russian and French cemeteries in the region seemed to be in better condition than the British burial grounds, Adye and Gordon did not suggest emulating their way of caring for dead. The French cemetery, which "consists of one principal mausoleum, standing in the centre, surrounded by 17 smaller monuments, all built after the same type," was significantly easier to maintain than the British sites scattered across the region.[537] Each of the structures contained a different classification of remains: generals and staff officers in the main one; sailors and naval officers in another; one for the engineers; etc. Within each one, "the remains of officers being deposited in coffins walled in, and those of non-commissioned officers and privates in a pit beneath the structure."[538] Adye and Gordon recommended reorganization of the British sites, but they opposed following the French example because it was more important that the dead be left undisturbed in their battlefield graves. Because the "officers and men were buried by their comrades on the ground where they fell, the whole scene is sacred and historical, and the remains of the dead should not be disturbed."[539] For the "numerous small isolated burial-grounds, containing each but few tablets or memorials should be similarly treated, the monuments being removed to the nearest large Cemetery."[540] Rather than attempting like the French did to collect isolated remains and commemorate them in one location, it was most important to keep the dead buried on the battlefields. In addition, "the larger Cemeteries, which contain numerous mementos and tombstones, should be preserved, a substantial wall being built round them; and that all monuments, tablets, and crosses should be repaired, and the inscriptions renewed."[541]

Finally among the British cemeteries, "Cathcart's Hill deserves special attention."[542] Not only did Adye and Gordon recommend restoring the cemetery there, but they also proposed its expansion. The location of the cemetery on a hill overlooking Sebastopol made it an ideal spot in their opinion for "a large obelisk or general memorial" which would be "made in England of granite or other durable material, and sent out to the Crimea."[543] Rather than simply preserving what had been erected during the war, Adye and Gordon proposed a new monument that would represent the post-war memories of the dead. It would assuage years of officials neglecting the actual graves.

Ultimately it was not the government alone but rather a combination of official and public efforts that implemented the recommendations from Adye and Gordon. Lord Hertford, a prominent Tory courtier and relative by marriage to Queen Victoria, began a voluntary committee to raise funds for the Cathcart's Hill memorial. After his death, the Duke of Cambridge, a grandson of King George III and Commander-in-Chief of the British Army, took over the cause. Himself a

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[534] Ibid., 2.
[535] Ibid.
[536] Ibid.
[537] Ibid., 3.
[538] Ibid.
[539] Ibid., 4.
[540] Ibid.
[541] Ibid.
[542] Ibid.
[543] Ibid.

Crimean War veteran, he solicited other military figures to join the effort. The voluntary group, technically private but clearly very well connected to government, military, and the crown, oversaw "a collection from the many scattered cemeteries of outlying memorials."[544] These monuments "had been replaced in the Cathcart's-hill property, where, too, an addition had been made to the custodian's house. The ground had been leveled and smoothed over, and other work carried out."[545] Ultimately, the private initiative with the leadership of prominent individuals succeeded in implementing the provisions of the report from Adye and Gordon which itself represented a consolidation of the area of focus. Maintaining and expanding the single site of Cathcart's Hill became the only possibility after years of neglecting the numerous smaller, scattered burial grounds in the region.
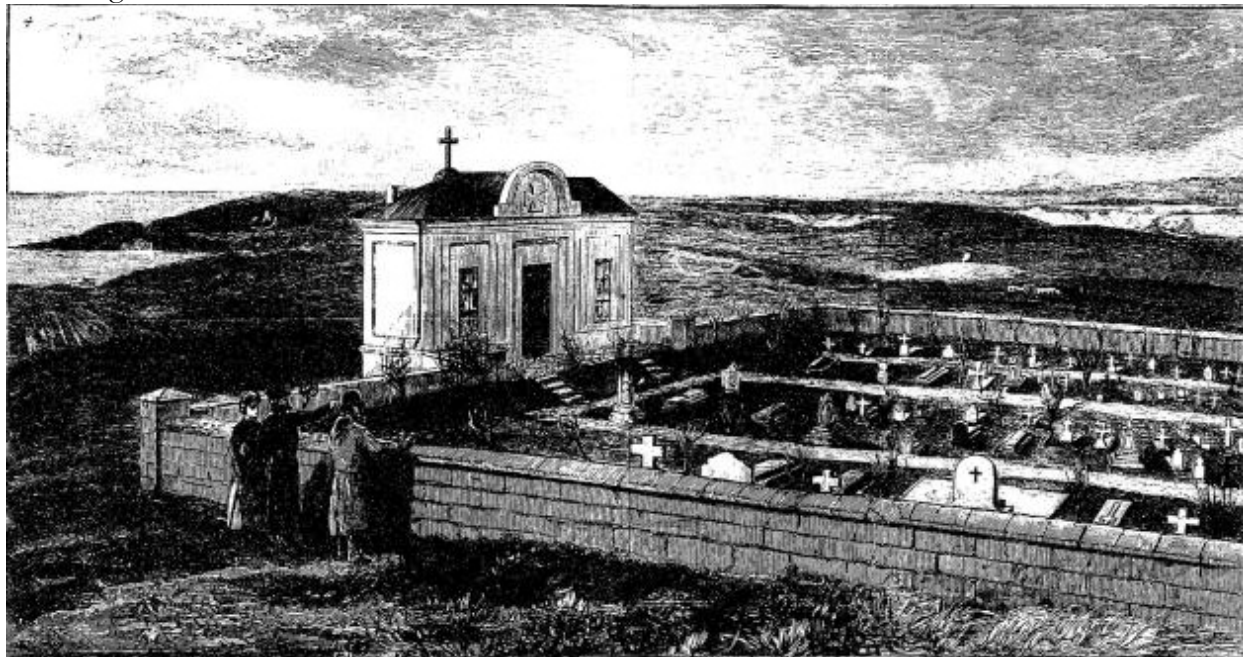

Figure 13: "The Graves in the Crimea as They Now Are." A representation of well-ordered burial grounds that appeared following publication of the Adye-Gordon Report. From *The Graphic*, 19 August 1882.

Following the Crimean War, the graves and burial grounds of British soldiers received continuous official and unofficial attention. However, the government's efforts to secure and maintain them proceeded without much success. Work by concerned private citizens provided most of the care for the graves initially. Local British consuls catalogued damage and pressed their superiors in London for the money and the authority to maintain them permanently. Newspaper editorials and elite public opinion in Britain began to demand action by the government and to articulate for the first time the view that the nation had a moral obligation to care for its dead soldiers. The public agitation culminated in the expedition by John Adye and Charles George Gordon. Their report catalogued the burial places and recommended a plan for their future care. The report's principles laid down a unique style of British war commemoration: bodies should be left on the battlefield even if monuments could be moved and replaced in an official memorial site. Combined action from prominent veterans, the royal family, and the government in the 1880s led to the implementation of most of the report's principles and the universal acceptance of the view that caring for soldiers' graves was a national responsibility.

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[544] "British Graves in the Crimea," *The Times*, 7 June 1884, 14.
[545] Ibid.

IV. Soldiers' Graves from Imperial Wars

While public and official interests in the Crimean burial grounds continued in the decades following the conflict, policies and practices developed for the care of graves in subsequent wars. Soldiers' graves and burial grounds became an integral part of the visual representations of overseas wars in late nineteenth century British newspaper accounts. Simultaneously, the military promulgated regulations for the first time that directed officers in the field to behave as Hedley Vicars had in the Crimea: to preside over burial services if no chaplain or religious figure were available to do so.[546]

During the Sepoy Revolt of 1857 in India, the presence of many civilians and the existing Anglican religious infrastructure caused soldiers' graves to receive the same sort of attention and reverence they had in the Crimea. Cemeteries and graves formed a significant part of the way that the public in Britain understood and visualized the war. Decent burials for British soldiers and civilians massacred by the natives formed a moral counterweight to the stories of atrocities and savagery. In the besieged cantonment of Cawnpore, one of the British civilians and soldiers' last acts before leaving was to bury the dead with a Christian service and pray for them.[547] The *Illustrated London News* and other newspapers depicted these funeral services, which poignantly and evocatively expressed the suffering of British civilians at the hands of their supposedly ruthless Indian betrayers.[548] Death and caring for the dead became a standard feature of British enclaves under threat from disloyal natives. At Lucknow, "death…stared [the residents] constantly in the face."[549] Because of the overwhelming numbers of dead, "The stench in the churchyard had grown so foul that the chaplain was compelled to read the Burial Service in the porch of the hospital, as the bodies were being carried away."[550] These accounts, and others like them from elsewhere in British India, used the sensory perceptions of death exemplified by the sights and smells of the dead to evoke the suffering of the garrisons. Despite these trying circumstances ministers usually performed Christian funerals and residents marked the graves. British survivors of the rebellion praised the chaplains for burying the military and civilian dead. For example, at Lucknow, Rev. Harris "has hard work and he does it nobly, five or six funerals every night in the Residency churchyard."[551] Literary accounts of the frequent burial services demonstrated the extent of the suffering and death.

Burials for some military men lacked religious ceremonies but evoked other traditions. General John Nicholson's death from wounds he received at the storming of Delhi follows many of the memorial traditions from before the Crimean War. Soldiers described the burial scene in the same sort of language used to represent that of Sir John Moore, "no roar of cannon announced the departure of the procession from camp; no martial music was heard. Thus, without pomp or show, we buried him."[552] The British erected a memorial to Nicholson in Delhi as well as commemorative statues to other military leaders around India. These monuments served to reassert imperial authority following the end of the rebellion. Visitors to India found the graves of 1857, especially Nicholson's memorial, very poignant, and expressed similar sentiments to the Crimean graves being "more sacred than the family tomb." Upon visiting Nicholson's grave, one travel writer observed,

[546] See, for instance, Garnet Wolseley, *The Soldier's Pocket-Book for Field Service* (London: Macmillan and Co, Fourth Edition, 1882), 114 that explains "There must be [a graveyard] in the vicinity of each large hospital station." Under "Staff Duties after an Action," 138, Wolseley directs officers to "see to the burial of the dead."
[547] Andrew Ward, *Our Bones Are Scattered: The Cawnpore Massacres and The Indian Mutiny Of 1857* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1996) 308.
[548] *Illustrated London News* Vol. 31, No. 877 (5 September 1857), 234.
[549] Sir George Forest, *A History of the Indian Mutiny* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1904), 301.
[550] Ibid.
[551] Diary of Sir Joseph Fayer, cited in Sir George Forest, *A History of the Indian Mutiny*, 275.
[552] Ibid, 149.

"The Englishman's heart is never seen more clearly, and to its deepest depth, than in the tributes which he writes over his brother's dust in far-off India."[553] Countrymen were his brothers rather than General Nicholson's own family and the meaning of the monument to Britons derived from his death at a significant battle not from specific courageous acts.

Many of the monuments to soldiers and civilians killed during the 1857 Revolt became national shrines to British residents and visitors in subsequent decades. Following the British victory and the end of the Revolt, the government erected a memorial to the mostly civilian victims of a well-known atrocity at Cawnpore. A sculpture of an angel by Baron Marchotti emphasized the suffering and murder of "Christian people." Beyond the statue, a Memorial Church was erected near the site. They became famous throughout the British Empire, as one newspaper in New Zealand reported, "The name of the Memorial Church of Cawnpore is known to every Anglo-Indian, and to thousands of Englishmen who have never set foot in India. For the last fourteen years it has been associated in the public mind with the chiefest and most mournful tragedy which the history of Anglo-India records."[554] The Bishop of Calcutta presided over the dedication ceremony, and the Church and Memorial became some of the most visited sites in the British Raj, by one account more popular than the Taj Mahal.[555] Commemoration and collective memory in British India revolved around honoring the soldier and civilian dead of 1857.

Outside of the civilian and religious infrastructure that India provided, British soldiers dying on campaign in the "imperial wars" of the 1870s-1890s increasingly received marked graves and commemoration even if their burial places were far from colonial settlements or European civilization. Beginning in the period following the Crimean War, the British Army issued a series of orders, guidelines, and circulars that made it the responsibility of commanders in the field and officers to provide for decent, Christian burial for the men under their command. Simultaneously, due to the increased religious practice among soldiers and officers, more chaplains tended to travel on campaign to minister to the living and to perform burial services. These developments in the Army institutionalized the practices of the Crimean War period and made the behavior of Captain Hedley Vicars the model for all officers. The public at home saw these funerals and burials through the visual representations in newspapers and defined the righteousness of British imperial wars through the care of the dead.

Paradigmatic of the ethics of burying soldiers and the imperial wars in general were the British campaigns in the Sudan in the 1880s and 1890s. Charles George Gordon, whose report with John Adye on the care of the Crimean graves led to their maintenance and repair, himself became the most prominent example for noble sacrifice when he was killed defending the besieged Khartoum from the Madhi Army insurgents. The press and public throughout the British Empire followed the siege and Gordon's attempt to defend the town against extremely long odds. When Khartoum was overrun two days before the arrival of the relief expedition, Gordon was decapitated on the steps of his headquarters. The last entry in his journal declared, "I have done my best for the honour of our country."[556] The atrocity became even more gruesome because, as the London newspapers observed, he did not receive a Christian burial. The commander of the relief expedition, General Garnet Wolseley, made recovering Gordon's body his priority upon entering Khartoum but the soldiers could not locate it. As a result, an empty tomb in St. Paul's Cathedral in London provided a makeshift tomb for Gordon. Over a decade later at the successful conclusion of General

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[553] John Fletcher Hurst, *India: The Country and the People of India and Ceylon* (1891), 657
[554] "Cawnpore Memorial Church," *Nelson Evening Mail*, Volume XI, Issue 42 (15 February 1876), 2.
[555] Stephen Heathorn, "Angel of Empire: The Cawnpore Memorial Well as a British Site of Imperial Remembrance," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 8:3 (2008).
[556] *The Journals of Major-General C. G. Gordon, C.B., at Khartoum* (London, 1885)

Kitchener's campaign to re-conquer the Sudan, soldiers again attempted to locate Gordon's body and his head for burial. Unable to do so, they nonetheless staged a funeral for him in the ruins of Khartoum, to symbolize the British re-conquest. For soldiers and the British public, Gordon's "funeral obsequies were at last taking place upon the spot where he fell."[557] The reading public in London, along with following Kitchener's written dispatches, saw the scene through numerous artists' renderings; and newspaper correspondents explicitly linked the notion of proper military burial to the triumph of civilization over savagery. One special correspondent with the expedition praised the soldiers, declaring, "They had carved their way through hordes of savage foes to render to a great Englishman the last honours of the dead."[558] Public representations of the importance of a proper funeral for Gordon reveal how closely caring for dead soldiers had become linked to Britain's idea of ethical conduct.
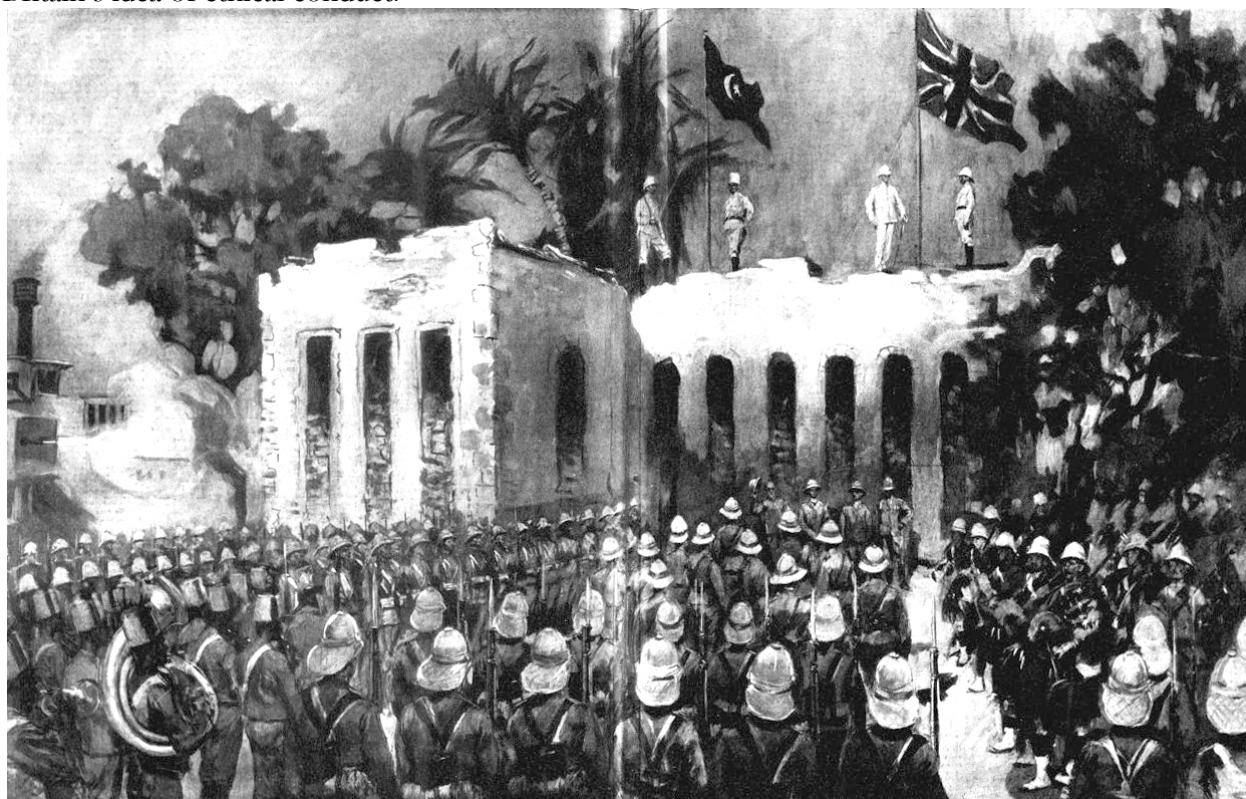

Figure 14: "In Memory of Gordon: The Service Among the Ruins of the Residency at Khartoum," from *The Graphic*, 1 October 1898.

