

STUDIES IN BRITISH  
AND IRISH MIGRATION

IN  
LOVING  
MEMORY  
OF

ARCHIBALD MAC PHEE  
MAC NEILL

OF

CLARENDON ESTATE, NANU OYA  
DIED, 18<sup>TH</sup> OCTOBER 1949.

BORN, 29<sup>TH</sup> MAY 1883

ISLE-OF-COLONSAY, ARGYLLSHIRE.

# DEATH IN THE DIASPORA

BRITISH AND IRISH GRAVESTONES

EDITED BY NICHOLAS J. EVANS AND ANGELA MCCARTHY

# Death in the Diaspora

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# Death in the Diaspora

British and Irish Gravestones

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Edited by Nicholas J. Evans and Angela McCarthy

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*In fond memory of historians of the British and Irish diasporas:*

*David Fitzpatrick (1948–2019)*

*and Eric Richards (1940–2018)*

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Edinburgh University Press Ltd  
The Tun – Holyrood Road  
12 (2f) Jackson's Entry  
Edinburgh EH8 8PJ

Typeset in 10.5/13pt Sabon by  
Servis Filmsetting Ltd, Stockport, Cheshire  
and printed and bound in Great Britain

A CIP record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN 978 1 4744 7378 1 (hardback)  
ISBN 978 1 4744 7380 4 (webready PDF)  
ISBN 978 1 4744 7381 1 (epub)

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## *Acknowledgements*

We have both always been interested in roaming around cemeteries but our collaboration in this area began at the University of Aberdeen in 2002 when we were both research fellows at the Research Institute for Irish and Scottish Studies. Many Sundays we would ramble around St Machar's Churchyard where we were struck with the extensive references to Scottish family members in assorted overseas destinations. We began to compile registers of monumental inscriptions from various Scottish cemeteries but had to put these aside due to other commitments.

When, in 2015, Nick was part of a team receiving an Arts and Humanities Research Council UK grant for a project called 'Remember Me: The Changing Face of Memorialisation', we elected to hold the last seminar in our 'Scotland's Diasporas in Comparative International Perspective' series (the joint initiative of Angela McCarthy, Sir Tom Devine and Nicholas J. Evans) on diaspora gravestone memorialisation. We are grateful to the Economic and Social Research Council UK for funding that three-year (2014–16) seminar series, of which this is the sixth book publication. We thank National Museums Scotland for providing the stimulating environment within which the event took place and all those speakers and chairs who participated. Regrettably, Bill Jones, who presented on Welsh memorialisation, was unable to contribute to this collection. We thank Dr Lisa Marr for her care in preparing the index for this volume and the Centre for Global Migrations at the University of Otago for funding Lisa's work. We are also deeply thankful to Les O'Neil for his magic work preparing the map on page 131.

We dedicate this book to two historians of migration, and of Ireland, Scotland and Australia: David Fitzpatrick (1948–2019), who was Angela's PhD supervisor, and Eric Richards (1940–2018). Both David

and Eric, at one time, travelled around New South Wales examining the graves of Irish migrants in Australia.<sup>1</sup> The legacy of their work on migration continues to inspire friends and colleagues.

*Nicholas J. Evans and Angela McCarthy*

#### NOTE

1. Philip Payton, 'Eric Richards: Emigrant and historian', in Philip Payton (ed.), *Emigrants and Historians: Essays in Honour of Eric Richards* (Mile End, SA: Wakefield Press, 2016), p. 5.

## *Series Editors' Introduction*

The antiquarian examination of gravestones and other death markers dates back to Victorian times. But this pioneering study of memorialisation practices moves beyond earlier transcription and cataloguing practices to provide fresh and intriguing perspectives on how British and Irish people remembered their dead, both at home and abroad.

Unlike previous studies, it focuses especially on the British Empire across three centuries and five continents and the ways in which migrants who settled across the Empire and their descendants from England, Scotland and Ireland commemorated relatives and friends who had passed away.

A key aspect of the book is the enlightening comparisons which are drawn by the different authors, not simply between the different ethnicities but also between the distinctive regions of the source countries from which the migrants moved in their search for new opportunities overseas. The study is also emphatically multidisciplinary in approach. Insights are derived from a focus on archaeology, textual analysis, material composition, symbolism, memory and ethnicity. The specific themes of memorialisation are set within the national histories of the peoples of the British Isles in the attempt to draw meaning from the inscriptions and ornamentations of grave markers.

Much of general significance can also be learned from the questions the contributors attach to their evaluations of these monuments in the Americas, South Asia, Australia and New Zealand. How much can gravestones tell us about those in the past whose names do not appear in document-based historical works, those whom, as the editors of the volume put it, 'are often written out of history'? To what extent did death cultures change over time and space? How far are they another route into understanding the national identities of migrants? What do

gravestones tell us about the collective survival of their memories from the homeland? The varied answers which are given by the contributors to these questions illustrate the value of evidence derived from these historical artefacts as a means to interrogate the past other than through conventional written sources.

Because of this, the book should have wide appeal, not only to those interested in death studies but also to scholars of the British Empire from before the Union of England and Scotland in 1707 until its decline in the 1960s. Students of British and Irish diasporas, national identities and memory will also find much of value in these pages.

*T. M. Devine and Angela McCarthy*



## Imposing Identity: Death Markers to ‘English’ People in Barbados, 1627–1838

*Nicholas J. Evans*

English overseas settlement from the beginning of the seventeenth century not only expanded economic and political influence over new parts of the Atlantic world, but also introduced to the Caribbean new methods of burying and remembering the dead. Eschewing any reference to memorialisation rituals of earlier Amerindian and Portuguese settlers on the island, the death of English (and to a lesser extent Scottish, Welsh and Irish) traders, administrators, and members of the armed forces and their families ensured cultural practices associated with death in England were transplanted abroad from the middle of the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> Though the earliest evidence of English death culture in continental North America concerned the failed settlement at Jamestown in Virginia, it was the longevity of settlement on the Caribbean island of Barbados that ensured the tiny colony left the richest seam of archaeological evidence of ‘English’ death culture during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>2</sup> Most of the surviving memorials remember, in stone, marble and even local coral, members of the plantocracy, those whom Matthew Parker described as ‘the Sugar Barons’.<sup>3</sup> They largely cover the period of the island’s history between 1627, when the English first arrived, and 1838, when slavery ended. The production of so many memorials and epitaphs marked an important part of the cultural colonisation of island life and memorialisation practices introduced by the British reinforced the widely discussed Anglicisation of the island.<sup>4</sup>

The memorials, like that shown in Figure 3.1 to William Arnold, one of the earliest settlers to the island, imposed a cultural tradition of remembrance throughout the island’s nine parishes that survived decolonisation. Though they ignore both the enslaved African workers and poor white indentured workers, who represented the majority of people toiling on the island, the chest tablets, sepulchre, gravestones,



headstones and later epitaphs collectively present an important insight into how the English memorialised their dead in diaspora.<sup>5</sup> As early as 1875, Captain J. H. Lawrence-Archer had gathered the corpus of inscriptions of key death markers erected across the Caribbean for those buried before 1750. They featured in his *Monumental Inscriptions of the British West Indies*, which included a chapter about memorial inscriptions found on Barbados.<sup>6</sup> Subsequent published volumes focused on just Barbados. The first to do so, in 1915, was Vere Langford Oliver's *The Monumental Inscriptions in the Churches and Churchyards of the Island of Barbados, British West Indies*.<sup>7</sup> The second, in 1956, was Eustace Shilstone's *Monumental Inscriptions in the Burial Ground of the Jewish Synagogue at Bridgetown, Barbados*.<sup>8</sup> All three colonial-era volumes helped draw English-speaking visitors' attention to select memorials erected in the island's Christian and Jewish burial sites.<sup>9</sup> These publications, coupled with fieldwork on the island by the author in 2015, form the basis of evidence analysed here.

