NEW WORLD MEMORY:

**IDENTITY, COMMEMORATION, AND FAMILY
IN TRANSATLANTIC COMMUNITIES**

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ABSTRACT.

This thesis examines the ways in which British and Caribbean commemorative practices were shaped to construct and negotiate identities, relationships and experiences in the colonial era, reacting and contributing to transformations in social structure, global mobility and local communities. Based on a multi-site analysis of cemeteries in Barbados and Britain from the seventeenth to twentieth centuries, it examines the connections between colony and metropole, family, and memory by weaving together microhistorical and transatlantic narratives of expansion, interaction, and conflict. Traditionally, colonial histories have favoured European- and male-dominated narratives of exploration, administration, and military, while neglecting other major components of society, including family – the fundamental social unit at the time. Cemeteries and monuments provide the opportunity to develop alternative narratives because they have historically acted as venues through which to establish and promote identity. As the material manifestations of practice, emotion, exchange, fashion, environment, and economics, commemorative monuments embody family traditions, experiences and relationships.

In considering the role of cemeteries in short-term memory construction and long-term cultural processes, the interconnected nature of the development and negotiation of British, African and Creole family identity and community heritage can be studied in unprecedented ways. This is the only systematic study connecting British experiences and memory practices on either side of the Atlantic and the first large-scale examination of post-emancipation funerary practices of African-descendant communities in a British colony. The transformation of family self-representation, engagement in society, connection to place, and concepts of race, status, and position highlights the changing relationships between tradition, memory, and society, and the continuing impact of historical landscapes on contemporary understandings of the past. The results of this research contribute both to emerging Atlantic studies of cultural interaction and global connections, as well as broader discussions of material culture and landscape in the production and negotiation of memory and heritage.

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LIST OF ACCOMPANYING MATERIALS

Accompanying CD contains:

- Complete copy of thesis
- Appendix III: Records of Monuments, Barbados
- Photographs of monuments recorded during fieldwork (2013)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

This thesis is my own work, and has not been submitted for examination for this or another award. It does not contain any previously published work. All sources are acknowledged as References.

CHAPTER 1

NEW WORLD FAMILIES, NEW WORLD MEMORIES: AN INTRODUCTION

An anonymous tract published in England in 1580, surveying the lives of sixteenth century society, from king and bishop to harlot and clowne [sic], warns that "Death spareth not the chiefest high degree, He triumphes still on every earthly thing" (Anonymous 1580). Certainly, the levelling nature of death was a popular one in modern Europe. References on commemorative monuments from the seventeenth century onwards frequently warn that, "in the midst of life, we are in death" or speak on behalf of the deceased, reminding passersby that, "as you are now, so once was I, as I am now, so you will be." Regarded as the Great Leveller, death was regularly highlighted as a universal reality for every living being, regardless of wealth or power, gender or age, race or religion. By extension, grief, loss, and bereavement were equally widespread experiences for the living, with funerals, mourning and commemoration frequently punctuating everyday lives. Irrespective of the perceived universality of mortality, social, political, economic and religious change in Europe meant that the English way of death was being substantially transformed during this period. In the pursuit of an ever-expanding Empire, increasing geographical mobility, colonialism and migration meant that people were experiencing death in increasingly diverse ways, places and circumstances.

In the English colony of Barbados, heralded as the golden sugar island for its prosperity and as 'Little England' for its strong ties to the metropole (Lambert 2005), the frequency of death meant that funerals, mourning and commemoration were regular occurrences in the lives all residents, from wealthy plantation owners to servants and enslaved Africans. At the same time, the intensity with which residents of Barbados faced mortality transformed understandings of death and relationships with the dead. Naming Death as his 'familiar companion', Richard Ligon, writing of his time in Barbados in the

middle of the seventeenth century, detailed the hardships and mortal risks in the young colony:

> These toils of body and mind, and these misfortunes together, will
> depress and wear out the best spirits in the world …. Besides the
> casualties which I have named, there is yet one of nearer concern than
> all the rest, and that is, their own healths [sic], than which nothing is
> more to be valued; for sicknesses are there more grievous, and mortality
> greater by far than in England, and these diseases many times
> contagious: And if a rich man… fall into such a sickness, he will find
> there a plentiful want of such remedies, as are to be found in England
> (Ligon 1673 [2011]: 192, 194).

Exceptionally high mortality rates in colonies (Knight 1997: 91-94) heightened anxiety and increased the regularity of mourning and bereavement, in addition to affecting families' ability to reproduce, to accumulate and transfer property, and to support traditional household structures. Commemoration practices were shaped and reshaped as bereavement and memory came to span the Atlantic Ocean. Interactions with previously unknown cultural groups further transformed worldviews, traditions and customs amongst the island's residents. New World death was thus both part of the everyday and the extraordinary. This thesis is an exploration of how mortuary practice was shaped and reshaped throughout the colonial era to reveal critical changes in the everyday lives and experiences of the individuals and families that lived and died in Barbados between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries. When reconnected to metropolitan counterparts, approaches to death, dying, and commemoration illuminate the transformation of social structures, memory practices, and identity construction in the British Atlantic.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND THE ATLANTIC WORLD

Occupied in the sixteenth century with laying claim to Ireland, the Channel Islands, Scotland and Wales, and defending against threats from continental France and Spain, England was a relative latecomer to the wider Atlantic world (Ogborn 2008: 18). Spanish and Portuguese exploration of the Atlantic Ocean, from the settlement of the Canaries and the Azores islands to the first European sighting of the Caribbean islands by Christopher Columbus in 1492, had already revolutionized worldviews, understandings of geography and navigation, and Atlantic relations. Successive conquests and settlements in Hispaniola (1496), Puerto Rico (1508), Cuba (1511), Florida (1513), Brazil (1516), Panama and Veracruz (1519), Mexico (1521), Peru (1533) and Chile (1565) heralded a period of

immense change in how people thought about the world, moved within it and interacted with diverse cultures (Figure 1.1, Figure 1.2). As the Spanish reaped the benefits of their investments abroad, primarily in sugar production, and gold and silver mining, other European nations scrambled to profit from the lucrative but extremely volatile Atlantic market; France, the Netherlands, and England were key players in this secondary wave.