Common soldiers and lower ranked officers in the Sudan campaigns received Christian burials as well, and depictions of them appeared frequently in newspaper and literary accounts. The young Winston Churchill, a lieutenant serving under General Kitchener, observed that only the "Christian cemetery…shows a decided progress" and "long lines of white crosses…mark the graves of British soldiers and sailors who lost their lives in action or by disease during the various campaigns."[559] He lamented "the large and newly enclosed areas to meet future demands," which indicates the extent that the military and officers on the spot considered providing for decent burial

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[557] Bennet Burleigh, *Khartoum Campaign, 1898: or the re-conquest of the Soudan* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1899), 257.

[558] W.T. Maud, "The Memorial Service at Khartoum," *The Graphic* 28 January 1899.

[559] Winston Churchill, *The River War: An Account of the Reconquest of the Sudan* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1899), 112.

part of the experience of warfare even on campaign far from British settlements or home.[560] Photographs following the Battle of Omdurman in 1898 show the Reverend Reginald Moseley reading burial services for the British officers and men killed. Additional images depict the neat and tidy graves after the battle. Christian burial on the battlefield was a firmly entrenched part of British military practice by the end of the nineteenth century, and depictions of it formed most of what the public in London saw of the imperial wars of the time.

Graves and burial services also formed an important part of the visual representations of war to the British public at home in the Second South African War ("Boer War") of 1899-1902 and underscored the differences between British soldiers and their Boer enemies. Numerous depictions

Figure 15: "An Oath of Vengeance: At the Funeral of a Victim of Boer Treachery," from *The Graphic*, 24 November 1900.

in British newspapers illustrated the graves, frequently for a moralizing purpose. One such illustration showed a chaplain concluding a burial service with mournful soldiers standing nearby under the heading, "An Oath of Vengeance: At the Funeral of a Victim of Boer Treachery." Even if they did not explicitly link the soldier dead to the moral imperative to fight, depictions of burial grounds almost always showed neat and orderly British soldiers' graves marked by crosses and reinforced the notion that the British Army treated its dead in a respectful, Christian way. Beyond published accounts in newspapers, private citizens and groups in London wanted to see the graves and their markings. A South African correspondent sent the Royal Geographical Society "Twenty-two Photographs of Scenes of Battles at Modder River" for its library in London that depicted "the scenes of battles, and the graves of many of our brave soldiers who have fallen in South Africa."[561] Nine of the twenty-two images present individual graves or burial grounds, providing one indication of how representations of the dead fit within depictions of the war itself.

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[560] Ibid.
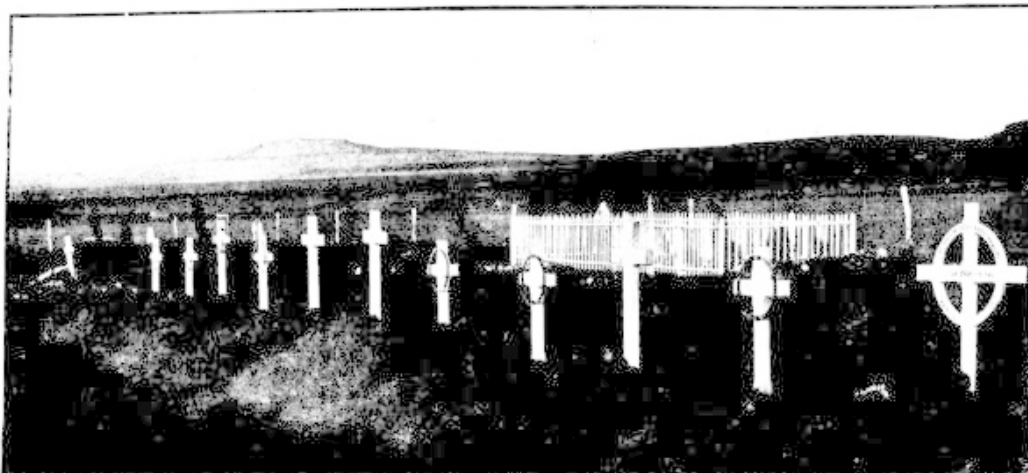[561] *The Geographical Journal*, Vol. 121 (1901), 332.

Figure 16: "Fallen in the Fight: Soldiers' Graves in the Cemetery at Sterkstrom," from *The Graphic*, August 4, 1900.

The images represented the efforts not only of the British Army but also of patriotic civic organizations that assumed some of the responsibility for the care of dead soldiers. Groups such as the Victoria League in London and the Guild of Loyal Women of South Africa coordinated their efforts to raise money for Christian care of the soldier dead. The Guild, a civic group formed in 1900 to promote imperial loyalty, buried the dead from both sides. Prominent people and other civic groups in South Africa and Britain supported its efforts financially because, as the Victoria League's chairman Lord Eustace Cecil explained:

> It was only right that a sacred duty of this kind, mixed as it was with the twin virtues of loyalty and of patriotism, should command their support and respect. The least they could do was to ensure that the individual memory of the soldiers who had fallen on the battlefield in South Africa should be as imperishable as he was sure their fame would be.[562]

The Guild and its financial backers in Britain expressed the culmination of the combination of patriotism and care of the dead that developed through the nineteenth century.

The actual work of burying dead soldiers was much more difficult in South Africa than in the Crimea due to the different circumstances of the war. Fighting in the countryside and prolonged guerilla conflict caused the dead to be scattered. Some of the graves were located in private cemeteries on farms, others were adjacent to churches, and many were in unknown locations.[563] The Cape Colony and Natal governments enacted legislation to acquire some of the land and maintain the graves, but the results were spotty.[564] The Guild expected that it, not the government, would act as the primary agency responsible for war graves.[565] Lady Frances Balfour explained that it was necessary for the Guild to take care of graves because, "It had been said that a country which did not honour its dead was not able to take care of the living."[566] This sense of obligation to the dead felt by individuals and organizations remained not fully expressed through government policy. The Treaty of Vereeniging (1902) that ended the war did not mention the status of the graves and the government's lack of serious interest left the care of the South African graves in the hands of the

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[562] "South African Graves Fund," *The Times*, 25 June 1901, 14.
[563] "South African Graves Fund," *The Times*, 18 November 1902, 8.
[564] "Women Settlers in South Africa," *The Times*, 3 July 1901, 11.
[565] "Soldiers' Graves in South Africa," *The Times*, 14 December 1901, 12.
[566] "Women Settlers in South Africa," *The Times*, 3 July 1901, 11.

private organization. This resulted in a post-war settlement similar to what occurred following the Crimean War.

Between the late 1850s and the first decade of the twentieth century the British public and government expended considerable effort and money to maintain military burial grounds. Concomitantly, *The Times* and prominent figures connected with the military expressed the idea that soldiers' graves, in general and irrespective of rank or accomplishment in battle, deserved the care and attention of the government because of a moral obligation to maintain the last resting places of those who died in the service of their country. This came about not because of a directed project by the state to foster national loyalty but rather because of vocal criticisms of government inaction and the perception of neglect.

V. Conclusion: The Givet Prisoners' Memorial

In 1908 the British government considered a proposal to memorialize some of the dead from the Napoleonic Wars, prisoners who died in Givet, France. Although there had been philanthropic attempts to care for the prisoners during the war, neither the public nor the government concerned itself with permanent care for the dead.[567] According to the Gendarme of Givet, by the early twentieth century, "The old military cemetery in question to-day bears no mark showing what its original character was."[568] Furthermore, many British tourists passed by on the road from Givet to Dinant and the Gendarme believed "it might be well to remind them that at that place lie many of their compatriots who died for their country."[569] Thus, public feeling toward the war dead had changed dramatically since a century earlier when the British merchants of Lisbon considered it a sacrilege to inter one of Wellington's generals in their burial ground.

The British Government hesitated about the proposal to commemorate the Givet prisoners, not because of a reluctance to spend money nor because of a belief that burial should be undertaken privately. They hesitated since so much time had elapsed since the deaths. Commemorating these dead soldiers and sailors seemed to the Army like an unnecessary waste of money because "Their names, their ranks, their services have been forgotten for many years."[570] Furthermore, it was unclear "what advantage would be gained by doing now what, if done at all, should have been done long ago."[571] The Army's only problem with the plan was that so much time had elapsed since the burials and no purpose would be served. The Treasury agreed to fund the memorial because of the immediate prior precedents of using public funds to pay for the grave markers of soldiers killed in the conflicts of the post-Crimean period. Additionally, they expected only "a moderate expenditure," that no funds for ongoing maintenance would be required; and, most significantly, they expected the military to be "satisfied that the graves are genuine and furnish the names of the dead."[572] Unlike most other overseas buildings such as embassies and consulates that were charged to the Office of Works, the "cost of a monument to British soldiers and sailors buried there should be borne by

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[567] There had been philanthropic attempts to care for the prisoners while they were interned. A committee initially raised £3,000 for food and supplies for all the British prisoners. The Reverend Robert Wolfe voluntarily lived with the prisoners to minister to them and wrote about the experience in the 1830s. R.B. Wolfe, *English Prisoners in France* (London: J. Hatchard and Son, 1830). See also Richard Blake, *Evangelicals in the Royal Navy, 1775-1815: Blue Lights & Psalm-Singers* (Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2008), 243-245.

[568] Gendarme of Givet, to the British Ambassador, Paris; March 16, 1908; TNA:PRO WO 32-9025.

[569] Ibid.

[570] Handwritten note in file, TNA:PRO WO 32-9025

[571] Ibid.

[572] Treasury to War Office, 23 June 1908, TNA:PRO WO 32-9026.

Army or Navy funds following recent precedents."[573] There was no question that in principle graves should be marked and commemorated if they could be identified and this approach corresponded to the evolving policy of the post-Crimean period.

This chapter has demonstrated how, when, and why the British Government and the public came to perceive the care of war graves as a national obligation during the nineteenth century. Military heroes and leaders who won great victories, especially those who died on the battlefield, always received commemoration; but in the years between the Napoleonic Wars and the Great War this treatment became applicable to all regardless of rank. The deaths of notable figures like Wolfe, Nelson, and Abercromby at the beginning of the period inaugurated the British association of dead military heroes with national pride. The death of Sir John Moore and its poetic representation firmly entrenched the idea that a leader could be heroic even if only ambiguously victorious in battle and that it was more courageous to be interred on the battlefield and not at home. During the Crimean War period the idea of decent burial took on explicitly religious characteristics and moved downward in the ranks. This was epitomized by the "Christian soldier" Hedley Vicars' burial of his comrades and then by his own death and commemoration.

Crimean burial grounds became sites of public interest after the war, and the government's inability to manage them effectively prompted increasingly strident articulations that they were "national" spaces containing graves "more sacred than the family tomb[s]" at home. Charitable organizations and the government spent money to maintain not only the Crimean graves but also those of soldiers who died in the imperial wars of the late nineteenth century. By the South African War of 1899-1902, the combination of public and private care for soldiers' graves reached its apex with the Victoria League and the Guild of Loyal Women erecting crosses on all the graves and the military producing detailed registers of burial locations. The government assumed more responsibility for the graves after the war in order to ensure their permanent care. Simultaneously, as the Givet case demonstrated, in the first decade of the twentieth century there was a consensus among officials in the Treasury and War Office that graves should be paid for by the government and a belief that the public expected soldiers' burial places to be marked and maintained.

During the Great War, the scale and scope of British efforts to commemorate the dead would change dramatically again in a very short period. Nevertheless, the policies and practices toward the soldier dead of 1914-1918 initially drew upon the traditions and beliefs of the nineteenth century. The next chapter will focus upon the Imperial War Graves Commission which inaugurated a new bureaucratized approach to war commemoration that used the soldier dead of both world wars to represent imperial unity.

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[573] Ibid.

Chapter 4: British Imperial Commemoration in the Twentieth Century

In 1912 a minor conservative figure named Fabian Ware attempted to explain his views on the state of the world in a treatise, *The Worker and His Country*. Ware hoped it would rehabilitate his reputation as a political thinker following his dismissal as editor of the *Morning Post* because of his unorthodox views and ineffective management. He argued that there could be a beneficial relationship between individuals and collectivities if empire became the organizing principle of society. Parliamentary government by itself failed because democracy had not adequately provided for the welfare of workers. Trade unions would only lead to violent revolution unless other more effective forms of social organization emphasizing an empire of common race and nationality were encouraged. He declared the "struggle between collectivism and individualism" dominated the pattern of human history which "at some moment" would establish "equilibrium, until in their decline individualism triumphs and dissociation and disruption follow."[574] Ware's vision of social and political organization embraced the idea of empire as the "highest attainment of human collectivity which the world has yet seen" and as the only way that stability and order could be achieved.[575]

During the Great War he became concerned about the treatment of fallen soldiers; and, five years after his appeal for social organization based on empire, the Imperial War Council charged him with the burial and commemoration of the dead. He developed the fledgling bureaucracy using his pre-war political principles as guiding ideologies. Burying dead soldiers and the problems it presented manifested some of the same tensions between individualism and collectivism that Ware found exigent in the political and social crises of pre-war Britain. In his view, belief in the virtue of empire in 1917 as before was the key to balancing individual and collective approaches. When "the individual becomes conscious of his individualism," Ware wrote in 1912, "he merges in the family, as the family reaches maturity it merges in the nation, and similarly the nation merges in the Empire."[576] This progression seemed the only way to make sense of a disordered world, and he used this model when he was charged with bringing order to the British war dead.

The group that Ware managed, the Imperial War Graves Commission, instituted a totally novel comprehensive plan to bury or to record the name of every fallen soldier and to treat each equally, regardless of military rank or social standing. Individual burial with a headstone at government expense became a type of social benefit for soldiers whose families otherwise might have been too poor to afford such treatment. Conversely, the vast cemeteries, especially those of the Western Front, achieved so effectively their expression of the human cost of the war precisely because of their collective characteristics and the image of vast uniformity that they created. Government policy in the form of laws, treaties, and bureaucracy enabled this aesthetic by prohibiting any exhumations of bodies even by those families who could afford private burials. Despite their similarities to the burial regimes of other combatant nations following the Great War, these sites manifested a uniquely British imperial way of marking death and the human cost of war that represented an idealized vision of a united and harmonious empire.