With the absence of a public museum on the island until 1934, and the island's solitary surviving public statue to Lord Nelson erected in 1813, the death markers became an accessible mnemonic tool that demonstrated the island's economic importance and its part in Britain's imperial story.<sup>10</sup> Though the memorials erected on Barbados were not uniform in design, as demonstrated in Figures 3.1 to 3.6, they introduced into the heart of the island's nine parishes a mixture of death culture from most of England's rural shires. They documented both the changing notions of English identity in death between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries and how the form of memorialisation ritual changed in diaspora. What happened on Barbados was important, for it was replicated not only in other parts of the British Caribbean, but also in neighbouring colonial North America, as the British formulated strategies for overcoming the distance from the homeland in their remembrance strategies.

Attention here focuses upon how memorialisation became a tool for demonstrating the Anglicisation of the island during the age of slavery. The chapter begins by considering the cultural 'power' of the white dead in slave society, expanding upon what Vincent Brown has described as life in the Reaper's Garden, and problematising what Harold Mytum called 'national cultural traditions in memorialisation' with regards to the British abroad.<sup>11</sup> Despite the significance of slavery to the island's fortunes, it was never mentioned or symbolically alluded to in any of the slavery-era erected memorials on the island. Anglicisation and not creolisation therefore became the dominant way of marking death and



**Figure 3.1** The chest tomb to William Arnold. As a later accompanying memorial notes, he was one of the first English settlers on Barbados. His imposing grave, close to the entrance of All Saints' Church in the Saint Peter Parish, reminded all visitors of the deceased's role in establishing a remote English colony. (Photo: Nicholas J. Evans)

reinforcing Andrew O'Shaughnessy's ideas that the island was dominated by 'British sojourners' and that death provided a way of displaying that loyalty.<sup>12</sup> Secondly, the chapter considers how stones suggest 'Englishness' was a fluid term during this period, not only including how people identified as English on the death markers, but also denoting various identities or activities associated with Britishness. It builds upon ideas advocated by Edward Harwood that landscapes, including those to the dead, reveal much about personal identity in the eighteenth century.<sup>13</sup> Islander loyalism to Britain in peace and war is documented in gravestones and epitaphs and affirms O'Shaughnessy's argument that 'the strength of the social and cultural ties with Britain restrained the development of nationalistic Creole consciousness among whites and was a contributory factor in the failure of the British Caribbean to support the American Revolution'.<sup>14</sup> Thirdly, the chapter examines how Jewish settlers used memorials to demonstrate assimilation with their gravestones, thereby documenting how 'outsiders' became 'English' during the Georgian period, confirming David Malkiel's suggestion that Jewish stones 'speak' to those reading them.<sup>15</sup> Collectively, the chapter contributes to the rapidly expanding analysis of diaspora gravestones by exploring memorialisation on England's first tropical island nearly four centuries after the first settlers from Europe arrived and the notion that the island was seen as a remote extension of the rural English countryside.<sup>16</sup>

### THE CULTURAL 'POWER' OF THE DEAD

Following a revolution in agriculture in the first half of the seventeenth century, Barbados quickly became home to many remote English settlers. For more than three centuries of British rule, between 1627 and 1960, these white colonials represented only a tiny proportion of the island's overall population. Until 1838, the majority of those forced to toil the island's plantations were enslaved Africans who helped the island grow to become one of the world's leading sugar economies.<sup>17</sup> When the wealthy died, remembrance reflected neither the memorial practices of the island's indigenous Carib peoples, nor those of the Africans who comprised the greatest proportion of islanders, but instead followed cultural practices associated with death in remote England.

The privileging of this white memory remains problematic, as it diverts attention from the fact that the white islanders represented a declining proportion of the population. As Patricia Molen has noted, in 1655 the 23,000 white residents represented 53.5 per cent of the

estimated population on the island, compared with 20,000 enslaved Africans.<sup>18</sup> By 1768, the white population had decreased to 16,139 or just 19.5 per cent of the population, while the enslaved African population grew to 66,827 (or 80.5 per cent of the population).<sup>19</sup> Death markers in England before the seventeenth century were largely erected to preserve the memory of aristocrats and leading landowners. By contrast, those concerning the 'English' dying on Barbados between 1627 and 1838 documented largely self-made white elites. It can be argued, therefore, that had it not been for the risks associated with relocating to this remote colony they would not have been deemed worthwhile lives to record in stone. Movement elevated their fortunes as surviving headstones on the island document.

Unlike their counterparts who permanently settled colonial America from 1620, and had simple grave markers largely in the churchyard, the opportunities afforded on Barbados were firmly secular, especially pecuniary, and the memorials displayed less piety and more bragging. While all English settlers were nominally Anglican, the state church of the mother country, just like the Jacobean England they emanated from, forms of religious practice varied. The religious practice of white settlers ranged from those who happily followed the James I Bible published in 1611, to Anglicans still heavily influenced by Catholicism, as well as non-Anglicans including Jews and Nonconformists. Yet the religiosity of most planters needs to be questioned for, as Larry Gragg observes, 'assertions that the parish churches were "well frequented" and that the sacraments were "celebrated every Sunday" clashed with claims that only the aged worshipped, that only a few received the sacraments, or that ministers spoke to virtually empty buildings'.<sup>20</sup>

While belief was unimportant for what can at best be described as a motley crew of heathens, the island was generally shaped by English rural life.<sup>21</sup> The apparatus of the state church framed everyday life because there was little else to do. In what became characteristic of European imperialism, the small island was divided into nine parishes, named after saints associated with Britain.<sup>22</sup> Each parish in turn had, as its centre, a place of worship. The church remained one of the few public buildings and because of this drew in the white owners of nearby plantations for, at best, weekly services. Entry to the churchyard was strictly reserved and while even some white Barbadians were buried on their own plantations, death culture was segregated with Catholics, Nonconformists and non-religious people buried separately to the Anglicans.

The choice of death marker, including white stone, marble or coral, anchored and protected the deceased planter. Stone, often imported

marble, introduced new materials with which to mark a grave on the island.<sup>23</sup> For people who had shown little religious zeal, it enabled artisans and the lower gentry class to occupy burial spaces that ‘back home’ in their native England would have been reserved for aristocrats. Death markers denoted both social advancement of the ‘elect’ and the social death of those they ruled.<sup>24</sup> To ensure they remained undisturbed, the wealthiest commissioned heavy marble slabs to sit above their bodies to prevent both grave robbers and the reuse of the burial spot.

Remembrance practices, visible at the island’s cathedral of St Michael’s in Bridgetown, maintained a degree of hierarchy. Those who had played a crucial role in financing the erection of early stone churches – including governors and merchants – were afforded protection under the central nave of the church. Thus, numerous members of the Willoughby family, governors of the island from 1650 to 1651 and 1663 to 1672, were provided with numerous memorial spots for which they made premium payments.<sup>25</sup> Those who followed cherry-picked select sites surrounding the church’s exterior. Not just satisfied with the size and prime location of their family memorials and vaults, the aristocratic pretensions of the plantocracy were further demonstrated by the use of heraldic devices to ensure the onlooker knew of the ‘ancient’ credentials of the deceased.<sup>26</sup> Memorials thereby masked the newcomer status of the deceased.