Most accounts of the conflict and its aftermath emphasize mourning, bereavement, and the attempt to rebuild emotionally and physically following the century's first "total war."[577] British efforts to bury the dead and the Imperial War Graves Commission amounted to an attempt by the

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[574] Fabian Ware, *The Worker and His Country* (London: Edward Arnold, 1912), 25-26.

[575] Ibid.

[576] Ibid., 32.

[577] For instance, Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning* (Cambridge University Press, 1998); Thomas Laqueur, "Memory and Naming in the Great War," in John Gillis, ed., *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

state to put the dead at rest and to bring comfort to the families, many of whom were left without actual bodies or known graves to aid with their mourning.[578] Similar processes happened not just in Britain but also in all nations that participated in the conflict.[579] Whether these efforts amounted to a fundamental break with tradition and something entirely new and modern or whether they were indicative of a reach back to tradition and earlier forms of meaning in an attempt to repair the psychic trauma of the war has been the subject of debate by eminent scholars of war and memory.[580] This scholarship assumes that the British commemoration bureaucracy functioned like the others and that its construction of cemeteries and monuments solely represented an aesthetic derived from bereavement and mourning.

This chapter will argue that the work of the Imperial War Graves Commission took the shape that it did because in addition to burying the dead and commemorating them it attempted to represent an idealized vision of British imperial unity. The dead and the monuments to them became a representation of "Greater Britain" that attempted to bring the overseas Dominions together with the Mother Country at the center. The group's organizational structure became its own imperial federation. The self-governing white settler colonies selected their own representatives while the India Office and the Colonial Office represented those parts of the Empire still deemed incapable of self-rule. The Commission's burial and commemoration regime represented this view of the Empire through the aesthetics of the monuments. It attempted to create a common imperial culture predicated upon the care of the dead. It drew upon some universally understood British cultural traditions even as it cast aside others, such as marking soldiers' graves with crosses.[581] During and after the Second World War the group's practices and its rituals of commemoration continued despite the anxieties of decolonization and the "end of empire." The public and government officials began to view the practices as representing the commemoration styles of the World Wars rather than as they were originally intended. Although the Commission substituted "Commonwealth" for "Imperial" in its name to reflect the changed political environment of the 1960s and 1970s, its work continued using the same principles and practices born in the aftermath of the Great War. Simultaneously, the government decided that dead soldiers would no longer be buried overseas in the style of the Imperial War Graves Commission cemeteries signaling that the commemoration style of 1917-1945 ended with the British Empire.

Histories of the Commission tend to underplay its imperial characteristics and the importance of the representation of empire in its work.[582] Some accounts present the group's critics who objected to state ownership of the dead as aristocrats operating from a position of class privilege and implicitly accept the idea that there was a binary choice between the Commission's approach and doing nothing at all for the dead.[583] Other accounts of the Commission's work that focus on the commemoration of the dead from parts of the overseas Empire emphasize the way

[578] Laqueur, "Memory and Naming in the Great War."
[579] Most notably, Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*
[580] Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (1975) began this debate with his argument from literary sources that the First World War inaugurated "modern memory" and was a profound break from the past.
[581] See the previous chapter for an account of how the British public and governmental concern for dead soldiers developed during the nineteenth century.
[582] Some accounts, like Tim Skelton and Gavin Stampp, *Lutyens and the Great War*, (perhaps to avoid confusion about the name change) excise "Imperial" from the group's name entirely and refer to it simply as the "War Graves Commission."
[583] This move began with Fabian Ware's history of the group, *The Immortal Heritage* (1937) and is picked up in Philip Longworth's quasi-official account, *The Unending Vigil* (1967). Accounts of war commemoration and memory, such as Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning* and Laqueur, "Memory and Naming in the Great War," simply leave aside "imperial" considerations and consider the group's work in relation to modern British and European society. Others, such as Bart Zinno, *A Distant Grief: Australians, War Graves and the Great War* treat the Commission policies as fait accompli and focus on their effect on relatives of the dead in the Dominions.

that Great War memorials become foundational for ideas of nationality and nationhood in places like Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Canada.[584] Of course these are important stories, but scholarly accounts tend to neglect the ways in which those who planned the burial regime for the British Empire imposed it upon the Dominions and expected that it would bring the overseas territories closer to the Mother Country by representing a united imperial polity.

These interpretations fail to consider adequately the extent to which the Commission, through its composition and structure, its works, and its legacy attempted to represent empire. Contemporaries saw it as a bureaucratic laboratory for political ideas about imperial federation and a way to prove that the overseas Dominions could be partners with the Mother Country. Its creation of a global network of sacred spaces that would permanently endure attempted to manifest a united imperial polity, victorious in war.

The composition of the group was unusual and unprecedented. Fabian Ware described it as "the first really Imperial department" in British constitutional history because it came into existence, not as a result of Parliamentary process but through a Royal Charter prepared by the Imperial War Council of 1917.[585] This was the epitome of cabinet governance in which senior ministers did not consult Parliamentary committees much less the entire House before enacting policy. Once established, the Commission became its own legislature and governing body. The architects it employed to plan the memorials were well-known imperial figures like Herbert Baker and Edwin Lutyens who self-consciously employed a style of imperial classicism in the design of the cemeteries, monuments, and symbols. While the Commission and its creations managed to become a chimera that brought together many diverse political, ideological, and spiritual components, fundamentally it was its imperial character that initially gave it meaning and helped to hold it together.

I. Fabian Ware and the Care of the Dead during the Great War

Fabian Ware's initial involvement with the war dead came about by accident. His background had nothing to do with the military or caring for soldiers' graves. He was a minor administrator, an expert on education, and a political journalist. His career began as headmaster of a secondary school and later he became Minister of Education in Lord Alfred Milner's government in the Transvaal. With Milner as his mentor and patron, Ware became a lesser-known member of his "kindergarten" of bureaucrats who shared a set of principles about governing the British Empire that they carried with them to positions around the world.[586] After Ware left South Africa in 1902, he became editor of the conservative *Morning Post* and backed the so-called "Radical" wing of the

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[584] On Canadian responses, for instance, see Jacqueline Hucker, " 'Battle and Burial': Recapturing the Cultural Meaning of Canada's National Memorial on Vimy Ridge," *The Public Historian* 31:1, Winter 2009, 89-109 and Paul Gough, "Memorial Gardens as Dramaturgical Space," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 3:4, Winter 1998, 199-214. For South Africa, see "Creating a Temenos, Positing 'South Africanism': Material Memory, Landscape Practice and the Circulation of Identity at Delville Wood," *Cultural Geographies*, 11:3 (2004), 259-290. On the Gallipoli cemeteries and their importance to Australia and New Zealand, see P.J. Gough, "Conifers and Commemoration: The Politics and Protocol of Planting in Military Cemeteries," *Landscape Research* 21:1 (1996), 73-87 that emphasizes the way that ideological choices influenced the landscaping of war cemeteries. Bart Zinno, *A Distant Grief: Australians, War Graves and the Great War* (Crawley, W.A.: University of Western Australia Press, 2007) argues that the distance between Australia and the battlefield cemeteries impacted the type of public morning that took place.

[585] "A Successful Experiment in Imperial Co-operation," Speech by Fabian Ware to the Empire Club of Canada, 20 October 1925, Archives of the Empire Club of Canada.

[586] According to the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Ware, "Like all members of Milner's 'kindergarten,'…rewarded the pro-consul with a lifetime's devotion." Ware and the Imperial War Graves Commission surprisingly do not appear in much of the historiography on Milner, the "kindergarten," and the idea of imperial federation, such as J.E. Kendle, *The Round Table Movement and Imperial Union* (Toronto, 1975) and subsequent works.

Tory party that was in favor of tariff reform.[587] This philosophy came to a tumultuous climax in the 1910 election when Ware threw the newspaper's support behind the insurgent candidate Richard Jebb, against Tory stalwart, free-trader and incumbent Lord Robert Cecil.[588] The latter prevailed and the newspaper suffered decreased circulation when Cecil's many prominent supporters cancelled their subscriptions. The contentious incident, combined with other political squabbles and a legal dispute about mishandled finances, prompted the newspaper's proprietor, Lady Bathurst, to dismiss him soon after the election.[589]

Although he published *The Worker and His Country* and attempted to stay active in political circles, Ware relied upon his connection to Milner for permanent employment. The book received some favorable reviews but it was mostly unnoticed and did not rehabilitate Ware's reputation as a political journalist or conservative theorist. For help he turned to Milner who in 1912 secured for Ware a lucrative position as Director of the Rio Tinto Mining Company. At the outbreak of the Great War in 1914, Ware again asked Milner for assistance in obtaining a position with the Red Cross since his age made him ineligible to serve in the military. He received an appointment to a Mobile Unit charged with ferrying sick and wounded men from the front.

The Red Cross work exposed Ware not only to the suffering of the living but also to the neglect of the dead. Recovering soldiers' bodies for burial invariably became a part of his work because the military had no centralized system for removing and interring huge numbers of fatalities. During the conflicts of the post-Crimean War period and even during the South African War of 1899-1902 the rate of dead soldiers as well as the absolute numbers allowed the military's ad hoc system for burials to function fairly effectively. These methods of providing decent treatment simply fell apart during the Great War amidst the sheer numbers of the slain and the brutal landscape of trench warfare. Ware recognized that the circumstances of the war necessitated something more systematic and bureaucratic. His relationships with prominent politicians and high-ranking military figures allowed him to lobby for the military to take charge of the care of the dead. In 1916 the Adjutant-General of the British Expeditionary Force offered him a military commission to lead the newly created Office of Graves Registration and Enquiries.

The British Army leadership itself paid more attention to the care of dead soldiers than in any prior conflict and this increased concern manifested statements of principle as well as practical work. In early August 1915 the British Expeditionary Force in France asked the War Office for more photographers to document the graves because "demands…from relatives of deceased Officers and men are on the increase."[590] Several weeks later the Army requested that the Director of Kew Gardens send one of his chief assistants to help with the layout and organization of cemeteries in France, as well as to begin planning for post-war landscaping.[591] On March 15, 1916 Lord Haig personally wrote to the War Office for additional vehicles and resources for the graves registration work. He justified the request by reminding them, "it should be bourne in mind that on the termination of hostilities the nation will demand an account from the Government as to the

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[587] The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* describes Ware as "A social imperialist," who was "genuinely interested in social reform. He encouraged young, talented writers and thinkers, such as William Beveridge and R. H. Tawney, to contribute to the Post, despite their notorious radical sympathies." See also E.H.H. Green, "Radical Conservatism: The Electoral Genesis of Tariff Reform," *The Historical Journal* 28:3 (Sep., 1985), 673. Green argues that Ware and the "Radical Conservatives" sought to change the party's tactics and strategy.

[588] Cecil stuck to his principles against tariff reform in his autobiography, calling it "a rather sordid attempt to ally Imperialism with State assistance for the rich," *All the Way* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1949), 244.

[589] Lady Bathurst "shared Ware's adherence to aggressive, right-wing politics. Yet even she eventually perceived that Ware's pugnacious proselytizing was costing her newspaper readers and revenue," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

[590] "Haig to War Office," 10 August 1915, TNA: PRO WO 32/5846.

[591] "Haig to War Office," 23 August 1915, TNA: PRO WO 32/5846.

steps which have been taken to mark and classify the burial places of the dead."[592] The military and its senior commanders realized that caring for the dead needed to be institutionalized and bureaucratized, just as "total war" placed unprecedented demands on manufacturing and supply.

The removal of the dead from the front and the proper burial of them concerned the Army as it impacted the morale of soldiers and their families at home. The Army did not, however, have a plan for what would happen to these graves after the war. Ware lobbied the Prince of Wales to establish the Committee for the Care of Soldiers' Graves, which was designed to prepare for the inevitability of maintaining graves and cemeteries after the war.[593] In Ware's account, the Prince of Wales' Committee was only a temporary precursor to the Commission because "It was immediately evident that any permanent body for this purpose should reflect the spirit of the free co-operation of the Dominions with the United Kingdom during the War and that its administration after the War should be civilian and above all responsible directly to all the partner Governments of the Empire."[594] However, even before the founding of the Commission, the Prince of Wales' Committee received a mandate from military and civilian authorities for the post-war care of graves and the Treasury agreed in principle that they should be maintained as a "civil charge" after the war.[595]

Fabian Ware's political background combined with the accident of his exposure to the problems of caring for the war dead in 1914-15 set the stage for increasing official attention to the problem. He was very committed to the Milnerite ideal of an imperial federation and he was a peripheral figure in the Round Table Society prior to the war. His views as the editor of the *Morning Post* and as a political and social theorist in *The Worker and His Country* reveal that he valued empire as the highest form of social organization and desired closer links between the overseas Dominions and the Mother Country. Considering his political views it is not surprising that he would conceive of an imperial agency for the dead; but historians of the Imperial War Graves Commission mostly overlook his politics or consider that he became apolitical when he began to confront the practical problems of mass burial and commemoration. Instead the reverse was true. Ware's politics provide a useful vector for understanding how and why the Commission policies began so clearly along the lines of imperial social organization. The British imperial solution to commemorating the war dead in 1917 generally aligned with Ware's political views.

II. The Imperial War Conference of 1917 and the Commission's Charter

Fabian Ware's work with the dead while serving with the Red Cross, the military Office of Graves Registration and Enquiries, and the Prince of Wales' Committee rendered him the country's foremost authority on the subject. However, all of this work did not approach the problem of dead soldiers much differently from civic groups during the South African War a decade and a half earlier. Ware wanted something more: an imperial agency that would oversee all of the British Empire's war dead, not just those of the British Army, and would care for them in perpetuity. He presented a Charter in 1917 for a group that would supplant the Prince of Wales' Committee to the Imperial War Conference at a dark moment of the war when the Russian Empire was collapsing and the Allied powers were uncertain of victory.

The Imperial War Conference itself, consisting of Cabinet Ministers from the home

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[592] "Haig to War Office," 15 March 1916, TNA: PRO WO 32/5846.

[593] TNA: PRO WO 32/5846.

[594] Ware, *The Immortal Heritage*, 25.

[595] TNA: PRO WO 32/5846 and various Treasury files cited later in the chapter. Ware's efforts also effectively shut down those of the Red Cross, which caused animosity between him and Lord Robert Cecil that later inflected debates about the Commission policies after the war.

government and representatives from the self-governing Dominions of the British Empire, reflected the participation of the entire Empire in the war effort and the necessity of keeping the overseas territories aligned with Britain's struggle against the Central Powers. It placed the Dominions on closer to equal footing than they had ever previously held with the home government. Indeed, one of the major accomplishments of the 1917 meeting was a resolution that called for a future constitutional conference to promote imperial equality, especially with regard to giving the Dominions a voice in foreign affairs and defense matters.[596] The group that inaugurated a permanent organization for the care of the war dead itself was deeply involved in the project of harmonizing the various and disparate components of the British Empire during the Great War.

The Commission's Charter represented this view of a united Empire and embodied the politics of imperial unity in its language and phraseology. Prepared as the words of King George V, it was a Royal Charter that positioned the sovereign as the head of a united imperial polity. In its preamble it called for "the establishment and organization of a permanent Imperial Body charged with the duty of caring for the graves of the officers and men of Our military and naval forces raised in all parts of Our Empire."[597] Its language sought to smooth over divisions and inequities between Britain and its overseas territories. The new organization would promote harmony between parts of the Empire "by honouring and perpetuating the memory of their common sacrifice, tend to keep alive the ideals for the maintenance and defence of which they have laid down their lives, to strengthen the bonds of union between all classes and races in Our dominions, and to promote a feeling of common citizenship and of loyalty and devotion to Us and to the Empire of which they are subjects."[598] Although this language was traditionally associated with nationalism and the duty to honor those citizen-soldiers who died for the nation, in this Charter, both the word "nation" and the concept of nation-space are entirely absent. The war dead deserved honor because they perished for the Empire; and, in honoring them equally, imperial loyalty would be preeminent.

Conference delegates consisted of the leaders from the self-governing Dominions and representatives of the home government. They debated the document and agreed at least superficially on some version of common imperial loyalty. Their discussion of the Charter hinged on technical, legal issues related to the peculiar alignment of Britain's overseas possessions. They worried whether or not even to use the word "Dominions" in order to encompass all British territories because as John Douglas Hazen from Canada pointed out, "You do not speak of Great Britain as a Dominion."[599] The Chairman, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Walter Long, corrected him by saying that Great Britain was, in fact, "part of the King's dominions."[600] Another possibility they considered was to sidestep this particular lexical quagmire and simply use the phrase, "Any part of Our Empire," as a convenient way to refer to the entirety of British possessions. The problem with that, as Sir Edward Morris, the Prime Minister of Newfoundland, pointed out was that there was no "legal definition of 'Empire'" and that absence would cause ambiguity.[601] The discussion then turned back to the meaning of "Dominions," and Fabian Ware informed the group that the problem with that word was that it did "not cover Protectorates." The Secretary of State for

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[596] Clearly a response to the rising sentiments among Canadians, Australians, and New Zealanders that they were fighting and dying in a war begun without their or their leaders' involvement, confirmed in the post-war account of the conference, Arthur Keith, *The War Government of the British Dominions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921).
[597] "Draft Charter. Imperial War Graves Commission," *Imperial War Conference, 1917. Extracts from minutes of proceedings and papers laid before the conference*, Cd. 8566 (1917-18), 137.
[598] Ibid.
[599] Ibid., 89.
[600] Capitalization in the transcript is key to the double meaning and confusion. "Dominions" referred to Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, etc. while the delegates believed the "King's dominions" encompassed every territory.
[601] *Imperial War Conference 1917*, Cd. 8566, 89.

India, Austen Chamberlain, added that it did not "cover the case of India, which is not habitually described as a 'Dominion.'"[602] This sort of slightly esoteric and highly legalistic discussion of how to word the Charter would have been unnecessary if the burial efforts had been organized by the military or by the governments of the various Dominions and Britain for their soldiers alone. These linguistic questions only arose because delegates intended to represent a united imperial polity and because such disparate types of government existed within the British Empire.

The core principles enshrined in the Charter reflect the predominance of concerns about representing a harmonious empire as well. Equality of sacrifice and equality of treatment, the most fundamental of the group's principles, stemmed from the desire to foster a spirit of imperial egalitarianism. Although many modern military burial regimes stress similar treatment regardless of rank, these principles here derived from imperial concerns. Several provisions focused on India because of its anomalous position within the war effort and the British imperial system.[603] Essentially the Charter attempted to bring the Indian war dead into the same structure as those from the white dominions. Ware informed the Conference that several "amendments were drafted to meet the wishes of the representatives of India, who pointed out that it was essential that the word 'Graves' should cover cremation grounds as the great majority of Hindus are cremated after death, and not buried, and the site of the funeral pyre has a sanctity of its own in Hindu sentiment."[604] This particular amendment to encompass India ultimately appeared in Section V, "Purposes and Powers of the Commission," and clarified that "the word 'cemetery' may or shall include a Hindu or other non-Christian cremation ground."[605] Even the definition of a burial ground for the purposes of Commission administration hinged upon creating a structure that would promote harmony within a culturally and religiously diverse polity. Equality of treatment of the dead as a core Commission principle began as an attempt to unify the various troops raised from all parts of the Empire that died during the First World War.[606] Ultimately, the Commission did not achieve this universal ideal for non-white soldiers and workers who perished outside of the European theater of the war, which confirms how its stated goals amounted to constructions of an idealized vision of imperial harmony.

Delegates rejected alternate possibilities about the spaces of commemoration as well as how the group would be financed in favor of a system that represented a unified imperial effort. The Prime Minister of New Zealand, William Massey, raised the issue of the land at Gallipoli which was "a matter of intense importance to many people in the Overseas Dominions."[607] Massey hoped that the Charter would explicitly single out the Gallipoli battlefields as more sacred than some of the others because of their importance to Australia and New Zealand. He felt that it was "of sufficient importance for the members of this Conference specifically to consider it" even though other battlefields would not be individually discussed.[608] The South African representative, General Jan Smuts, objected and considered the proposal "invidious."[609] He wondered, "why should a distinction be drawn between men who rest in Gallipoli, coming from one part of the Empire, and others who fought just as bravely, and who lie in another part of the world?"[610] Even places considered

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[602] Ibid., 90.

[603] Nearly one and a half million Indians participated in the First World War, on the Western Front and in the Mesopotamian campaigns, and a total of approximately fifty thousand died.

[604] *Imperial War Conference 1917*, Cd. 8566, 86.

[605] Ibid., 149.

[606] Michèle Barrett, "Subalterns at War," *Interventions* 9:3, 451-474, demonstrates how race, religion, and subaltern status influenced the Commission's commemoration practices.

[607] *Imperial War Conference 1917*, Cd. 8566, 26.

[608] Ibid.

[609] Ibid.

[610] Ibid.

especially important to one part of the Empire should be treated the same as others, just as the grave of a common soldier would receive the same care as that of his commanding officer. Smuts' perspective carried the debate, and the Charter language remained fairly general so as to encompass a vision of equal sacrifice that represented imperial unity.

The Charter codified the Commission's organizational structure and established that its membership would feature prominently members from the Dominions. Fabian Ware would serve as permanent Vice-Chairman, oversee the operations of the group, and effectively lead it. The British Secretary of State for War would be the ex-officio Chairman, and the Prince of Wales would serve in the honorary post of President. Members of the British Cabinet, meant to represent the home government as well as the colonies and India, received positions on the Commission. The First Minister of Works, the First Lord of the Admiralty, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and the Secretary of State for India served as Commissioners. The Dominions would choose their own representatives and Australia, Canada, Newfoundland, New Zealand, and South Africa each received one seat. This gave equal numbers of British and Dominion representatives although decisions usually emanated from Ware and his administrative staff and frequently received unanimous approval from the Commissioners.

The composition of the Commission, its Charter, and its guiding principles resulted from a debate among the pre-eminent statesmen of the British Empire. Their objective was to create an organization that would represent multiple interests. They conceived of a group that would manifest and represent equality within the Empire. Although they differed somewhat on specifically how broad the perspective should be, the most strenuous debate revolved around technical, legal discussions of how best to represent the imperial polity as broadly as possible. This was an entirely unprecedented discussion at a conference which itself emanated from the desire to placate the Empire for its continuing contribution to the war effort. The Charter established the first permanent bureaucracy for the British Empire apart from the British Parliament itself and its purpose was to promote a commemoration style that represented this imperial harmony and equality.

III. The Parliamentary Debate and Public Concerns

The Commission's Charter positioned it somewhat awkwardly within the British government hierarchy because it emanated not from Parliament or the entire Cabinet but from the Imperial War Conference and a Royal Charter. Parliament never debated the Commission's plans until it needed money to begin its work. Critics seized the opportunity to assail its plans. The House of Lords debated the Commission's proposals in 1919 before the Commons did so the following year. The speeches by members in both houses reveal a fundamental disjuncture about the purpose of post-war commemoration that did not conform either to traditional party alignments or to private convictions. Although perceptions of class certainly impacted the structure of the debate (as did personal animosity and distrust between the aristocratic Cecil family and Fabian Ware), the issue was whether the state had any legal or moral right to claim the bodies of dead soldiers. This in itself can be understood as an "imperializing" or colonizing process through which a government bureaucracy claimed the bodies of the dead for a state purpose. More pertinently and empirically for this argument, however, is the way that the Commission ultimately won public and Parliamentary support through representations of and appeals to imperial unity.

Several lords objected to the constitutional status of the Commission as well as the inability of families to practice their religion through the marking of graves. Lord Balfour of Burleigh began the debate on April 9, 1919 with an impassioned speech in which he recognized that the treatment of the war dead was "an exceptionally solemn and sacred subject" but he disagreed with the

"downright and absolute tyranny" of the Commission.[611] In addition, he declared, "The setting up and continuation of this form of bureaucratic control will, if it is not immediately remedied, mean that we shall run the risk of very serious resistance and even of rebellion."[612] He found the Commission's plans so maddening because they would deny the right of families to erect crosses or religious emblems on the graves.

Several lords concurred and objected to what they understood as the government's denial of religious expression. The Earl of Selborne, who led a Parliamentary Committee on Church and State relations from 1914-1916, echoed Balfour's sentiments, stating, "these dead are not the property of the nation or of the regiment, but of the widow, of the father, and of the mother" to which he drew the approbation of several other lords.[613] Selborne's extended family, the Cecils, shared his religiosity and consequent mistrust of the Commission proposal that the dead be honored without crosses on their graves.[614] He continued his speech with a heartfelt appeal to sentiment and religion and suggested that the Commission should act "with that power of restraint in the background, there should be a margin of choice for him or her who alone of the whole world really cares for these remains. That is my contention, and the focus of that contention rests in the sign of the Cross."[615] The lords' objections linked the ideas of family and religion in opposition to bureaucratic control.

Some in the House of Commons raised similar concerns about the Commission plans. The Conservative Member for Thirsk & Malton, Edmund Turton, declared, "It is a question with us of absolute religion. We claim that we should have the right to put a cross over our sons' graves."[616] Turton and others found it appalling that not only would the government not erect crosses on graves but also that it prohibited families from doing so if they wished. Although the critics never evoked the prior practices of the British Army, throughout the period following the Crimean War soldiers' graves had been marked mostly with crosses.[617] Individual regiments and fellow soldiers usually marked the graves of their comrades prior to the South African War of 1899-1902 when the military and civic groups worked together to place metal crosses on nearly all of the graves. During the African wars of the late nineteenth century the image of a row of crosses marked a British burial ground.[618] Even though the Commission ultimately attempted to compromise on the issue of religious expression point by permitting the etching of a sacred insignia on the tombstone if relatives wished, the Commission never wavered on placing actual crosses on the graves.[619]

The Commons debate ostensibly revolved less around arguments about religion or tradition but rather around the much more practical issue of money. It, too, became a discussion of the right of the state to claim bodies and the extent to which commemoration should be bureaucratically driven as opposed to being organized privately by the family. Lord Robert Cecil, the Conservative Member for Hitchin in Hertfordshire and previously the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, wondered, "Should the individual tombstone put over the individual grave be a national

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[611] Hansard 34 H.L. Deb. 5s. 9 April 1919, col. 227.

[612] Ibid.

[613] Ibid, col. 234.

[614] Selborne was married to Lady Beatrix Cecil, the daughter of the former Prime Minister Lord Salisbury, and had been Lord Milner's successor as High Commissioner for South Africa from 1905-1910.

[615] Hansard 34 H.L. Deb. 5s. 9 April 1919, col. 234-35.

[616] Hansard 128 H.C. Deb. 5s. 4 May 1920, col. 1953.

[617] See the previous chapter for a through discussion of nineteenth century practices for marking military graves.

[618] An especially vivid example comes from Winston Churchill, *The River War: An Account of the Reconquest of the Sudan* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1899), 112.

[619] Heffernan, "For Ever England," 302-5 explains more about the particular ways by which the Commission overcame these objections.

monument or a personal one?"[620] Cecil also noted the unprecedented nature of the Commission's plans in modern history. He questioned their viability instead of praising the organization for doing something novel.[621] The objectionable part of them, Cecil argued, was that they presumed the right of the government to take the dead and form them into a collective memorial. He continued, "It has never been said that the State has a right to turn the individual memorials to individual persons into a national memorial against the will and against the desire of their relatives. It is an entirely new idea."[622] Ultimately, his assessment of the Commission's plans was that their "dominant note is that this is a national memorial and not a personal memorial."[623] He took the national character of the plans to be evidence of a disregard for tradition and family and an affront to Christian practices.

Other Members wondered more tangibly about the purposes for which the Commission planned to use the dead and the ideology the monuments would espouse. The Earl of Selborne's son, Viscount Wolmer, the Conservative MP for Aldershot, declared, "There is a terrible confusion of thought—terrible because it is causing so much anguish to the country—which underlies the whole conception of the Imperial War Graves Commission, the idea that you are entitled to take the bodies of heroes from the care of their relatives and build them into a national State memorial."[624] Wolmer was skeptical of a memorandum from the Secretary of State for War, prepared by the Commission, which described its efforts as building "an Imperial memorial for the freedom of man."[625] He questioned, "What freedom is it if you will not even allow the dead bodies of the people's relatives to be cared for and looked after in the way they like? It is a memorial, not to freedom, but to rigid militarism; not in intention, but in effect."[626] His assessment of the Commission's plans evoked the specter of vanquished Germany and its stereotypical "Prussian militarism."

Despite these strenuous objections, the Parliamentary debate ended with endorsement of the Commission's authority which centered upon the way that it represented a united imperial polity. The Commission found its most passionate defender in the normally quiet Conservative MP for Westminster, William Burdett-Coutts.[627] He had consulted at length with Fabian Ware about the proposals and was utterly convinced that they were correct. As Commission critics asserted they would not "express only or mainly the personal sorrow of relatives."[628] Instead, the planned commemoration represented "a collective tribute by the Empire and the nation to those who all alike made the same sacrifice, to the same cause, and between whom, therefore, as individuals no

[620] Hansard 128 H.C. Deb. 5s. 4 May 1920, col. 1960. The Cecil family formed the locus of opposition to the Commission's plans. Scholars tend to regard them as asserting aristocratic privilege, which downplays the extent to which they genuinely believed the dead belonged to their families and which accepts the story handed down by Ware, the Commission, and its supporters. It also obscures the fact that the Cecils disliked and distrusted Ware, who, as editor of the *Morning Post* before the war publicly campaigned against Lords Hugh and Robert Cecil on the issue of tariff reform, see E.H.H. Green, *The Crisis of Conservatism*, 6. During the early years of the war, Lord Robert Cecil was Ware's superior at the Red Cross and directed it to provide information to families about the dead. Ware angered him by seeking out military support for the graves registration work and effectively removing it from Red Cross jurisdiction in late 1915.

[621] Ibid., col. 1960.

[622] Ibid., col. 1961.

[623] Ibid., col. 1962.

[624] Ibid., col. 1941. Yet another member of the Cecil family opposed to the Commission's plans, Viscount Wolmer's mother was Lady Beatrix Cecil, daughter of the former Prime Minister Lord Salisbury, and he was the nephew and Parliamentary Private Secretary of Lord Robert Cecil.

[625] Ibid., col. 1942.

[626] Ibid., col. 1942.

[627] The husband of the famous philanthropist and "richest heiress" in Victorian England, Angela Burdett-Coutts. William Ashmead Bartlett took her surname when they married in 1881.

[628] Ibid.. 1960.

distinction of rank, position, or means should be made apparent."[629] The Commission plans, he declared, reflected the soldiers' who fought the war, "embodying its unity in forces drawn from every island and continent under the British Flag, fused and welded into one, without distinction of race, colour, or creed, fighting, ready to die, and dying for one common cause that they all understood. It is that great union, both in action and in death, that the Commission seeks nobly to commemorate and make perpetual by its policy and design."[630] The Commission published his speech as a pamphlet and used it to garner public support for the ideal of equality of treatment in its imperial context.[631]

The Parliamentary debate ended in the Commission's favor primarily because of how effectively its defenders mobilized the rhetoric of imperial unity in support of its commemoration plans. Winston Churchill, the Secretary of State for War and ex-officio Chairman of the Commission, was its Parliamentary champion despite the fact that he too privately entertained skepticism and doubts about its plans.[632] Its project was timeless and necessary, he argued because, "even if our language, our institutions, and our Empire all have faded from the memory of man, these great stones will still preserve the memory of a common purpose pursued by a great nation in the remote past, and will undoubtedly excite the wonder and the reverence of a future age."[633] The Commission's work would endure, in Churchill's view, as a permanent marker of the British Empire even when the empire itself faded.[634] Churchill's speech managed to persuade his colleagues in the Commons, the skeptical *Times*, other newspapers, and broader public opinion.