## DOCUMENTING ‘ENGLISH’ IDENTITY IN STONE

Though the shape and form of memorials in their rural parishes in England had shown a degree of conformity, the form of the memorialisation in diaspora varied enormously as each settler transplanted rural folkways associated with their native England. Those with the most power or wealth adopted architectural forms in marble, from sepulchre to flat slabs, headstones to memorial tablets. Memorial ritual was thereby translocated and examples included mounded earth with stones (mirroring burial ritual in East Anglia), grave markers made from stone (mirroring Lancashire and Yorkshire gravestone tradition), and headstones made of slate (like those in Derbyshire and South Wales). Written in the English language, few displayed links to Catholicism through use of Catholic symbolism (ISN) or using Latin; instead, the memorials were diverse, yet more secularised than in England. Collectively, they removed any traces of earlier indigenous settlement on the island and elevated the death rites associated with the burying and remembrance of Europeans compared with their enslaved counterparts.<sup>27</sup>

Identity recorded on the diverse range of memorials often noted the

importance of ancestral origins, rather than the place of settlement on the island. In England, memorials generally noted where a parishioner resided, often to show off their societal position in village life, but on Barbados the significance of the island dwelling was initially of lesser importance than that of familial place of origin. Origin did not mean an estate or parish nearby, but instead was a reminder of the superiority of the deceased because they had been born, educated, lived or worked in England. While a small number of settlers had come from Wales, Scotland and even Ireland, it was the primacy of an English rural birth that most frequently appeared on memorials, showcasing the county or town of the deceased's origins. As a recent doctoral study demonstrates, memorials erected on the island between 1627 and 1960 revealed geographic origins in at least thirty-seven counties of England, Scotland and Wales.<sup>28</sup> The counties mentioned on gravestones include Northumberland, Kent, Shropshire, Hertfordshire, Dorset, Cumbria, Derbyshire, Surrey, Lancashire (shown in Figure 3.2), Gloucestershire, Devon, Somerset and Middlesex.<sup>29</sup> Yet other places of origin mentioned included estates, villages, streets, boroughs and towns. Crucially, the spatial breadth of memorial references both challenge ideas by David Hackett Fischer that early colonial settlement, like at Virginia, was solely by English people from the Home Counties and the south-west of England and suggest remembrance to English regions was more commonplace than ties to the nation state.<sup>30</sup>

Over time, as some families established an intergenerational permanence on the island, the importance of place changed. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, they also remembered their 'home' on the island. The importance of the name of an estate had grown from being a mere plantation to a building affording status to the deceased, something to flaunt.

Not all memorials, however, marked the place of permanent residence. Some also record those who, presumably ill, died in transit back to England. For example, Frances Orderson's memorial tablet observed: 'on her Passage to England (her native Country) / *DIED AT SEA* / and whose Body, during an awful Calm was / committed to the unfathomable deep.'<sup>31</sup> The reverse was also documented where a former islander was remembered upon their permanent return to England. Lucy Crichlow's memorial from 1801 noted she died in England: 'Sacred to the Memory of Lucy Crichlow daughter of / John Cobham Esq. & Wife of Henry Crichlow Esqr of this Island / Who died in the City of Bath in the Kingdom of England / on the 7th and was buried in the Abbey Church of that City'.<sup>32</sup>

Such references to the country of origin changed over time, closely



**Figure 3.2** The gravestone of John Smith of Liverpool. As well as revealing the town of origin, this memorial erected in 1822 identifies to readers that the port was in the English county of Lancashire. That only the deceased's ashes were interred here suggests that he died of disease and his body was cremated to prevent it spreading. (Photo: Nicholas J. Evans)

following political changes to the United Kingdom. Thus, a memorial to Nicholas Crisp, a London merchant, in 1678 noted: 'Here lyeth ye body of / Mr Edward Crisp Marcht: of this / place. Ye eldest sonn of Nicho: / Crisp Marcht in Bred Street in / London in ye Kingdom of England / Hee departed this life ye 14<sup>th</sup> of / Ienvary 1678 Aged 50 Years[.]'<sup>33</sup> Three years after the Act of Union in 1707, which united England and Scotland, merchant William Godman was described as

being of Great Britain and not England: 'Here lyes interr'd the body of / M<sup>r</sup> William Godman Mercht / Son of the Rev<sup>d</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Henry Godman / of the Kingdom of great Brittain / who departed this life the first / day of August 1710 Aged 37 years / and Resident in this / Island 22 years.'<sup>34</sup> National identities were fluid. As late as 1801, Mrs Laetitia Austin was noted as being from England and not Great Britain.<sup>35</sup> Scots appear to be less likely to attest to a British origin. For instance, merchant Michael Cavan's gravestone proudly observed, 'Sacred to the memory of / Michael Cavan Esquire / who died the 6th June 1832 / Aged 53 years / A native of Scotland and for / thirty years a merchant of this Island'.<sup>36</sup> Following Britain's union with Ireland in 1801, to establish the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the number of Irish people acknowledging their origins in death also grew – despite being small in number – and included people from Killala, Drogheda, Dublin, Tandragee, Aghanloo (Londonderry), Tulley (County Donegal), and Galway.<sup>37</sup> Only one memorial, from the seventeenth century, noted the deceased was from the 'Kingdom of Ireland'.<sup>38</sup>

Not all 'English' people originated in the mother country. Other identities acknowledged on memorials revealed that people had come from near and far, but largely within the Anglophone parts of the British Empire. Some, upon arrival from England, had settled in other Caribbean Islands, such as Alexander Enright who died in Barbados en route to visiting his grandfather on Jamaica:

Sacred  
to the memory of  
Mr Alexander Hunter Enright  
of Kentish Town, near London  
who died on the 16<sup>th</sup>  
of September 1836, in the  
twenty fifth year of his age  
he expired only four days after  
landing in this Island being too  
ill to proceed to Jamaica where he  
was going to visit his Grandfather Alexander Aikman Senr Esqre.  
of Prospect Pen near Kingston  
in that island.<sup>39</sup>

Other identities reveal the intra-continental connections between Barbados and colonial America, largely driven by the slave economy in both regions.<sup>40</sup> These included both those of English origin as well as families who, though born in diaspora, retained strong commercial, political and cultural ties to England and were thus considered 'English'.<sup>41</sup>



They included Colonel William Wanton, who was described as ‘Of Newport on Road Island’.<sup>42</sup> Meanwhile, fellow Anglo-American George Badcock, dying in 1714, was described as being from Boston: ‘Here lyes ye body / of George Badcock / of Boston in / New England’.<sup>43</sup> Other Anglo-Americans, such as Peleg Almy, noted residence in England and New England, being the son of ‘Job Almy of Tivertown in ye / County of Bristol & Province / of ye Massachusetts Bay in / New-England’.<sup>44</sup> Meanwhile, merchant David McClenahan came from colonial Virginia: ‘Here lieth the Body of / David M.Clenahan Merchant / in Princess Ann County in Virginia / Aged about 38 Years who departed / this Life 30th day of October 1735 / the Son of Nathaniel M.Clenahan / Merchant in Virginia / this Stone is [?] order’d here by his / Loving Mother / Elizabeth M.Clenahan.’<sup>45</sup>

After the American War of Independence ended in 1783, references to settler ties with this former part of the British Empire diminished. Conversely, other parts of the expanding British Empire began to feature more prominently, such as that to Alfred Bartrum, Esq. who was noted as passing away in 1826, sixteen years after the British acquired the Indian Ocean island of Mauritius: ‘Sacred / to the Memory of / Alfred Bartrum, Esq. of the Island of Mauritius’.<sup>46</sup> People being memorialised increasingly tended to come from Britain’s surviving North American colonies. They included ‘Maria Sophia / wife of John Leander Start\* / . . . daughter of John Ratchfor\* / . . . arrousborough Nova Scoti[a].’<sup>47</sup> The origins of settlers noted in death markers therefore document various ‘English’ people as well as those deemed ‘British’ as having worked, lived or traded within the broader Anglophone world.