Just as prominent people in both Houses of Parliament questioned and vehemently opposed the Commission's plan, there had been simultaneously a contentious public debate consisting of newspaper editorials, letters to the editor, and a petition with thousands of signatures.[635] Additionally, the Commission and the War Office received many poignant letters from less prominent people who simply wondered why they could not claim a relative's body. The Cecil family formed the locus of the public objections. In particular, Lady Florence Cecil, the wife of Lord William Cecil (the Bishop of Exeter) and sister-in-law to Lord Robert Cecil, lost three sons in the war and organized the petition against the Commission. She claimed in a letter to the *Spectator* to speak "in the name of the thousands of heartbroken parents, wives, brothers and sisters" against the Commission's plans.[636] Unlike reactions to government plans for the dead in the United States and continental Europe, there were substantial objections in Britain that centered upon the government's right to treat the dead in a way different from their families' wishes.

This impassioned criticism, led by such prominent people, remarkably went away very quickly. Following Burdett-Coutts and Churchill's speeches in the House of Commons, Parliament sanctioned the Commission plans and they would not be debated again. The very same obscure constitutional structure of the group that so angered some of its opponents managed to keep it somewhat insulated from its critics. Essentially the Commission was responsible to the Cabinet, the executive, and not really to the legislature at all. In order to oppose it fully, critics would have had to

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[629] Ibid.

[630] Ibid., col. 1936.

[631] Imperial War Graves Commission Add 1/ 1/10.

[632] Churchill's private doubts are mentioned in Laqueur, "Memory and Naming in the Great War" as well as other secondary sources.

[633] Hansard 128 H.C. Deb. 5s. 4 May 1920, col. 1971.

[634] Churchill ends up being very prescient because the Commission, in its reconstituted form as the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, and its cemeteries and monuments certainly outlasted the formal British Empire.

[635] Heffernan, "For Ever England," 302 demonstrates the connections between Parliamentary debates and subsequent letters to newspapers and public reactions.

[636] *The Spectator*, 1 February 1919.

deny the group funding entirely which would have been publicly perceived as dishonoring the dead and politically untenable. The constitutional structure of the Commission, therefore, made the outcome of the Parliamentary debate somewhat preordained. Most importantly, it was the rhetoric of imperial unity and the claim that collective monuments to the dead served a higher purpose than familial mourning that effectively silenced critics in both Houses and opponents in public.

IV. Architecture and an Imperial Commemoration Aesthetic

The Commission formulated many of its aesthetic, architectural, and design plans before the Parliamentary debates. It doggedly stuck with them despite so many attacks but nonetheless attempted to mollify critics and build consensus. Despite some exceptions and variations, the architecture and aesthetics of the cemeteries and monuments represented a British imperial style that emphasized the harmonious unity of the army raised from all parts of the Empire. Some specifically "national" monuments, most notably Canada's memorial at Vimy Ridge, contained their own unique symbols; but these were anomalous. Most cemeteries and memorials, even "national" ones like the South African memorial at Delville Wood and the Australian at Villiers-Bretonneux, emphasized the harmonious place of the Dominions within an imperial world system. The particular commemorative style the Commission constructed through its cemeteries and monuments manifested symbols of a united empire.

The Commission's three Principal Architects, Sir Herbert Baker, Sir Reginald Blomfield, and Sir Edwin Lutyens, designed the memorials as monuments to imperial unity in addition to sepulchers to honor the fallen soldiers. They frequently evoked classical architectural forms as well as Roman mythology, not to represent European enlightenment but to link the sites with the glory of a past empire. Baker, Blomfield, and Lutyens originated the distinctive architectural features of the cemeteries. The "Cross of Sacrifice" and the "Stone of Remembrance" in particular would be placed in nearly every larger cemetery and would become the recognizable symbols of British burial grounds of the Great War.[637]

The idea for a cross originally came from Baker, who wanted it to be the common design element of all the cemeteries; but, ultimately, Blomfield designed the version that the Commission chose. Baker imagined a symbol that would evoke the Christian tradition while simultaneously embodying the components of the Empire. He wanted a cross with a five-sided base shaft to represent the Dominions. Lutyens initially misunderstood the design, and, in his rush to criticize his rival, thought that he wanted a cross with five points. His wife disliked Baker's design as well, exclaiming, "[he] must be dotty! A five pointed cross for each of the colonies. Too silly. And India left out which will cause bitter hurt and what about the Jews and agnostics who hate crosses?"[638] In fact, Baker realized any cross shaped memorial would by definition not include India. He suggested the base of the Cross represent the five Dominions and a separate column would be erected for India with a unifying symbol, such as the Star of India, at the top.[639] India could neither be politically identified as a Dominion nor religiously represented with a cross. The initial discussion of the cross revolved around the need to incorporate the religious beliefs of a diverse empire.

Lutyens's dislike of the plans for the cross prompted him to suggest a design feature that was significantly less Christian although it attempted to incorporate religiosity into a common imperial

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[637] The inscription for the Cross of Sacrifice varied based on the cemetery. In one attempt to placate a prominent critic the Commission asked Lord Balfour of Burleigh to suggest an inscription for some Crosses.

[638] Clayre Percy and Jane Ridley, eds., *The Letters of Edwin Lutyens to his wife Lady Emily* (London: Collins, 1985), 352.

[639] Baker to Ware, 27 July 1917, Commonwealth War Graves Commission Archives; also in the Herbert Baker Papers, Royal Institute of British Architects, BaH/64/1.

aesthetic. He proposed a stone altar that would suggest "the thought of memorial Chapels in one vast cathedral whose vault is the sky."[640] His wife, who had a deep interest in theosophy and eastern religions, loved the idea, "'I am very keen on your stone. It appeals to my side of life—as houses don't and I see so much true symbolism in it.'"[641] One of the virtues of Lutyens's Stone was its appeal to a diverse range of religious and spiritual beliefs; it could be whatever appealed most to the viewer and thus incorporate the diverse beliefs of the peoples of the British Empire.

The Commission asked Sir Frederic Kenyon, the Director of the British Museum, to mediate the architects' proposals and produce a public report that synthesized a set of guiding principles. The essential feature of the designs would be to underscore equality of treatment because "where the sacrifice had been common, the memorial should be common also; and they desired that the cemeteries should be the symbol of a great Army and an united Empire."[642] Kenyon's report embraced the notion that the different common features of the cemeteries would take on different meanings depending on the perspective of the visitor. On Lutyens's recommendation for the Stone, Kenyon declared that the overriding feature would be its "character of permanence, as much as any work of man can hope for it."[643] "It would meet many forms of religious feeling," some visitors would see "a memorial stone, such as those of which we read in the Old Testament," while others would understand it as "an altar, one of the most ancient and general of religious symbols, and would serve as the centre of religious services."[644] Kenyon seemed disposed to the idea of it as an altar which "would represent one side of the idea of sacrifice, the sacrifice which the Empire has made of its youth, in the great cause for which it sent them forth."[645] Since the cross undoubtedly symbolized Christianity, the idea of sacrifice could be ecumenically constructed by omitting the cross from those cemeteries dedicated to Hindu, Muslim and Sikh soldiers of the Indian Army and including only the stone. Ultimately, no matter the meaning, uniformity would ensure "wherever this stone was found, it would be the mark, for all ages, of a British cemetery of the Great War."[646] Defining a consistent set of cemetery features created an imperial commemoration aesthetic even if individually their meanings could shift depending upon the visitor's perspective. Kenyon concluded that above all else, the final form of the design would "be alike honourable to those who lie in them and worthy of the Empire and the cause for which they fought."[647] Regardless of individual beliefs or nationalities, the architecture and aesthetics of the monuments could represent the entire imperial polity.

The Commission asked Rudyard Kipling to serve as its Literary Adviser and produce the inscriptions that would espouse similar ideals of common sacrifice and imperial unity. Kipling personified the Janus-faced purposes of the Commission itself: personally his only son John remained missing after the Battle of Loos in 1916 and publically he was regarded as the British Empire's "Poet Laureate." He wrote for the Commission behind the scenes, penning Burdett-Coutts's speech in the House of Commons during the Parliamentary debate which the Commission distributed to the public and numerous other publications. Kipling accompanied his friend, King George V; Fabian Ware; and other officials on a tour of the cemeteries in 1922.[648] Kipling

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[640] "Graveyards of the Battle Fields," Lutyens to Ware, 28 August 1917, Commonwealth War Graves Commission Archives.
[641] Percy and Ridley, *The Letters of Edwin Lutyens to his wife Lady Emily*, 355.
[642] Frederic Kenyon, *War Graves. How The Cemeteries Abroad Will Be Designed* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1918), 6.
[643] Kenyon, *War Graves*, 10.
[644] Ibid.
[645] Ibid.
[646] Ibid.
[647] Ibid., 24.
[648] Thomas Pinney, ed. *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling*, Vol. 5 (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2004), 120.

immortalized the journey itself by referring to it as "The King's Pilgrimage" and by writing a poem to accompany the Commission's book about the tour.[649] His wife confided to her diary that on the trip, "Rud feels most useful as between France and Britain and the Empire."[650] In his article about the journey, Kipling emphasized the connection between personal mourning and the greater Empire represented in the commemorative sites. He hoped "the bereaved from all parts of the Empire might find…occasion to make the same pilgrimage" as he, the King, and Ware made.[651] Beyond those whose relatives lay in the cemeteries, Kipling hoped "that the pilgrimage might be made even by those citizens of the Empire who suffered no personal loss."[652] Ultimately, he articulated the relation of the individual graves to the representation of the imperial polity, "each memorial, each cemetery, each individual grave is a joint tribute by a united Empire."[653] Kipling personified and expressed the connection between private grief and the Commission's plans for public monuments to imperial glory.

In his official capacity as the group's Literary Adviser, he chose the inscriptions for many of the monuments and endeavored to create a language of imperial mourning on the physical edifices and in printed accounts of the group's work. For the Stone of Remembrance, he chose "Their Name Liveth for Evermore," an obscure and apocryphal biblical verse that he selected instead of other possibilities that would potentially be offensive to non-Christians.[654] Kipling recognized and reinforced the connection between the physical work and the sense of imperial grandeur the cemeteries conveyed, remarking that the Imperial War Graves Commission completed "the biggest bit of concrete work since the Pyramids that man has ventured upon" and "also the largest bit of gardening undertaken in any country."[655] Kipling consulted with *The Times* as it prepared an account of the Commission's work to coincide with the tenth anniversary of the armistice. He directed the photography of the monuments and the layout of the pages to emphasize the enormity of sacrifice and to reinforce the common visual elements of the cemeteries. For one layout he asked *The Times* editor, "to fill the blank behind the Cross [of Sacrifice], is there any sense in the notion of an immense perspective of the Graves themselves, taken from some such Golgotha as Tyne Cot, or Etaples?"[656] The landscapes and images of the cemeteries themselves and their visual representations to the public relied upon Kipling's ideological constructions of imperial sacrifice. The Commission chose Kipling because of his literary reputation, his personal loss, and his connections to prominent people like the King. His work carried through the themes of common sacrifice and imperial unity present in the architecture.

Apart from the common aesthetics, several of Sir Herbert Baker's individual designs emphasize imperial unity. Even before the establishment of the Commission, Baker anticipated the shape of future war memorials in 1916. He believed, "the outcome of this war will be an uplifting of the ideals of our Nation and of our Empire" and expected post-war commemoration to reflect an imperial vision.[657] The memorials and monuments would become the grand buildings of the British Empire that would place it in the tradition of important civilizations of the past. In particular, the

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[649] The King's speech (also written by Kipling) and the poem were published in *The Times* of 15 May 1922.

[650] Pinney, ed. *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling*, Vol. 5, 120.

[651] Rudyard Kipling, "Revisions of a 'War Graves' Article," Rudyard Kipling Collection, Box 19, Syracuse University Library Special Collections.

[652] Ibid.

[653] Ibid.

[654] Laqueur, "Memory and Naming in the Great War."

[655] Kipling to Perry Robinson, 25 June 1928, Box 10, Rudyard Kipling Collection, Syracuse University Library Special Collections.

[656] Ibid.

[657] "Paper on National War Memorial," 1916, Herbert Baker Papers, Royal Institute of British Architects, BaH/64/1.

Memorial to the Indian Missing at Neuve Chapelle and the South African Memorial at Delville Wood embody much of Baker's imperial classicism by combining aesthetic styles and visual metaphors to Greece and Rome with imposing monumental columns. Although architecturally classicism can convey the ideals of the Enlightenment, Baker used it and combined it with mythological symbols and allegories to promote his vision of a harmonious imperial system across space and time and to represent the grandeur of the British Empire.

Baker's design of Neuve Chapelle manifested a hybridization of several styles meant to incorporate India into the British imperial aesthetic while representing collectively the war dead.[658] The site commemorated the names of 4,700 soldiers of the Indian Army who died in the war and had no known grave.[659] The unique design incorporated a slender column that Baker intended to evoke the pillars of King Asoka and followed from his general suggestions when he proposed a cross. *The Times* praised the memorial's representation of India, "As it is a monument to Indians representing a diversity of faiths, it contains no cross or Christian emblem, such as is usually associated with our memorials. It is conspicuous for its restraint."[660] Because it contained the standard "Stone of Remembrance" with its characteristic quotation, this element of the war cemeteries already symbolized not a religious marking but a more general British imperial one. It also contained, however, specific architectural elements that evoked India, such as a domed pavilion "or 'Chattri,' of the type familiar in India."[661] Between these elements and the column, the wall was pierced stone; but between the pavilion and stele, it was solid. On the solid portion, "the whole inside face is covered with tablets bearing the names of the dead grouped by regiments, and they represent all races, classes, and creeds in India."[662] The design seemingly harmonized these disparate elements in order to reproduce a vision of the British Empire that blended Indian and Western architectural styles much as Baker and Lutyens's attempted with their designs for the government buildings of Delhi.[663]

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[658] Barrett, "Subalterns at War," considers Neuve Chapelle an unrepresentative site of subaltern commemoration among the Commission's memorials precisely because it displayed Indian names, contrary to monuments outside Europe.

[659] As with many Commission sites, the numbers changed in the decades following the Great War. In 1964 210 new names were added because their interment site in what was then East Germany was used as a Soviet Army base. Also that year 8 Indian soldiers exhumed and cremated elsewhere in France were added. In 2010 39 names were removed because their "point of commemoration" (according to the Commonwealth War Graves Commission) changed to their place of cremation, Patcham Down, Sussex.

[660] "The Indians in France," *The Times*, 8 October 1927, 10.

[661] Ibid.

[662] Ibid.

[663] See Chapter 7, "New Delhi: The Beginning of the End" in Thomas Metcalf, *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989).
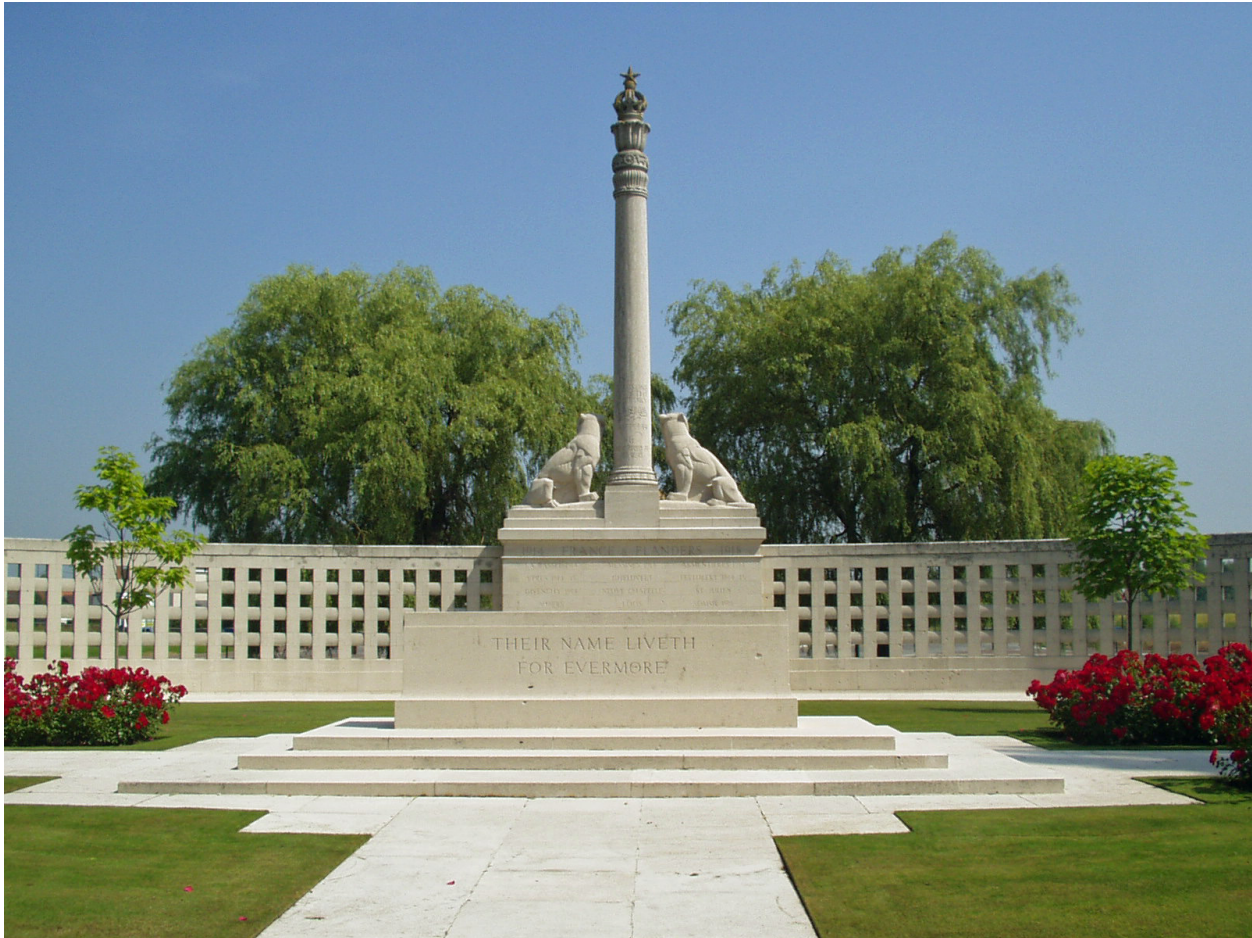
Figure 17: The Memorial to the Indian Missing at Neuve Chapelle. From the Commonwealth War Graves Commission.

Inscriptions on the monument besides the commonly used "Their Name Liveth for Evermore" reinforce the notion that Baker's intended to represent India as a part of the common imperial aesthetic. The column contained the inscription, "God is one. His is the victory," "with below similar, but not identical, texts in Arabic, Hindi, and Gurmukhi, which last is the language of the Sikhs. Facing it at the opposite side the great stele or panel was draped with Union Jacks."[664] Baker insisted that the phrase be reproduced in the three languages when other Commission officials wondered if they could economize by selecting a single language to represent India.[665] Finally, the design even managed to aestheticize an invented Indian medieval past that legitimated British imperial rule through carved panels with the crests representing the twelve provinces of India.

The unveiling ceremony, in 1929, reinforced a harmonious view of India within the British world order through a spectacle of imperial pageantry. According to the account in *The Times*, "It was a beautiful scene in the sunshine, with glitter of uniforms against green grass all ringed round with the dazzle of white walls, while an aeroplane, roaring overhead, stooped twice so low that seemed in danger of touching the top of the tall column with its Imperial Crown and Star of India."[666] The official representatives came mostly from Britain: Fabian Ware and others from the Commission; the Secretary of State for India; and several high-ranking British military officers. The

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[664] "The Indians in France," *The Times*, 8 October 1927, 10.

[665] Correspondence in the Commonwealth War Graves Commission archives and Herbert Baker's papers at the Royal Institute of British Architects, BaH/64/1. The controversy is also mentioned in Heffernan, "For Ever England."

[666] "The Indians in France," 10.

only named Indian present was the Majaraja Jagatjit Singh of Kapurthala, a highly decorated member of the Indian Army whose presence embodied much of what the British constructed in the loyal "martial races."[667] The other Indian participants were the soldiers on display who were "arranged as a Guard of Honour along the walls flanking the Union Jacks, and magnificent they looked, with their dark faces, brilliant head-dresses, and tunics ablaze with medals."[668] The Indian soldiers at the unveiling ceremony became living parts of the memorial and the commemorative landscape of Neuve Chapelle.

Just as the design and the ceremony constructed a hybridized vision of India in the imperial order so, too, did it evoke and represent the classical European past as another component of a modern vision of the British Empire. Even the animals in the monument contained this dual representation of India and Europe. Baker explained, "Guarding the base of the Column will be sculptured two erect tigers, they are reminiscent of the lions guarding the Treasury at Mycenae."[669] Lord Birkenhead, the Secretary of State for India, followed the aesthetic with classical allusions during his unveiling speech. Remarking how Indian troops fought in foreign lands, he declared, "Many a humble soldier…must have thought of his far-away village, sun-swept, unmenaced, and wondered what inscrutable purpose of whatever deity he worshipped had projected him into this sinister and bloody maelstrom."[670] Nevertheless, "Like the Roman legionary, they were faithful unto death."[671] Birkenhead used metaphors to Greece as well, declaring, "And so, too, in history, those whose valour was rendered immortal by Thucydides fought near to their homes and in a quarrel with known dangers. Nor did the Spartans who perished at Thermopylae offer their lives upon an issue obscurely understood."[672] Mentions of the classical past commonly inflect modern Western commemoration of war, but Birkenhead twisted the metaphors so that they did not valorize the "citizen soldiers" of democratic Athens or the Spartan defenders of Greek civilization against the Persians at Thermopolayae.[673] Instead, he presented loyal imperial soldiers dying away from home, not questioning their orders even though they knew not the cause for which they fought and perished.

Classical aesthetics formed an integral part of other memorials and similarly represented a united and triumphant British Empire. Baker's South African Memorial at Delville Wood utilized Castor and Pollux, the divine twins whom Romans believed aided them on the battlefield and whom the Greeks believed were the sons of Leda and brothers of Helen of Troy. At Delville Wood they represented the British and Dutch cultural heritage of white South Africa, united under a common imperial (and presumably immortal) crown. In Baker's explanation they "represent the two races of South Africa holding the War Horse…suggested by the well-known statues of Castor and Pollux on

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[667] The *Imperial Gazateer of India* (1908), 470 declared Jagatjit Singh's grandfather, Randhir Singh, "never hesitated or wavered" in his loyalty during the 1857 uprising. For a thorough examination of how the British military constructed and utilized the idea of "martial races" in India, see Heather Streets, *Martial Races: The Military, Race and Masculinity in British Imperial Culture 1857-1914* (Manchester University Press, 2004).

[668] "The Indians in France," 10.

[669] "Sent to the Times," Herbert Baker Papers, Royal Institute of British Architects, BaH/64/1.

[670] Lord Birkenhead's speech is quoted in *The Times*, "The Indians in France," 8 October 1927, 10. It is also reproduced in the Commonwealth War Graves Commission archives.

[671] "The Indians in France," 10.

[672] Ibid.

[673] Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address as well as the speech preceding it inaugurate this modern tradition of evoking classical Greece to honor the war dead. See Garry Wills, *Lincoln at Gettysburg: The Words that Made America* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992) and Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008) for discussions about how classicism gave meaning to the Union soldiers who died for the American Republic during the Civil War. The British utilized classical metaphors in discussions of the Crimean War dead as well, but consistently deployed them differently, not to evoke democratic ideals but to suggest valor and empire.

top of the steps leading to the Capitol at Rome."[674] His interpretation of the mythology provided an additional level of meaning to his design. Castor and Pollox, "the Great Twin Brethren came across the seas to fight the battles of Rome and thereafter were deified and consecrated in the constellation of the Gemini." [675] Similarly, "the twin nationalities of the Dutch and English in South Africa…came over-seas to fight for the Empire and their Allies in Europe."[676] In this formulation nationalities and races were united under a common imperial aesthetic.[677] The imagery also suggested the way that the British rule brought constitutional stability to South Africa. Baker explained, "The twin stars…were reputed to have the power to calm a stormy sea, and so the thought might be suggested that the day star of the British constitution has calmed the storm tossed waves of South African politics and thus released South Africans of both races to fight the battles of freedom overseas."[678] The memorialization of the dead could celebrate not only the British Empire's victory in the Great War but also the political structure that made such a triumph possible.

The architecture of Delville Wood brought the South African buildings that embodied the legacy of Dutch and British colonization to Europe. Baker, who spent many years in South Africa before the Great War, made the memorial's "walls terminate in two covered buildings designed in reminiscence of the Summer House built by the Dutch Governor, Van der Stell, on the slopes of Table Mountain above Groote Schuur, and preserved from decay by Cecil Rhodes."[679] That building at Delville Wood contained the names of the South African war dead that were commemorated in the memorial. Its design literally combined the war and home front through a blending of architectural elements. He explained, "Steps lead up to the flat top, as in Van der Stell's building, on which there will be dials to point the direction of the memorable places of the surrounding battlefields."[680] The architecture of the memorial served to link the important places of colonial South Africa with those of the Great War.

Not every one of the hundreds of Commission cemeteries and memorials contain these kinds of unmistakable allegories to imperial unity. Some like the Canadian memorial at Vimy Ridge and the Australian one at Villiers-Bretonneux were designed to be explicitly and exclusively national. However, the dedication ceremonies became imperial spectacles just like Neuve Chapelle. King Edward VIII dedicated the first of the "national memorials," Vimy, in 1936, five years after the Statute of Westminster gave full legislative equality to Canada and the other self-governing Dominions of the British Empire. Canadian sculptor Robert Allward designed it, thousands of Canadian veterans journeyed to France for the ceremony, and hundreds of thousands in Canada heard the King's speech at home over the radio. Travel and technology reinforced the relationship between Canada's sacrifice in the war and its place within the constitutional hierarchy of the British Empire. *The Times* art critic found what he deemed to be the Canadian style of the monument suspect and contrasted it with Commission designs by Lutyens and Blomfield. He wondered "if such a work can have the lasting appeal of more reserved and balanced memorials." In 1938 as he

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[674] "South African War Memorial Delville Wood," 29 April 1925, Herbert Baker Papers, Royal Institute of British Architects, BaH/64/1.

[675] Ibid.

[676] Ibid.

[677] Landscape architecture scholar Jeremy Foster argues that the design of Delville Wood "project[ed] a bifocal 'colonial nationalism' at a time when white identity and South African citizenship were at their most fluid," see "Creating a Temenos, Positing 'South Africanism': Material Memory, Landscape Practice and the Circulation of Identity at Delville Wood," *Cultural Geographies*, Vol. 11, No. 3, 259-290 (2004). However, Baker intended to represent racial and national harmony in South Africa for the glory of British imperial rule.

[678] "Sent to Sir P. Fitzpatrick before Unveiling Ceremony," 20 November 1926, Herbert Baker Papers, Royal Institute of British Architects, BaH/64/1.

[679] Ibid.

[680] Ibid.

unveiled one of the final Great War monuments at Villiers-Bretonneux, King George VI declared, "Its very surroundings are emblematic of that comradeship which is the watch-word of our British Empire."[681] The trip to France was George VI's first state visit; yet, at the unveiling he was the ceremonial host to France's President Leburn "in token of the fact that the cemetery is British Imperial soil."[682] Even memorials that seemed anomalous within the Commission's hundreds of commemoration sites contained elements that represented the vision of a united imperial polity.

Figure 18: King Edward VIII unveiling the Canadian National Memorial, Vimy Ridge, 26 July 1936. From Library and Archives of Canada, PA–148880

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[681] "Australia's War Memorial," *The Times*, 23 July 1938, 12.
[682] Ibid.

Figure 19: The unveiling of the Canadian National Vimy Memorial, Vimy Ridge, 26 July 1936. From Library and Archives Canada, PA-148873

Figure 20: The unveiling ceremony of the Australian War Memorial, Villers-Bretonneux, France, 22 July 1938. King George VI and Queen Elizabeth, Australian Deputy Prime Minister Earle Page (to the Queen's right) and French President Lebrun (extreme right). From the National Archives of Australia, AWM H17480.

The cemeteries and monuments themselves constituted a global network of sacred buildings, and represented the aesthetics of the British Empire at its height. They were also massive imposition on landscapes around the world. Contemporaries noted both of these aspects of the commemorative edifices. The Secretary of the Royal Horticultural Society, F.R. Durham, remarked to Fabian Ware upon his return from a tour of the newly completed sites around the world, "you have created a new Empire within and without the British Empire, an Empire of the Silent Dead."[683]

V. Bureaucratic Squabbles of an Imperial Agency: The Commission in the 1920s and 1930s

The successful completion of a global network of cemeteries and monuments that embodied imperial unity left the Commission with the task of providing for ongoing maintenance. Ware wanted an endowment fund that would provide an annual income to conduct this ongoing work in part to evade Treasury control over its budget permanently. The Commission's status outside the usual hierarchy of the British Government placed it in conflict with the Treasury at the same moment when the finance department consolidated its supremacy over the Civil Service through the conclusions of the Haldane Commission and the tenure of Sir Warren Fisher as its Permanent

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[683] Quoted in Longworth, *The Unending Vigil*, 130 and in Heffernan, "For Ever England," 310.

Secretary from 1919 to 1939. The particular flashpoints, multiple disputes about Fabian Ware's salary and about the operation and management of the Commission's Endowment Fund emanated from the group's unique position as an imperial agency. In pressing the Commission's claims, Fabian Ware and others (particularly Sir Laming Worthington-Evans, the Secretary of State for War from 1924 to 1929) frequently relied upon the idea of the Dominions as equal partners with the Mother Country as well as the Dominions' aversion to control by Westminster. Thus, the controversies of the Commission during the 1920s and 1930s represent a case of imperial politics that differs from conventional narratives of the civil service in Whitehall. They also reveal the highly contested nature of the Commission's commemoration project as well as how it involved the representation of imperial unity. If the Treasury had prevailed in these disputes the British Empire's war cemeteries would have looked drastically different.[684] Ware consistently triumphed because he effectively played imperial politics and he appealed to the overseas Dominions whenever others in the home government challenged his approach.

The Treasury initially supported the notion of paying for the care of the war dead. It also supported Ware and Commission policies during the early years of the group's operation. Although the exchequer expressed some trepidation at the Commission's initial proposals in 1918 and 1919, the debate centered not on whether graves should be maintained at public expense but on how much money should be allocated and how it should be administered. The Treasury and its Controller of Supply Services, Sir George Barstow, defended Ware and the Commission in 1921 when he suggested that they should be exempted from most of the provisions of the "economy circular" designed to trim government expenditures.[685] Barstow described Ware and the Commission Secretary, Colonel Ellissen, as "extremely Treasury-minded" and praised the way that they consulted the finance ministry "beforehand as to all proposals involving expenditure."[686] The bitter conflict between the Commission and the Treasury was not about a difference of principle on the idea of the government paying for soldiers' graves. Rather, it evolved during the 1920s as a result of differing visions for government administration and a clash of personalities.[687]

Beginning in late 1924, the Treasury became increasingly critical of the Commission and Ware increasingly relied upon his group's status as an imperial department to outmaneuver them. At the height of the antagonism in late 1926, the Treasury produced a memorandum, "Some Grounds of Complaint Against Commission," that elaborated fourteen distinct grievances and accused Ware of incompetence, mismanagement, and abusing his position for personal enrichment.[688] Ware overcame the accusations, retained his post, and excised the factually correct complaints from the historical record. He accomplished this because of the support he enjoyed from the Dominions and the manner in which he expertly evoked the specter of imperial disunity if he were to be sanctioned

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[684] Fabian Ware's account in *The Immortal Heritage* (1937) predictably mentions nothing of the controversy and only presents his positions as the most logical choices. Philip Longworth, *The Unending Vigil* (1967), 137-142, provides a more thorough look at the correspondence, but he casts the Treasury as the villains and Ware and the Commission as the heroes solely concerned with caring for the dead. Instead, this chapter argues that two competing visions of governance, one imperial and one domestically focused, clashed because there was general agreement that the state should care for the graves of dead soldiers.