Affiliations to England can also be discerned through references to professional or scholarly identities. John Ellis’s memorial noted his degree and affiliation to the Society of Arts: ‘In memory of / John Ellis Esqr / M.A. F.S.A. / *Barrister at Law* / Late of the / Middle Temple / London / Born 19<sup>th</sup> Jany 1791 / Died 24<sup>th</sup> May 1825.’<sup>48</sup> Meanwhile, Alexander Bruce’s grave noted: ‘Alexander Bruce / Doctor in Physick / Died Novr’ 3 / Anno Domr 1768 AEtatis37 / *Peculiar Blessings bear y’ shortest Date!*’<sup>49</sup> Though the memorials inevitably show what the mourners instructed monumental masons to erect, the agency of fellow comrades are discernible. An early settler noted he was a goldsmith and citizen of London, amongst many other parts of his identity: ‘Here lieth the Body of / John Felton Citizen / and Goldsmith of / London who Departed / this life the 14th of May / 1694 Aged 62 / years 9 Months.’<sup>50</sup>

Others remembered noted multiple identities, exemplified by the

memorial tablet to Henry Noble Shipton, which recorded his contribution to society in England and overseas:

Sacred to the Memory of HENRY NOBLE SHIPTON,  
 Senior Ensign of the Fourth or King's Own Regiment of Foot,  
 and youngest Son of the Reverend JOHN SHIPTON,  
 Doctor in Divinity, Rector of Portishead near Bristol, Vicar of  
 Stanton Bury, in the County of Buckingham, and one of His Majesty's  
 Justices of the Peace for the County of Somerset, in England.  
 He was an active and valued Officer,  
 as well as a singularly amiable and excellent young Man:  
 who, escaping the dangers especially incident to his Profession,  
 particularly those of the siege of New Orleans,  
 and the ever memorable Battle of Waterloo, was cut off, when on the Eve  
 of Promotion, by the yellow Fever,  
 after only five days illness, whilst stationed with his Regiment  
 in this Island, on the fifth day of December 1821,  
 in the 26<sup>th</sup> year of his age,  
 to the very deep regret of his afflicted Parents,  
 who have caused this Tablet to be erected as a Token of  
 their affection for their beloved Son.<sup>51</sup>

Others, revealing the agency of the donor, identified membership of fraternal groups, including the Freemasons. Founding Freemasons recalled:

To the Memory of  
 ALEXANDER IRVINE Gent  
 The Founder of Free Masonry  
 in Barbados  
 who lived Beloved and died  
 Lamented by all who knew him  
 the Brethren of Saint Michaels Lodge  
 of which he was the First Master  
 have placed upon his Remains this Stone  
 to be a Monument of his Merit  
 and their Gratitude  
 He departed this life the 13<sup>th</sup>  
 day of November 1743  
 in the 49<sup>th</sup> year of his Age.<sup>52</sup>

Meanwhile, other memorials to Freemasons recalled their 'brother'. In 1840, the memorial to John Alleyne Beckles noted, 'Sacred to the memory of / The Honorable John Alleyne Beckles, / for many years President of this Island; / Judge of the Court of Vice Admiralty, / And Provincial Grand-Master / of the Free and Accepted Masons of

Barbados.<sup>53</sup> Identities displayed on monuments reveal a layering of cultural ties – familial, social and fraternal. Whether the deceased pre-directed what their memorials would include we cannot say, but the agency of fellow Freemasons suggests nineteenth-century social networks were of central importance in life and death.

During the middle of the eighteenth century, as life on the island became more established and thereby stratified, so the memorialisation spread to include epitaphs that told the story of an individual buried remotely from the place of internment. This mirrored the growth of widespread memorialisation in English churches after 1715, with memorials beginning to ‘gather’ remote kith and kin on a single epitaph. Rather than above the corpse, island elites increasingly provided detailed portraits of dynasties on the walls inside the church.<sup>54</sup> Expensive memorials imported from England increasingly adorned the island’s churches and might well have been the only thing that the parishioners viewed while in church.<sup>55</sup> Perhaps replicating the popularity of wall tablets in Georgian churches in England, those on the island mirrored the most elaborate of their English counterparts. Crucially, a local stonemason was no longer *de rigueur*. Instead, elaborate works by sculptures were commissioned in Bristol and London, before being shipped out to Barbados and erected indoors; they then dominated places of worship for centuries to come.

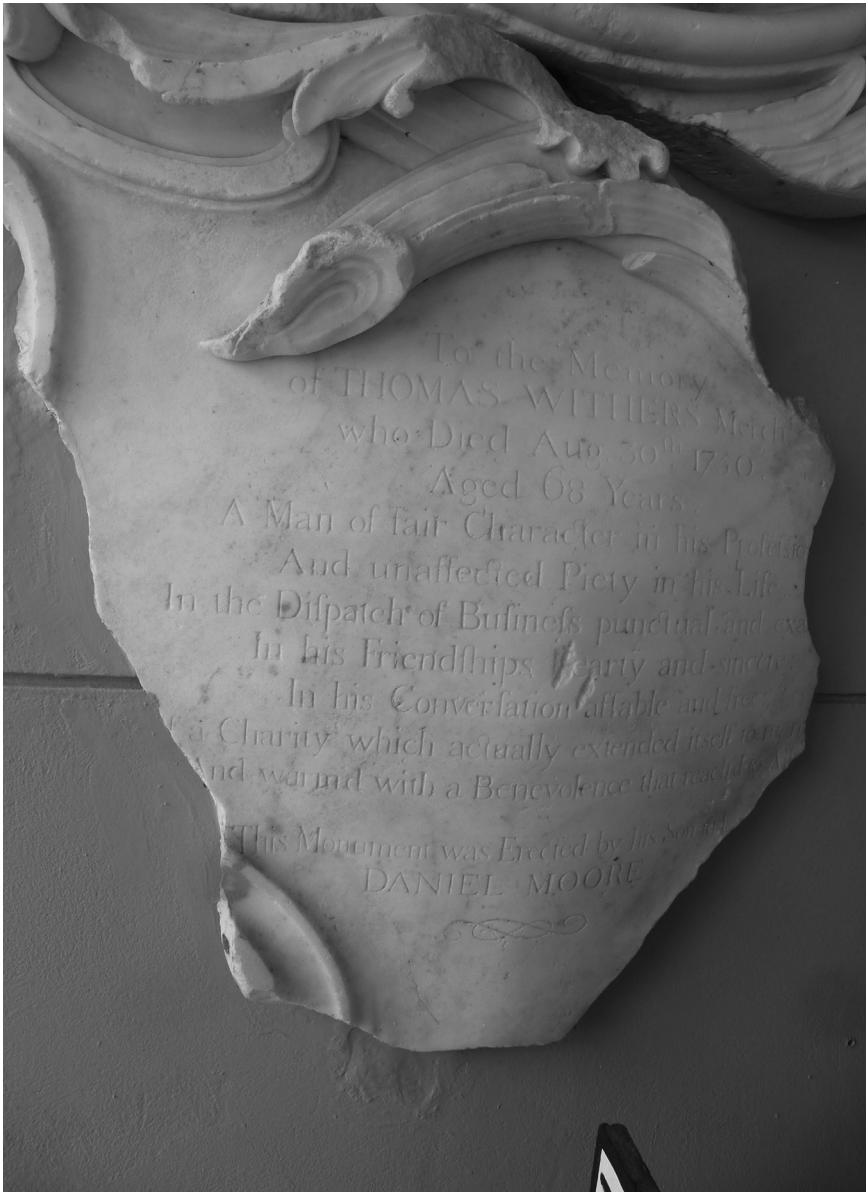
The memorials varied in size, shape and detail. By far the most elegant was the rococo relief portrait to Thomas Withers, now displayed in the Barbados Museum and Historical Society and shown in Figures 3.3a and 3.3b. Commissioned by his son Daniel Moore, it displayed not only the bonds of family but also friendship. His memorial shipped from England read:

To the Memory of THOMAS WITHERS Mercht. who Died Aug. 30<sup>th</sup> 1750, Aged 68 Years. A Man of fair Character in his Profession And unaffected Piety in his Life. In the Dispatch of Business punctual and exact. In his Friendships hearty and sincere, In his Conversation affable and free. Charity which actually extended itself to man[y,] [A]nd readiness with a Benevolence that reached Al[l.] This monument was erected by his Son . . . Daniel Moore.<sup>56</sup>

As Joan Coutu has identified, the monument mirrors one by Robert Taylor to John Andrews in Trinity Hall, Cambridge, and the sculptor based his relief portraits ‘on painted portraits or miniatures sent to him by the people who commissioned the monuments’.<sup>57</sup> Yet the time and money entailed in the remote commissioning of a marble portrait, and its production in Bath, followed by transshipment via Bristol to



a



b

**Figures 3.3a and b** The memorial tablet to Thomas Withers, now redisplayed at Barbados Museum and Historical Society. This elaborate tablet demonstrates the deceased's friendships as well as family relationships. Kith and kin were all erectors of memorials; their agency was important in framing the memory of English colonialists. The rococo-style memorial was created in Bath, before being shipped via Bristol to Barbados, and shows how death in diaspora was augmented by a memorial imported from England. (Photo: Nicholas J. Evans)

Barbados, shows the lengths many remote Englishmen went to in order to have an English-crafted memorial to preserve their memory. While Withers' heirs clearly had substantial wealth to erect such a memorial, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, as Georgian London became a retail emporium for death, a number of suppliers of English monumental masons were recorded on the island's marble death markers. They included T. Gaffin of Regent Street, London; Caton of 491 Oxford Street, London; and Bedford of 256 Oxford Street, London.<sup>58</sup> Having a bit of England transported to Barbados furthered the associations between the deceased and England. The justification in expending so much money on these memorials was perhaps explained by their central position within viewing distance of congregants during weekly services. It was a wise investment for they were a tool for maintaining status, rather than just to aid mourning. In bringing memorialisation back into the church, these remote Britons were once more securing their place in the heart of island life.

The memorials celebrated only snapshots of the individual's, or the family's, wider story. Alongside their origins and family relationships, military encounters were also displayed; they retold to readers the islander's defence of Britain's imperial possessions and strong loyalty to England as the mother country both before and after the American War of Independence. Proclaiming Christian heroism, such martial ties were apparent even when the deceased was the progeny of a soldier or sailor, as evident with Ann Sansum's memorial:

Here lie the Remains of  
 Mrs ANN SANSUM,  
 Daughter of Lt Coll John Morris,  
 late of the Provincials in  
 North-America,  
 (where he bravely supported the Royal Cause,  
 and was an active and faithful Officer  
 during the whole of the Revolution in that Country)  
 and SARAH his Wife  
 descended of the  
 Noble House of Montrose,  
 and wife of Samuel Sansun  
 of the Kingdom of England,  
 but late of the City of New-York,  
 Merchant,  
 She departed this Life,  
 (in pure Christian Faith and Hope)  
 in the night

of the 14th of September 1803,  
Aged 22 Years & 9 Months.<sup>59</sup>

Yet of all involvement in imperial military campaigns, it was the Battle of Waterloo in 1815 that featured most frequently in memorials.<sup>60</sup>

Despite the large number of planters and colonial elites living on the island between 1627 and 1838, in total only a small proportion of islanders' lives were remembered. Victorian antiquarians no doubt posited through their data gathering a propagandist view of valorising the importance of the British in civilising and cultivating the island.<sup>61</sup> But the memorialisation practices for the plantocracy demonstrate that difference rather than conformity was the norm on Barbados. Though earlier scholars have observed the dominant influence of a single grave marker in colonial America, or the transmission of burial tradition from Britain or Ireland to continental North America, diversity was the key on Barbados.<sup>62</sup> Without doubt, memorialisation practices evident before 1838 demonstrate that England was foremost in the minds of the mourners, if not the deceased. In the case of one long-forgotten colonial-era Barbadian, shown in Figure 3.4, even before death England was so much in his mind that he commissioned a marble relief of King's Lynn in Norfolk. Originally displayed in the home of English-born governor of Barbados, Sir Jonathan Atkins (and now in the Barbados Museum), it was erected not to mourn anyone but to serve as a mnemonic device to remember England.<sup>63</sup> Yet in the tropical conditions of Barbados, marble was a durable form for displaying identity. In the absence of an art gallery, such memorials, like the death markers displayed inside and around churches, were the harbinger of colonial identities. Like art, what they portrayed was very selective.

### BECOMING 'ENGLISH': ASSIMILATION IN STONE

One of the most unusual features of the surviving death markers on Barbados is that the largest set were to Jewish residents. Antiquarians Lawrence-Archer and Langford Oliver were clearly unable to translate the non-English-language epitaphs when they gathered memorials on Barbados for their published lists of epitaphs in 1875 and 1915. However, the founder of the National Trust for Barbados, Eustace Shilstone, persevered with the gravestones at the island's largest synagogue for his book of Jewish monumental inscriptions, published to mark the tercentenary of the readmission of Jews to England in 1956.



**Figure 3.4** A marble relief plaque of King's Lynn. Originally displayed in the home of English-born governor of Barbados, Sir Jonathan Atkins (now displayed in the Barbados Museum), it was erected not to mourn anyone but to serve as a mnemonic device to remember England. (Photo: Nicholas J. Evans)



His work carefully included the Hebrew, Portuguese and English memorials of the Sephardic community.<sup>64</sup>

Because Jewish Law forbids multiple grave occupancy, the walled cemetery adjoining the island's largest surviving synagogue at Bridgetown provides ample evidence of the oldest English Jewish community after the readmission of Jews to England and her colonies by Oliver Cromwell in 1656.<sup>65</sup> That Jewish settlement at Barbados predated the readmission on the British mainland is important.<sup>66</sup> The prime urban location of the cemetery was central and sizeable. While evidence of other non-Jewish headstones has long vanished, the stones off Swann Street (also shown on some Georgian maps as Jews Street) are especially useful for they reveal many themes not present on the death markers of other contemporaneous settlers.<sup>67</sup>

Although the Anglicans had settled the island and introduced the culture of the state church, Sephardic Jews were encouraged to settle on Barbados because of their displacement from the Portuguese Empire in 1654.<sup>68</sup> Originally from Portugal, the Alhambra Decree of 1492 had forced practising Jews to flee Europe 162 years earlier.<sup>69</sup> They had first settled in Recife, in Latin America, where they introduced and developed an expertise in the cultivation of sugar, a skill originating in Africa.<sup>70</sup> When the Portuguese reasserted their control over Recife in 1654, these Portuguese diaspora Jews were forced once more into exile, this time dispersing to Dutch, British and French Caribbean colonies.<sup>71</sup> Their expertise in sugar cultivation enabled the Sephardic Jews to be assured the right to worship their religion in Barbados, ahead of readmission to England, because they were economically useful. One of the central expressions of that toleration was to create a synagogue and to have a burial space. The graves of Jews at Barbados were therefore among the earliest readmission of English Jews, with the earliest dating from 1660.<sup>72</sup> Though granted the rights to live and work on the island, they remained taxed as non-Anglicans in special Jew taxes, were forbidden from employing Christians and were prevented from running plantations.