[685] "LAND. Burial Grounds: Imperial War Graves Commission; Application of Economy Circular," TNA: PRO T 161/135.

[686] Ibid. Barstow also recognized that the Treasury "cannot therefore treat the Commission as an ordinary government department." He sympathized with Ware personally and implied in the memorandum that Ware was dissatisfied with the Secretary of State for War as Chairman of the Commission.

[687] Heffernan, "For Ever England: the Western Front and the Politics of Remembrance in Britain," follows from Longworth, *The Unending Vigil* and characterizes the Treasury as balking at the cost. They clearly did but more significant is why they objected when they did.

[688] TNA: PRO T 161/1272.

or removed from the Commission.

Controversies about the Endowment Fund for perpetual maintenance of the war cemeteries began simultaneously in the mid 1920s after Ware raised the issue with the Secretary of State for War. Since the work on the cemeteries had progressed more efficiently and economically than the Commission itself estimated, he felt the group was well positioned to ask for more money. He wanted to avoid the "bitterness" of the Parliamentary debate and argued that the Commission's principles of uniformity and equality of treatment were at risk.[689] He thought the Treasury would be the greatest obstacle because the Commission was "not in the position of an ordinary English department."[690] Ware believed the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Cabinet should decide the issue at a ministerial level as a way of circumventing the civil servants at the Treasury. Ultimately, he concluded his appeal by stressing that he served "all the participating Governments." Nevertheless, he could not help "feeling that the Mother Country should lead rather than be urged by the Dominions in commemorating these dead fittingly and permanently."[691] Britain would be a first among equals ideally; but in reality the claim used the relative power of the Dominion representatives on the Commission to pressure home government ministers to support his plans.

The Commission's unique position as an imperial organization led its ability to outmaneuver Treasury control. While the Haldane Committee on the machinery of government codified the Treasury's Permanent Secretary as the Head of the Civil Service in 1919, Fabian Ware and his group were civil servants of a quasi-governmental department that was not accountable to the finance ministry.[692] Ware frequently appealed directly to the Cabinet on contentious issues. This antagonized Treasury bureaucrats because it circumvented them and allowed the Commission to leverage the threat of complaining to the Dominions. By insisting on using more expensive British labor overseas, the Commission conducted its work in a manner at odds with the dominant "Treasury view" of public expenditure, works projects, and unemployment during the 1920s and 1930s.[693]

Treasury objections to Fabian Ware's salary and "emoluments" reveal the intersection of personal conflict, departmental disputes, and the unique position of the Commission as an imperial agency.[694] In 1919 the Commission initially appointed Ware with the annual salary of £2,500.[695] In contrast, the Secretary of the Board of Trade earned £1,800, the Chief Commissioner of the Charity Commission earned £1,500, and the Commissioner of Crown Lands £1,200. The Treasury pointed out that no one in a similar position in the civil service earned over £2,000 annually. In 1926 the Commission decided to give Ware a pension which caused considerable consternation. Ware's high

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[689] "Memorandum from Fabian Ware to Secretary of State for War," 1 December 1924, TNA: PRO WO 32/3145. The Commission required a £5 million endowment, approximately 80% of the fund would come from the United Kingdom and the other 20% from the rest of the Empire in proportion with their numbers of dead. The fund would provide income of approximately £220,000 per year.

[690] Ibid.

[691] Ibid.

[692] On the Treasury's role following the Great War, see G.C. Peden, *The Treasury and British Public Policy, 1906-1959*, 130; and on the position of the Treasury head among the Civil Service see the definitive account of its first Permanent Secretary to assume that role, E. O'Halpin, *Head of the Civil Service: A study of Warren Fisher* (1989).

[693] The "Treasury view," a somewhat nebulous concept, emphasized economy and reduction of government expenditure (whether it actually achieved these goals is arguable). It tended to be "even more concerned when confronted with a proposal for expenditure that would not produce an economic asset like a road or a harbour," according to G.C. Peden, *The Treasury and British Public Policy, 1906-1959*, 184.

[694] Even the Treasury's use of this term reveals a certain skepticism and condescension because while "salary" is defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary* as "Fixed payment made periodically to a person as compensation for regular work," "emolument" is "Profit or gain arising from station, office, or employment; dues; reward, remuneration, salary. Although nearly synonymous, "emolument" connotes something slightly inappropriate.

[695] Stanley Baldwin wanted Ware's salary to be £1,500, while Austen Chamberlain, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, thought £2,000 fair in deference to the fact that Ware was leaving his lucrative post at the Rio Tinto Mining Company.

salary had already included extra compensation in lieu of a pension.[696] Sir Warren Fisher personally expressed the Treasury's "special repugnance" at the arrangement.[697] One official declared, "We have here another device produced by Sir Fabian Ware with a view of feathering his nest at the expense of his country and the Dominions."[698] The Treasury could do nothing except complain to the Secretary of State for War and the Cabinet because the Commission was an independent agency.[699]

In the opinion of Treasury officials, Ware's salary was endemic of the larger problem presented by the Commission existing outside of the usual structure of government that it controlled. It suggested, "the whole constitution of the IWGC will have to be looked into afresh by the Government and some machinery devised whereby its expenditure is regulated according to the general standards applicable throughout the rest of the Public Service."[700] Although the Secretary of State for War was "anxious not to get into controversy with the Treasury," he defended the amount of Ware's pension and the Commission's independent position.[701]

Ware effectively used his position of trust with the Dominion Governments to secure the support of the Cabinet and to counter the aims of the Treasury bureaucrats. The finance ministry acknowledged, "there is no doubt that Major General Sir Fabian Ware, KCVO, KBE, CB, CMG, has a very great hold over the Commission, and can pull strings with anyone in the world."[702] In addition, it considered that "the Commission attach[es] great importance to his continuing in office owing to their immediate ignorance of any suitable successor likely to please all the Dominion interests concerned."[703] Nevertheless, when the Commission proposed to continue Ware's employment contract in 1934, the Treasury pointed out that Ware's salary had always been high and the government only rarely employed civil servants "to so late an age as 65, and it is altogether exceptional for them to stay in office after 65."[704] Only for "special circumstances" could an exception be made, and "this can hardly be said of the case of Sir Fabian Ware."[705] The Commission had completed its difficult work of policy decisions and cemetery construction and the Treasury could conjure no other justification for Ware's continued employment other than his personal relationships with the Dominion representatives.

Ware showed himself at times to be a shrewd leader pressing the Commission's case with those ministers who held political power; but, in other correspondence, he appeared frustrated and petulant. In either style the interactions between the Dominions and the British Government formed the basis of his political leverage. Frustrated that the British government had made no commitments to the Endowment Fund by the summer of 1925 he declared, "we are for all practical purposes exactly where we were in spite of the Cabinet's definitely expressed wishes in March and April: we have no guarantee worth twopence from the British Govt which we can give to the

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[696] IWGC Finance Committee meeting minutes, 27 July 1926, Report of the 135th Meeting, 13/H26/332/S1.

[697] S.30701, 23 November 1926, TNA: PRO T 161/1272.

[698] Ibid.

[699] See TNA: PRO T 161/1272. The Cabinet did not preserve notes of the meeting, which the Treasury decried. The Chancellor reported that the Cabinet considered the salary a fait accompli, but the Cabinet affirmed the principle that it collectively should direct the official British representatives on the Commission.

[700] Treasury to Sir Laming Worthington-Evans, 16 September 1926, TNA: PRO T 161/1272.

[701] Sir Laming Worthington-Evans to Sir Warren Fisher, 19 October 1926, TNA: PRO T 161/1272. Either intentionally or not he missed the essence of the complaint about Ware receiving a double benefit and steadfastly maintained that the Commission should remain independent.

[702] Treasury Memorandum, 12 December 1933, TNA: PRO T 161/1272.

[703] Ibid.

[704] Ibid.

[705] Ibid.

Dominion Govts or to the relatives."[706] It was the Dominions and not the relatives with whom Ware frequently consulted. He successfully gained the confidence of the prime ministers of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand and used their support to pressure the home Cabinet when he thought it would advance his claims. W.L. Mackenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, wrote in support of the plan and Ware immediately passed it along to the War Office and Treasury, claiming it had been "unsolicited" on his part.[707] Conversely, he would often raise the possibility of upsetting the leaders of the Dominions in order to make his points, "If, on the other hand, the Treasury are to shut themselves up and produce a Bill 'twixt sleeping and waking in which we shall have no say until it is introduced in the House there will be an awful row with the Commission."[708] Presumably the Commission members who would be displeased were the Dominion representatives.

Ware's appeal to the Cabinet produced the British Endowment Fund Bill that passed Parliament in June 1926 and Worthington-Evens congratulated him "on overcoming all opposition…on a proper basis of Imperial Co-operation."[709] The Endowment Fund still depended on the British Government making its annual contributions, initially £50,000 and increasing as the Commission's construction expenses decreased. During the late 1920s and 1930s the Treasury attempted several times to reduce or postpone the British contribution. The Cabinet overruled them on several occasions, explaining that the "Imperial and sentimental considerations involved" outweighed Treasury concerns.[710]

These administrative disputes with the Treasury during the Commission's first two decades of existence came about not because the financial bureaucrats were disinterested in the state obligation to keep up the graves of dead soldiers but rather because they vehemently disagreed with Ware and the Commission. Especially irksome to the Treasury was the fact that the Commission legally existed outside of the regular channels of government that it so expertly controlled during the post-war period. Similarly, Ware overcame Treasury objections to his personal position with the group and to his plans for its financial autonomy by adeptly exploiting imperial politics and evoking the anxieties of imperial disunity.

VI. The Second World War: An Expanding Scope but "the Same Sacrifice"

In 1937 Fabian Ware published a celebratory account of the Commission's first two decades, *The Immortal Heritage*; and, at the outbreak of the Second World War, the British contributions to the Endowment Fund neared completion. Despite the upheaval of the new conflict, the Commission's activities remained inflected with the original ideals of representing imperial unity that shaped its efforts during the 1920s and 1930s. There was continuity in leadership since Ware remained Vice-Chairman and reassumed his military role as Director of Graves Registration and Enquiries. Many of Ware's deputies and advisers also remained the same. Aesthetically and stylistically the imperializing decision was that the new circumstances of the present war should be incorporated in the practices developed out of the Great War.

The Commission formulated many of these plans during the period of "phony war" prior to the fall of France. Ware, Frederic Kenyon, and Edwin Lutyens decided that there would be no new styles of headstones or radically different monuments to distinguish the conflicts. In November, 1939, Kenyon presided over a committee to discuss the idea of a new headstone design. The group

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[706] Fabian Ware to Sir Laming Worthington-Evans, 26 July 1925, TNA: PRO WO 32/3145.
[707] Letter from W.L. Mackenzie King to Fabian Ware, 25 March 1925, TNA: PRO WO 32/3145.
[708] Fabian Ware to Sir Laming Worthington-Evans, 12 February 1926, TNA: PRO WO 32/3145.
[709] Cited in Longworth, *The Unending Vigil*, 139.
[710] TNA: PRO WO 32/3145.

disagreed somewhat about whether the new war should keep the same symbols as the previous one. Lutyens settled the dispute and succinctly explained the rationale for this decision. The Commission should "keep the same headstones, the same monuments" because "in a hundred years time 1914 and 1939 will all be part of one war. It is certainly the same sacrifice for the same cause."[711] Somewhat remarkably, before most of the major events of the war, the Commission's leadership already decided on an interpretive slant for how their commemorative efforts would present the conflict. A Supplemental Charter of March 1940 explicitly approved this idea and declared that those involved "universally approved" of the idea.[712]

Distinctive features of the Second World War, especially those that came to define it in the public consciousness following the spring of 1940, had to be fit into these parameters. Ware became increasingly concerned with the deaths of civilians and wanted the Commission's authority extended to their burial and commemoration.[713] For most of the war the military, the Commission, and civilians contested exactly who should be entitled to receive "war grave" status. Ultimately, in August, 1945, the War Office asked the Commission to produc a memorandum to clarify "the policy regarding the burial of civilians in Military Cemeteries and who are entitled to be classified as 'war graves.'"[714] Since the Secretary of State for War remained the Commission's ex-officio Chairman and could have imposed a policy, the negotiation and deference to the Commission reveals how successfully Ware's group asserted its independence as an imperial agency. The three-page list of categories of those who qualified included those organizations "represented on the Council of Voluntary War Work."[715] Newspaper correspondents qualified as well. Civilians dying in Britain itself, in particular the victims of the Blitz, did not receive the "war grave" classification. Yet, by contrast, those "unidentifiable bodies washed or brought ashore in the United Kingdom, in default of evidence to the contrary, are presumed by the Commission to be" entitled to war graves.[716] Some British civilians dying overseas qualified as well. Even as the scope of its authority expanded, the Commission maintained a distinction between fatalities of the war in the British Isles and those overseas.[717]

Its plans perpetuated the veneration of names as a form of commemoration for the civilian victims of the war in Britain. It could not claim their bodies for imperial monuments but it could record their names. In September, 1940, Ware wrote to Churchill, "The deliberate slaughter" of civilians was "creating a new category of normal war casualties" which the Commission could not ignore "if the higher purposes inspiring their work" remained central to their mission.[718] Ware sought support for the principle that civilians' sacrifice would be counted as an equal one. Churchill responded with a vague agreement that Ware amplified in his dealings with others in government who passionately resisted recording civilian fatalities for fear that it would be demoralizing or aid the enemy. Ultimately, the Commission decided to record the names of civilian victims along with details of their lives and deaths in a roll of honor that would be placed in Westminster Abbey after the war.

Commission attempts to retain the architectural styles and aesthetics of the earlier memorials

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[711] Hussey, *Lutyens*, p 566; also cited in Longworth, *The Unending Vigil*, 163.

[712] Cited in Longworth, *The Unending Vigil*, 163.

[713] See TNA: PRO WO 230/169.

[714] GHQ MEF 7592/AG2, 5 August 1945, TNA: PRO WO 230/169.

[715] Ibid.

[716] Ibid.

[717] This distinction is repeated in Commission policies toward more clearly identifiable soldier dead that were killed in the British Isles, whether from air raids or other causes. Their families generally had the ability to claim their bodies and specify a place of burial.

[718] Cited in Longworth, *The Unending Vigil*, 173.

in order to represent imperial unity also came under strain. By the 1950s new cemeteries in North Africa and Southeast Asia as well as their unveiling ceremonies remarkably represented imperial spectacles and pageantry during a decade punctuated by the Suez Crisis and a British "retreat from empire" around the world.[719] Dropping the "Imperial" from its name in 1960, the Commonwealth War Graves Commission became seemingly less strident after the Second World War though it did not change its principles for the care of dead.[720]

The cemetery at Medjez-el-Bab near Tunis and its unveiling ceremony in November 1957 reveal the persistence of the Commission's style for the care of the dead despite the changed circumstances of Britain in the world during the post-war period. The Royal Navy provided ships to carry hundreds of official guests, spectators, and ceremony participants from Gibraltar to the area and the military provided accommodations for them.[721] A total of 185 military personnel participated in the ceremony directly as guards of honor and musicians, and fifteen military vehicles were shipped to Tunisia. The Ceremony and the "unveiling of these Memorials in the various theatres of the last war are to commemorate those who have no known grave. They are Ceremonies of considerable significance, are broadcast live and the proceedings must therefore be conducted faultlessly. For the Ceremonies at Hong Kong, Nairobi and Singapore the military arrangements, under War Office guidance, were conducted by the Command concerned."[722] Broadcasting the ceremonies in Britain became an additional part of the commemoration spectacle as a way to placate families and members of the public who might want the bodies returned.