Overcoming persecution, their right to have a burial plot and memorial presented the opportunity to display their burial culture in Barbados, as earlier Dutch Jews had done at Surinam.<sup>73</sup> The form was alien in three ways. Firstly, the monuments were in stone – typically marble – something at that stage which was unusual for island remembrance. Secondly, as shown in Figure 3.5, the style of the earliest graves differed from other Jewish graves, displaying ‘a sepulchral culture of their own. In terms of its sepulchral language and art, it differs from the

Judeo-Spanish sepulchral culture and the one that was practised by the Jews who emigrated from Spain to North Africa, to the Ottoman Empire or Italy', as well as to Germany and the Netherlands.<sup>74</sup> Thirdly, as with most Jewish graves in diaspora, they had memorials in two languages: the secular language (Portuguese) and then the language of their religion (Hebrew).

For several generations, *c.*1654 to 1726, the language of gravestones remained Portuguese and Hebrew.<sup>75</sup> Yet from the mid-eighteenth century the language deployed changed, initially to three languages (Portuguese and Hebrew surrounded by a short reference in English), and then around 1770 to English and Hebrew. Finally, as revealed through graves in a rediscovered smaller section of the cemetery in 2015, some stones by the late eighteenth century were entirely in English.<sup>76</sup> The stones thereby reflect the assimilation of this outsider group to become 'English Jews'.

The most noticeable difference from non-Jewish graves is that for the first one hundred years of the community's existence, often detailed memorials never referred to their country of origin, either ancestral origins in Portugal or diasporic connections to Recife. Unlike other 'English' graves on the island that remembered homeland origins in the first generation, perhaps this absence can be explained due to the persecution they had faced in their previous lives. Alternatively, it could suggest the first generation of Jews chose to hide their foreign birth to avoid further anti-alienism. Regardless, over time Jewish memorialisation tradition showed signs of changing. By the mid-eighteenth century, the gravestones of Jews began to mirror their 'English' counterparts by revealing origins. Luna, widow of Moderechay Burgus, who died in 1756, was listed, in Portuguese as 'Luze en la Empireo' ('long in the Empire').<sup>77</sup> Isaac Hisquiau, dying in 1739, was described, in Portuguese, as 'de Londres' ('of London'), revealing that by this stage Sephardic Jews were relocating to Barbados from London.<sup>78</sup> Merchant Samuel Hart, dying in 1773, was described in Portuguese, as 'dela Ciuda de New York' ('from New York City').<sup>79</sup> Meanwhile, more epitaphs on gravestones were increasingly written in English. So when Rabbi Ralph Haim Isaac Carigal died in 1777, he was described as formerly of New York on his Hebrew- and English-language gravestone.<sup>80</sup> Meanwhile Jacob Montefiore, dying in 1801, was described entirely in English as 'Of London, Merchant'.<sup>81</sup>

The community diminished by the late eighteenth century, completely dying out in the years following the abolition of slavery in 1838.<sup>82</sup> The increased use of the English-language memorials may therefore be suggestive that the community was dwindling, and felt the need to display



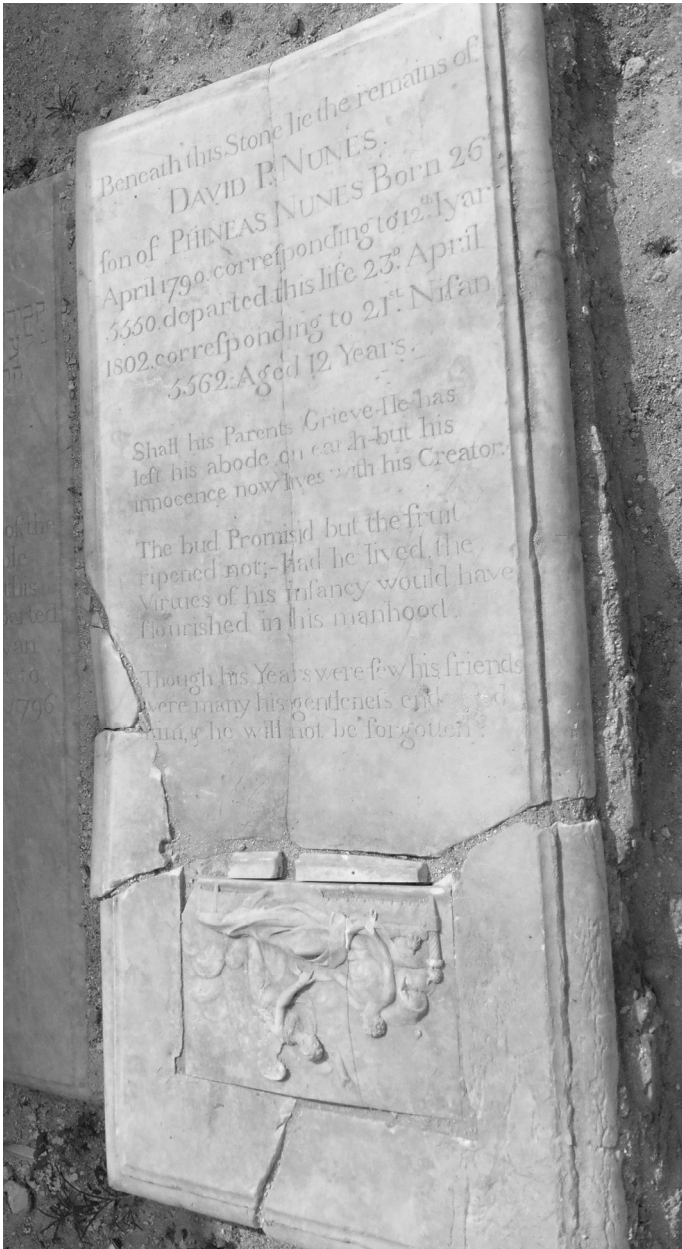
**Figure 3.5** A replica marble gravestone in Bridgetown Jewish Cemetery to David Raphael De Mercado, who died 14 August 1685. The style was similar to Jewish graves in the Mediterranean. By the end of the eighteenth century, Jewish gravestones on the island mirrored their non-Jewish counterparts, sometimes even abandoning the use of Hebrew entirely. (Photo: Nicholas J. Evans)

their memorials in a secular language. Alternatively, fears concerning the Napoleonic Wars may account for why one stone, shown in Figure 3.6, had text entirely in English.<sup>83</sup> Yet the stones demonstrate how non-Christian white elites displayed aspects of their identity in memorials in diaspora.

As with other Jewish graveyards in Europe, certain features of the death culture were very different from the Christian burial spaces. Barbadian Jews buried their children in separate rows to adults with graves of smaller memorials filling the space between rows of larger adult graves. All graves lay flat, again mirroring their Iberian Sephardic origins.<sup>84</sup> Many also contained the initialism SBAGDG – translated from *Sua Bendita Alma Goze De Gloria* ('as may his/her soul delight in glory') – on their gravestones.<sup>85</sup> Religious symbols associated with Jewish death culture were also displayed on gravestones and tombstones. These include: a broken or cut-down tree to represent a life cut short; two hands, with four fingers each divided into two sets of two fingers, the symbol of a priestly blessing – signifying the priest was a Kohen, a descendant of the biblical high priest Aaron; and the inclusion of a Menorah candelabra to signify the deceased was a woman – and would have lit the Menorah candles at the start of each sabbath. The gravestone to Hazan Meher-Acohen Belifante includes multiple visual symbols pertaining to his religious duties including carvings showing: '1. A Man's figure, in knee-length skirted coat blowing a shofar, 2. [A] hand holding a quill pen, symbolic of his being scribe, and 3. [A b]ottle, spatula, scissors, forceps, needle and other marks of the Mohel's art'.<sup>86</sup>

The memorials to the Jewish islanders typically contained a select number of references. First, they had a religious message, demonstrating the importance of faith and the deceased's religiosity. Second, they exhibited a personal story, including family relations. Third, the stones showed their occupation of the deceased and their perceived importance to island life. Fourth, the memorials highlighted broader contributions to either the Jewish community or the broader Barbadian society. It was the latter point that often appeared in English surrounding a Portuguese and Hebrew memorial, perhaps suggesting Jews knew that, in the words of many scholars, 'Stones Speak' and that the host society would read the loyalty of these 'English' Jews when visiting the graveyard.<sup>87</sup>

Crucially, as all men and women were buried in separate single graves, the gravestones reveal contemporary attitudes to female remembrance on the island. The English portion of the gravestone to Mrs Angel de Piza recorded her strong morality:



**Figure 3.6** Marble gravestone in a smaller Jewish cemetery at Bridgetown. Building work to the site adjoining the Jewish cemetery in Bridgetown in 2015 revealed twelve long-forgotten Jewish gravestones. The one shown here reveals the degree of assimilation on some of the late-eighteenth-century Jewish gravestones, as the memorial appeared entirely in the English language. (Photo: Nicholas J. Evans)

Here lies the remains of Mrs. Angel de Piza Wife of Emanuel de Piza Mercht. Who departed this life on Thursday the 20<sup>th</sup> Adar 5555, A; M, corresponding to the 12<sup>th</sup> March 1795. Aged 48 years. Regretted by all who Knew her as she Possessed every amiable endowment and estimable Quality as a tender Wife – an Affectionate Parent & a Sincere friend her habits of life were conducted with unexampled moral rectitude & all whom had the happiness of her acquaintance received from the pleasures of her society & engaging manners every enjoyment and gratification that the heart of Benevolence can desire. *Scared to Virtue is the Record here, Reader bestow the tribute of a tear; Respect the worth that claims your friendly sigh, Live thus like her: and as lamented Die.*<sup>88</sup>

Though her grave does not note a relationship to place, the language and sentiment of respectability were sure signs she was as English as someone in Regency London.

The Jewish memorials are therefore an important contribution to the death culture evident on the island, and broaden our understanding of Jewishness and Englishness in the Anglophone world before 1838.<sup>89</sup> Although there were many differences, especially that Jews did not follow the Anglican tradition of erecting memorial tablets to their life story in the nearby synagogue, the grave markers augmented the cultural range of symbols and text representing death on Barbados. Denied full equality to their non-Jewish counterparts in life, the memorials demonstrate that both Jews and non-Jews engaged with all death culture on the island. Messages were important and reinforced the significant economic and societal contribution of Jews to the island, and broader imperial, economy.<sup>90</sup> They were also important in terms of documenting the degree of pluralism on the island, even if it was not complete toleration. Examination of the cultural deathways on the island, however, evidences that during the age of slavery any signs of creolisation were removed gradually, and Anglicisation gained a dominant influence over Jewish memorialisation as it had always done for non-Jewish white elites.

## CONCLUSION

The diverse form and texts displayed on over a thousand headstones and memorial tablets located across the nine parishes on the island of Barbados reveal the deep attachment to Englishness that merchants, mariners and traders had throughout the era of slavery between 1627 and 1838. England was not simply the economic glue that united the remote island and the mother country, it remained of crucial cultural

influence to remembrance practices. The death culture of white settlers on Barbados for over three centuries would continue to influence remembrance after the end of slavery in 1838. Death markers should not be seen in isolation; instead, they were an extension of ecclesiastical and secular architecture that had a purpose in helping to subjugate colonial society. While some other chapters in this volume focus upon the symbolism on graves, after what Julie Rugg has detailed as the birth of the cemetery burial around 1820, identity in the earlier period discussed here was both fluid and represented inside or outside the main religious buildings in each parish. Englishness could be inferred by the architectural style, textual evidence, or suggested connections through occupation, status or even membership of organisations such as the Freemasons. Identity varied over time, but was important enough to be included on most memorials in diaspora, something that has been under-explored by scholars of British imperialism and death studies.

### *Acknowledgments*

I am grateful to Professor Angela McCarthy, Professor Emeritus Aubrey Newman and Professor Trevor Burnard for helpful comments on earlier drafts of this chapter.

### NOTES

1. Sullivan describes the lack of a living indigenous population on the island in 1627. See Myles Sullivan, 'Sacred Grounds and Profane Plantations: The Spiritual Landscapes of Barbados', *Undergraduate Honors Theses*, Paper 945 (2016), p. 5. Available at <<https://scholarworks.wm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1930&context=honorstheses>> (accessed 8 February 2020).
2. Samir Patel, 'Jamestown's VIPs', *Archaeology*, January/February 2016, <<https://www.archaeology.org/issues/200-1601/features/3959-jamestown-colonial-america-burials>> (accessed 1 September 2019).
3. Matthew Parker, *Sugar Barons: Family, Corruption, Empire and War* (London: Windmill, 2012).
4. Author's observations during fieldwork in 2015. The latter was part of the AHRC 'Remember Me: The Changing Face of Memorialisation' project based at the University of Hull. It included fieldwork at the following sites: The Cathedral Church of St Michael and All Angels, Bridgetown; St Mary's Church, Bridgetown; The Jewish Cemetery in Bridgetown, The Garrison Military Cemetery, St Michael; St James Parish Church, Holietown; St Matthias Anglican Church, Hastings; Christchurch Parish Church, Oistins; St Matthew's Anglican Church, Jackmans; and All Saints' Church, Saint Peter.

5. Jerry Handler has documented the death culture of the enslaved population on the island. On the elision of the enslaved more generally see, for example: Ross W. Jamieson, 'Material culture and social death: African-American burial practices', *Historical Archaeology*, 29:4 (1995), pp. 39–58; Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982). Regarding the seventeenth century see Hilary Beckles, *White Servitude and Black Slavery in Barbados, 1627–1715* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989).
6. Captain J. H. Lawrence-Archer, *Monumental Inscriptions of the British West Indies* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1875).
7. Vere Langford Oliver, *The Monumental Inscriptions in the Churches and Churchyards of the Island of Barbados, British West Indies* (London: Mitchell, Hughes and Clark, 1915).
8. Eustace M. Shilstone, *Monumental Inscriptions in the Burial Ground of the Jewish Synagogue at Bridgetown, Barbados* (New York: American Jewish Historical Society, 1956).
9. This was augmented by the recent publication by Mary Gleadall of the memorials at the island's military cemetery. See Mary E. Gleadall, *Monumental Inscriptions in the Barbados Military Cemetery* (St Michael: Barbados Military Cemetery Association, 2000).
10. David C. Devenish, 'The Barbados Museum', *Museums and Contested Histories*, 38:1 (1985), p. 15; David Lambert, "'Part of the blood and dream": Surrogation, memory and the national hero in the postcolonial Caribbean', *Patterns of Prejudice*, 41:3–4 (2007), p. 346.
11. Vincent Brown, *The Reaper's Garden: Death and Power in the World of Atlantic Slavery* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008); Harold Mytum, *Recording and Analysing Graveyards* (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2000), p. 61.
12. The 'Britishness' of Barbados is discussed in numerous works. See David Lambert, *White Creole Culture, Politics and Identity During the Age of Abolition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), Karl Watson, *The Civilised Island: Barbados: A Social History 1750–1816* (Ellerton, Barbados: Caribbean Graphic Production Limited, 1979), and Larry Cragg, *Englishmen Transplanted: The English Colonization of Barbados, 1627–1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
13. Edward S. Harwood, 'Personal identity and the eighteenth-century English landscape garden', *The Journal of Garden History*, 13:1–2 (1990), pp. 36–48.
14. Andrew O'Shaughnessy, *Empire Divided: The American Revolution and the British Caribbean* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), p. 4.
15. David Malkiel, *Stones Speak: Hebrew Tombstones from Padua, 1529–1862* (Leiden: Brill, 2013).
16. For example: Stephen Deed, *Unearthly Landscapes: New Zealand's Early*