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[719] See John Darwin, *Britain and Decolonisation: The Retreat from Empire in the Post-War World* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988)

[720] Longworth *The Unending Vigil*, 194 ascribes this change to Fabian Ware's retirement in 1947 and death in 1948. He characterizes it as a period in which "there was no one to manipulate public opinion, and the Commission did not seek to. No longer dynamic, political and exciting, it was content to guard its traditions. In a sense the Commission was responding to changes in the public mood. This was a new, practical Britain in quest of a physical Utopia, absorbed by the demands of the living. Even the idea of Empire had lost its force. The elements of jingoism, which Ware had to large extent succeeded in transmuting into gentler, worthier sentiments, were fast disappearing."

[721] TNA: PRO WO 32/16937

[722] "Minutes of a Meeting held at 1600 Hours Friday 6 September 1957 at the Tunisian Ministry of Foreign Affairs," Appendix A to 45/Gen/370 PS 12(c), TNA: PRO WO 32/16937.

Figure 21: The Medjez-el-Bab Cemetery with Cross of Sacrifice and Stone of Remembrance. From the Commonwealth War Graves Commission.

Commission officials planned the Medjez-el-Bab unveiling meticulously using the standard format for these events. Despite the months of advance preparation, it ended up somewhat of a mess and unintentionally revealed some of the Commission's ideological priorities. Torrential rain prevented the ceremony from occurring as planned on November 16, 1957. It was rescheduled for several days later but not before the family members of the dead had returned to Britain. Although the weather was uncontrollable, the incident lays bare the extent to which families actually did not factor highly in the ceremonies of the 1950s. In the official report the Commission's man on the spot remarked, "Perhaps the only tragedy insofar as the ceremony was concerned, was the fact that the 200 relatives who had been brought out to Tunis by the British Legion, returned to England the very morning of the ceremony, in fact, their aeroplane flew over the cemetery only an hour before the actual ceremony commenced."[723] They flew to Tunisia as part of a tour organized by the British Legion, with most paying their own passage. By contrast, the official delegation and VIP guests as well as the hundreds of military personnel, including those whom the Commission wanted, "for the sake of the broadcast," "to attend the Ceremony to add volume to the singing" attended at the government's expense.[724] The Commission intended the ceremony to be an instance of imperial

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[723] TNA: PRO WO 32/16937

[724] "Letter to Army Assistant Adjutant-General," 29 October 1957, TNA: PRO WO 32/16737; CWGC A.52/24/31.

spectacle and pageantry and to be broadcasted on BBC audio and television. The presence of family members of the deceased was incidental.

Similarly, at the unveiling of the Singapore Memorial earlier in 1957, families were totally absent from the program which still represented an ideal of global imperial unity. The Commission did not invite them to attend because it assumed the distance from Britain would be too great and would prevent them from coming. It explained, "For the ceremonies at Hong Kong and Nairobi no invitations were extended, largely owing to the expense involved and owing to the difficulty of arranging for next-of-kin to attend."[725] Unveiling ceremonies were meant to be official events for British political and military leaders and for local representatives. Having families there simply was not worth the Commission's effort or expense. The Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Singapore, Sir Robert Black, situated the local site as part "of a great chain of memorials which the Imperial War Graves Commission are building stretching half way round the world – from Hong Kong and the Pacific Islands in the East through Singapore, Rangoon, Delhi, Karachi, Alamein, Malta, Cassino, Bayeux and Runnymede to Ottawa in the West – in commemoration of soldiers and airmen who have no known grave."[726] Along with their inscriptions and texts, these monuments "tell us why this multitude of men and women, of differing faiths and races but united in the service of their King, were faithful unto death."[727] Black's unveiling speech, like that of Lord Birkenhead at the Neuve Chapelle ceremony exactly thirty years earlier, represented the sites as imperial monuments that manifested in stone a united and victorious British Empire.

VII. Conclusion: Post-Imperial Commemoration

After constructing the Second World War cemeteries and memorials in the 1950s, the Imperial War Graves Commission became solely a caretaker and no longer sought to use dead soldiers to represent the united British Empire. The organization itself substituted "Commonwealth" for "Imperial" in its name to reflect the changed position of Britain in the world. It is somewhat surprising that the group with its technical expertise at caring for dead soldiers and memorializing them, did not assume responsibility for any of them from conflicts after the Second World War.

The Commission's core principle of burying the war dead overseas officially ended as British government policy on March 14, 1967. Merlyn Rees, the Labour Under-Secretary of State for the Royal Air Force, announced that all dead soldiers would be repatriated to Britain. Burying them away from home no longer seemed like the proper way to honor their sacrifice as the Commission had argued following the Great War. Instead, returning them home seemed to solve a "human problem," Rees told the House. The military, not the Commission, would be responsible for them and would "offer next-of-kin the opportunity, at public expense, either to attend the military funeral or to repatriate the body for private burial to the United Kingdom and Irish Republic, where circumstances allow this to be done."[728] Nevertheless, despite this humane approach, Rees emphasized that "the new arrangements must be regarded as a privilege and not a right."[729] Specifically centered on "meet[ing] the wishes of the Serviceman's family when it is faced by bereavement," the new policy differed fundamentally from the Commission's ideology.[730] Despite its public rhetoric, families had always been a peripheral concern to the use of the dead to represent imperial unity. Centering the new policy on their needs and wishes provided another signal of the

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[725] TNA: PRO WO 32/16935

[726] Ibid.

[727] TNA: PRO WO 32/16935

[728] Hansard 743 H.C. Deb. 5s. 14 March 1967, col. 255.

[729] Ibid.

[730] Hansard 743 H.C. Deb. 5s. 14 March 1967, col. 256.

end of the Commission's approach to commemorating fallen soldiers.

This shift in policy coincided with the bloody and protracted British withdrawal from Aden, the "Emergency" of the 1960s. Although the scale and name of the conflict differed from the World Wars, soldiers gave their lives in service of their country all the same. The Aden Emergency became both a sign and a signal of the new meaning of the dead. It presented a challenge to the new policy of repatriation that reveals the changed relationship between the British public and the war dead during the end of empire period and that underscores the difference with the policies of the Commission.

On June 20, 1967, the South Arabian Army and Police "mutinied," in the British Army's term and killed twenty-two British soldiers. Twelve of them were in one location ("Crater") that the British temporarily evacuated. The lack of security and uncertainty of the situation made it difficult to recover the bodies, and

> The questions of the repatriation of bodies and the presence of relatives at the funeral were considered, but in view of the fact that the facilities for cold storage and embalming were limited, the Crater bodies were certainly in bad condition and the conditions in Aden were not suitable for the reception of relatives, it was decided that all 22 bodies would be buried in the British Military Cemetery, Silent Valley, Little Aden.[731]

Although the solution seemed logical to the military there as well as to the Ministry of Defense staff in Whitehall, they acknowledged soon after the incident, "Repatriation of bodies/ashes is becoming increasingly sensitive" for the public.[732] Members of Parliament, the press, and the public advocated bringing the dead soldiers home. Political leadership in turn questioned why the military could not comply with the 14 March directive.

The upper echelon of the British Middle East Command considered it a trivial concern compared with operational conditions and felt that the politicians did not understand the consequences of their orders. The condition of the bodies presented an obstacle to repatriation. Exhumation "of a body which is still decomposing can only be described as ghastly and utterly revolting. Everyone who has been previously involved in work of this nature (including the Senior Chaplain and the Senior Medical Officer here) is completely opposed to it, particularly to troops being implicated."[733] Additionally, no one would "undertake the work of exhumation. Certainly no Arab will undertake it. The very idea is revolting to them. I really do not think I can invite British soldiers to dig up the remains of their comrades. I have asked a lot from them already, but I believe this to be too much."[734] Yet, decades earlier this kind of work happened regularly in France and elsewhere to construct the cemeteries of the Great War. Furthermore, there was "the spiritual/religious aspect."[735] Evoking Rupert Brooke's famous poem, General Tower asked the War Office to "remember, of course, 'there is some corner of a foreign land that is forever England'" and he questioned, "Have these famous lines lost all meaning for us?"[736]

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[731] "D.R.E. Hopkins to Head of AG Secretariat," July, 1967, TNA: PRO WO 32/21441.

[732] "War Office to General Tower," 29 June 1967, TNA: PRO WO 32/21441. The War Office later apologized to General Tower for the lengthy correspondence about repatriation of bodies, blaming the political leadership.

[733] TNA: PRO WO 32/21441.

[734] "Letter from General Philip Tower to Major General P.H. Man," 22 July 1967, TNA: PRO WO 32/21441.

[735] Ibid.

[736] Ibid.

Figure 22: The funeral of the soldiers killed in the uprising in Aden, June 1967 at the British Military Cemetery, Silent Valley. These are some of the last British soldiers to be buried overseas, and the contestation over their burials revealed the way that the imperial style of commemoration became no longer tenable during decolonization. From TNA: PRO WO 32/21441.

They had not as much lost their meaning as they had changed their meaning for the British public and the world. The withdrawal from Aden also marked one of the first instances that the image of British war cemeteries represented the imperial past. *The Times* report on quitting Aden began, "Beside the road is Silent Valley, a British military cemetery where lie 132 men—one man, it might with full reverence be said, for each year of British blood, sweat, and tears in South Arabia. A Union Jack flies in the centre and a white cross stands as a landmark on a mound of rock. Two granite needle peaks of the Aden hills seem to pierce the sky."[737] The image of the Cross of Sacrifice and the other features of the cemetery blended into the physical landscape.

The changed meanings and understandings of the war dead in the late 1960s and 1970s relegated the mode of memorialization inaugurated by the Imperial War Graves Commission in 1917 to the past. Fabian Ware and those who worked with him to establish the policies and practices of the Imperial War Graves Commission following the Great War intended them to represent a united imperial polity. The organizational structure, aesthetics, and operation of the group as well as its conflicts with other government departments came about because of a desire to create a specifically British imperial representation of the war dead. Strained during the Second World War, the policies endured until the 1960s and 1970s when they became no longer tenable. The way that

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[737] Jerome Caminada, "British Quit Little Aden," *The Times*, 13 September 1967, 4.

the Commission cemeteries began to represent the past, the excising of "empire" from them, and the depoliticization of the cemeteries were artifacts of the end of the British Empire. Following the 1970s, British war dead became increasingly identified with home and family. Bringing them home for decent burial, rather than leaving them overseas to form grand monuments, seemed self-evident even though it was a newly invented tradition of post-imperial commemoration.

Epilogue

Hundreds gathered in July 2010 for the dedication of first new cemetery constructed by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission in fifty years. Officials timed the ceremony to coincide with the ninety-forth anniversary of the Battle of Fromelles that took place on July 19, 1916 and had been the first major engagement of Australian troops on the Western Front. In 2009 an archaeological firm uncovered over two hundred fifty bodies grouped together in a mass grave. Despite the painstaking efforts following the Great War to locate the dead, these had not been found. The Commission understood that they had been buried by the "enemy…with speed and efficiency, and while there is evidence that care was taken over this unpleasant task, it was obvious that these were battlefield graves speaking nothing of final rest."[738] Once the bodies had been uncovered, "The Australian and British governments quickly agreed that there was only one course of action possible; the bodies would be carefully recovered from the pits, attempts would be made to identify them and they would at last be laid to rest, with dignity and respect, in a new cemetery, built exclusively for the purpose, nearby."[739] The Commission combined the technical expertise of early twenty-first century forensic science with the bureaucratic and administrative precedents of the past. Bodies identified through DNA matching as well as more traditional means of object identification received marked headstones. Those remains that could not be identified had their headstones inscribed "Known Unto God." The cemetery space incorporated the iconic architecture of Commission spaces of the dead, including the Cross of Sacrifice. Dignitaries such as the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Kent, and the Governor-General of Australia presided over the ceremony.

The resulting scene manifested numerous ideological choices as obvious as it seemed to the Australian and British governments how to care for these dead soldiers and as readily equipped as the Commission was to implement its commemorative style. First, although many families of the dead attended and participated in the ceremony, their claims to the bodies of their ancestors remained abrogated. None of the dead would return for burial in Australia or anywhere else. Second, France donated the land for the cemetery to Britain, Australia, and the Commission in perpetuity as it had for numerous other burial sites from the Great War. Soldiers' deaths consecrated battlefield land that then belonged to the nation and to the empire. Third, the ceremonial pageantry of commemoration reinforced seemingly dormant connections between the British monarchy, the military, and the Australian nation.

The Fromelles cemetery and unveiling demonstrated strikingly similar themes as those from the periods following the First and Second World Wars. Although the British monarchy no longer positioned itself as head of a united imperial polity as George V, Edward VIII, and George VI had done at ceremonies in the 1920s and 1930s, the Duke of Kent (George V's grandson) serves as President of the Commission and the Prince of Wales, the heir to the throne, attended the dedication of a memorial to Australian soldiers. Quentin Bryce, Australia's Governor-General, referred to the dead as "our diggers."[740] In actuality the Commission's commemoration regime made the Fromelles dead, as well as millions more from the world wars belong to the empire, the nation, and the regiment in addition to the widow, the father and the mother. The 2010 ceremony demonstrates how ingrained this memorial style became considering that no one raised the kind of objections that the Commission initially faced when it initially enacted these policies.[741]

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[738] "Reaction and Response – The Next Step," *Remembering Fromelles*, Commonwealth War Graves Commission website [ONLINE http://www.cwgc.org/fromelles/scripts/download.php?file=160 ACCESSED AUG 10, 2011]

[739] Ibid.

[740] Stephen Bates, "Fromelles war cemetery dedicated 94 years after disastrous battle" *The Guardian* 19 July 2010.

[741] The previous sentence paraphrased one Commission critic's objections. See Chapter 4 for a thorough discussion.

Figure 23: The unveiling of the Fromelles Cemetery, with graves and the Cross of Sacrifice. From the Commonwealth War Graves Commission [http://www.cwgc.org/fromelles/scripts/resize.php?image=496&w=120&zc=1]

This dissertation about the political, legal, and aesthetic roles of the dead in the making of Britain in the world has analyzed how a commemoration style, like that manifested at Fromelles, came about. The Commission, originally with "Imperial" instead of "Commonwealth" in its name, represented the culmination of more than a century of expanding governmental attention to the dead overseas. It solved the technical problem of identifying and burying countless fatalities of war yet it did so in a way that both built upon nineteenth century precedents and imagined a new relationship between the state and the dead. Its bureaucratic presence as well as the monumental imposition of its cemeteries in the collective imagination has occluded the earlier history of British governmental care for the dead from the nineteenth century.

As these chapters have demonstrated, the rather uniquely British way of caring for the war dead manifested a global network of sacred spaces imbued with national and imperial meanings. Prior to and following the Commission's establishment, there was a continuous history of civil society's engagement with the British dead abroad. The soldier dead first received marked graves during the Crimean War of 1853-6 from their comrades' efforts rather than from a state-sanctioned desire to create national or imperial monuments. Only after the war, when these burial grounds seemed to be neglected and forgotten, did they become termed the press and public consider them "national cemeteries." The Commission's policies following the Great War partly represented a continuation of this view that the state owed permanent, respectable interment to soldiers who died in its service, even as it dramatically inaugurated the new use of the war dead as imperial monuments.

The treatment of civilian dead and the creation of cemeteries for them around the world manifested some of these ideologies already. The British merchants trading in seventeenth and eighteenth century South Asia created dramatic monuments for their dead that presented themselves

as rulers. They created imperial necropolises that imagined themselves as the new Romans. Elsewhere merchants in Catholic countries formed the dead into Protestant communities, whose permanence enacted and legitimated the religious toleration that the British demanded. The dead abroad affected the global connections of imperial Britain even as the politics and ideologies of the British imperial and national identities affected the way that the public and the state cared for the dead. This dissertation has explained how the British imagined themselves abroad through what they did with their dead.

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