- Churchyards, Cemeteries and Urupā* (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2015); Thomas W. Laqueur, *The Work of the Dead: A Cultural History of Mortal Remains* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015); Harold Mytum, 'Scotland, Ireland and America: The construction of identities through mortuary monuments by Ulster Scots in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', in Audrey J. Horning, Nick Brannon, Peter Edward Pope (eds), *Ireland and Britain in the Atlantic World* (Dublin: Wordwell, 2009), pp. 35–252; Elizabeth Buettner, 'Cemeteries, public memory and Raj nostalgia in postcolonial Britain and India', *History and Memory*, 18:1 (2006), pp. 5–42.
17. The economic significance of the island has been discussed widely. See, for example: Hilary Beckles, *The First Black Slave Society: Britain's 'Barbarity Time' in Barbados, 1636–1876* (Kingston, Jamaica: The University of the West Indies Press, 2016); Simon D. Smith, *Slavery, Family, and Gentry Capitalism in the British Atlantic: The World of the Lascelles, 1648–1834* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
  18. Patricia A. Molen, 'Population and social patterns in Barbados in the early eighteenth century', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 28:2 (1971), p. 289.
  19. Ibid.
  20. Larry D. Gragg, *Englishmen Transplanted: The English Colonization of Barbados, 1627–1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 72.
  21. Expanding the British folkways described by David Hackett Fischer in *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).
  22. Christ Church, St James, St Lucy, St Michael, St Peter, St Thomas, St Andrew, St George, St John, St Joseph, and St Philip.
  23. Mytum, *Recording and Analysing Graveyards*, pp. 98–103, notes how British gravestones were typically made from locally sourced materials until recently, with new materials being sourced from South Africa and India.
  24. Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death*.
  25. On the Willoughbys' influence in the establishment of Barbados see Justin Roberts, 'Surrendering Surinam: The Barbadian diaspora and the expansion of the English sugar frontier, 1650–75', *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 73:2 (2016), pp. 225–6.
  26. Lawrence-Archer, *Monumental Inscriptions of the British West Indies*, pp. 359, 361–3, 366–7, 373–9, 385–7, 390, 394–5, 399–400.
  27. No gravestones for enslaved Africans remain on the island. On death rites associated with burial see Watson, *The Civilised Island*, pp. 89–90.
  28. Katherine R. Cook, 'New World Memory: Identity, Commemoration, and Family in Transatlantic Communities' (PhD, University of York, 2015), p. 53.
  29. Langford Oliver, *The Monumental Inscriptions*.
  30. Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed*, pp. 237–9.
  31. Langford Oliver, *The Monumental Inscriptions*, p. 11.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 13.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 4. Spelling errors appear in the published transcription.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 3. Spelling errors appear in the published transcription.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
37. *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 58, 61, 73, 103, 127, 150.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 157.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
40. Watson, *The Civilised Island*, pp. 11–25; Jack P. Greene, ‘Colonial South Carolina and the Caribbean connection’, *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, 88:4 (October 1987), pp. 192–210; Gregory E. O’Malley, ‘Beyond the middle passage: Slave migration from the Caribbean to North America, 1619–1807’, *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 66:1 (2009), pp. 125–72.
41. The best example on Barbados is the Lascelles family. See Smith, *Slavery, Family, and Gentry Capitalism*.
42. Langford Oliver, *The Monumental Inscriptions*, p. 28. Original spelling retained for Rhode Island.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 40.
45. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
46. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
48. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 122.
50. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
51. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
53. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
54. As landscape historian Joan Coutu observed, the planters were not above commissioning a statue of themselves. In 1756, Henry Grenville ‘encouraged the Barbadian House of Assembly to commission a statue of himself’. Joan Coutu, *Persuasion and Propaganda: Monuments and the Eighteenth-Century British Empire* (Montreal and Ithaca: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2006), p. 10.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
56. Barbados Museum and Historical Society, Memorial to Thomas Withers.
57. Coutu, *Persuasion and Propaganda*, pp. 96–8.
58. Langford Oliver, *The Monumental Inscriptions*, pp. 13, 22, 114.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
61. Jack P. Green, *Imperatives, Behaviors, and Identities: Essays in Early American Cultural History* (Charlottesville and London: University Press of Virginia, 1992), pp. 13–68.

62. Ron Romano, *Early Gravestones in Southern Maine: The Genius of Bartlett Adams* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2016).
63. Peter Hoare, 'Sir Jonathan Atkins – Holborn House, Barbados – The marble relief of King's Lynn, Norfolk (1687): A puzzling link?', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 46 (2010), pp. 48–62.
64. Shilstone did not include the graves to Ashkenazi Jewish refugees who were buried on the island after 1933, probably out of respect.
65. Harry A. Ezratty, *500 Years in the Jewish Caribbean: The Spanish and Portuguese in the West Indies* (Baltimore, Md.: Omni Arts, 2002), p. 59.
66. Salo W. Baron, in the preface to Shilstone, *Monumental Inscriptions*, p. ii.
67. Barbados Museum, 'A topographical description and admeasurement of the Ysland of Barbados in the West Indyaes with the Mys. Names of the Severall plantacions' [spelling taken from the original document].
68. Ezratty, *500 Years in the Jewish Caribbean*, p. 59.
69. *Ibid.*, pp. 2–5.
70. *Ibid.*, pp. 59–60.
71. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
72. Shilstone, *Monumental Inscriptions*, p. xx.
73. Aviva Ben-Ur and Rachel Frankel, *Remnant Stones: The Jewish Cemeteries of Suriname: Epitaphs* (Cincinnati, OH: Hebrew Union College Press, 2009).
74. Agnes Seemann, 'The Jewish cemetery of Altona Königstrasse: Justification of outstanding universal value' (Hamburg: Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg / Kulturbehörde, 2012), <[http://www.juedischer-friedhof-altona.de/img/Weltkulturerbe/tentativlistentext\\_juedischer\\_friedhof\\_altona.pdf](http://www.juedischer-friedhof-altona.de/img/Weltkulturerbe/tentativlistentext_juedischer_friedhof_altona.pdf)> (accessed 1 November 2019).
75. Shilstone, *Monumental Inscriptions*, p. 16.
76. *Ibid.*, p. xx, shows knowledge of the smaller cemetery in 1956. He suggests that one explanation for the separation of the smaller cemetery was that it could have been used for those who committed suicide.
77. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
78. *Ibid.*, pp. 66–7.
79. *Ibid.*, pp. 117–18.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 100.
81. *Ibid.*, pp. 157–8.
82. Ezratty, *500 Years in the Jewish Caribbean*, pp. 60–1.
83. The European wars during the long eighteenth century were heavily disruptive to both island life and trade. See, for example, Richard Pares, *War and Trade in the West Indies, 1739–1763* (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1963).
84. With the frequent environmental catastrophes facing the Caribbean, this strategy also helped to preserve the memorials over time.
85. Ezratty, *500 Years in the Jewish Caribbean*, p. 67.
86. Shilstone, *Monumental Inscriptions*, p. 142.
87. Malkiel, *Stones Speak*.

88. Extension to the Barbados Jewish Cemetery. Thanks to the Barbados Jewish Museum for permission to access what were then newly discovered graves.
89. David Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews: Social Elations and Political Culture, 1840–1914* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press 1994).
90. See Eli Faber, *Jews, Slaves, and the Slave Trade: Setting the Record Straight* (New York: New York University Press, 1998) and Jonathan Schorsch, *Jews and Blacks in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2014).