Figure 1.1 Andrea Bianco's map of the known world from 1436, with Europe, Africa and Asia as a single land mass (Cartographic Images n.d.).

Figure 1.2 Herman Moll's (1736) *A New Map of the Whole World*, including gaps in North America and New Holland (Australia), but with the Caribbean well mapped.

Although early British[1] ventures overseas were often poorly funded and cautious, focusing on short-term profit rather than long-term settlement, transformations in ship-building in the late sixteenth century, accompanied by the adoption of modern Iberian navigation techniques and improvements in ship defences, encouraged a re-evaluation of English maritime exploration and trade (Andrews 1984). In the 1560s, John Hawkins of Plymouth launched three trading voyages that are the first recorded use of British ships transporting enslaved Africans to the Caribbean, with the second and third voyages backed by Queen Elizabeth (Kelsey 2003: 18, Levine 2007: 16-20). These efforts were soon followed by explorers such as Martin Frobisher on Baffin Island and in Greenland 1576, Humphrey Gilbert in Newfoundland in 1583, and Sir Walter Raleigh in Virginia in the 1580s and South America in 1595. The first attempts to claim land and establish British colonies overseas amidst Spanish rivals were all short-lived and lacked the resources to populate and outfit lasting settlements. More successfully, seventeenth-century British colonies were established in the Americas through mercantile charters to the Virginia Company, settling at Jamestown in 1607 and Bermuda from 1609-1612, and the Newfoundland Company, settling near St. John's, Newfoundland in 1610.

These early settlements laid the foundation for further permanent claims to be made throughout the Atlantic. In particular, the settlement at Bermuda established the groundwork for further British West Indian settlements, providing a jumping off point for both commerce and naval power in the region, and leading to a steady stream of colonies on the islands of Barbados and St. Kitts (1625), St. Vincent (1627), Barbuda (1628), Antigua (1632), Guadeloupe and Martinique (1635), in addition to later acquisitions, perhaps most notably Jamaica (1655) (Canny 1998). The environment of these early British settlements quickly established a model for colonization, to profit from the longer growing seasons and a climate favourable to sought-after products that for the most part could not be grown in Europe, including tobacco, cotton, ginger, and indigo (Beinart and Hughes 2007: 22). The Caribbean islands were particularly well-suited to this plantation system; with easy proximity to coasts for shipping, a longer, hotter growing season in contrast to Britain, not to mention the prior depopulation of these islands by the Portuguese and Spanish, the British West Indies became agricultural production frontiers.

These opportunities overseas came at a critical moment in British population history, which in turn heavily influenced the shape, pace and character of colonization in

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[1] The exact make up of 'England' and 'Britain', socially, economically, and politically, were substantially altered throughout this period making them difficult terms to deploy. In this thesis, Britain will be used to reference the union of England, Wales, and Scotland (a union solidified by the Acts of Union 1707 but evident in earlier periods). 'English', although often used synonymously elsewhere, will only be employed here to describe specific endeavours of England and its population (and Scottish and Welsh accordingly).

the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As the metropolitan population doubled between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, and continued to grow thereafter, access to land, food and other resources were increasingly restricted (Wrigley and Schofield 1981: 528-529). At the same time, conflict, ambitions of ethnic cleansing, structural inequality and economic aspirations contributed to an indentured labour system that forced many individuals from Britain to undertake hard labour, often considered a form of slavery, in the colonies (Jordan and Walsh 2008: 12-15). Migration, forced or voluntary, was already a common feature of British life before the sixteenth century, however it had a narrow geographical scope of 16-24 kilometres, and tended to strengthen rather than challenge regional cultures (Games 2009:35-36). However, during the seventeenth century, more than 177,000 British people migrated to North America, in addition to more than 178,000 to the Caribbean, and this number continued to grow (Figure 1.3). Colonial migration significantly increased the distances between family members and the diversity of communities, in addition to providing new opportunities for personal advancement, both to younger sons of elites who stood to inherit little, and to the labouring classes who faced structural poverty (Wrightson 2009: 157-159). Despite ambitions for freedom and advancement, processes of social replication and 'anglicization' in the new territories saw a level of coherence in the social configurations of colonies, based on a fundamental assumption that Britain's colonies would recreate important metropolitan social institutions, including class structures (Wrightson 2009), gender roles (Pearsall 2009, Zacek 2010), and religion (Grimshaw 2004, Pestana 2009). Of course, this replication never resulted in the emergence of a single social system across the Atlantic world, and the British institutions that were seen to define British identity and empire were also irreversibly transformed in the process. These early patterns have had long-term and wide-reaching legacies for the Atlantic World, including transformations of social structures and identities, material culture, diet, environment, and political and economic development (cf. Beinart and Hughes 2007: 36-37, Levine 2004, Paget 2004).
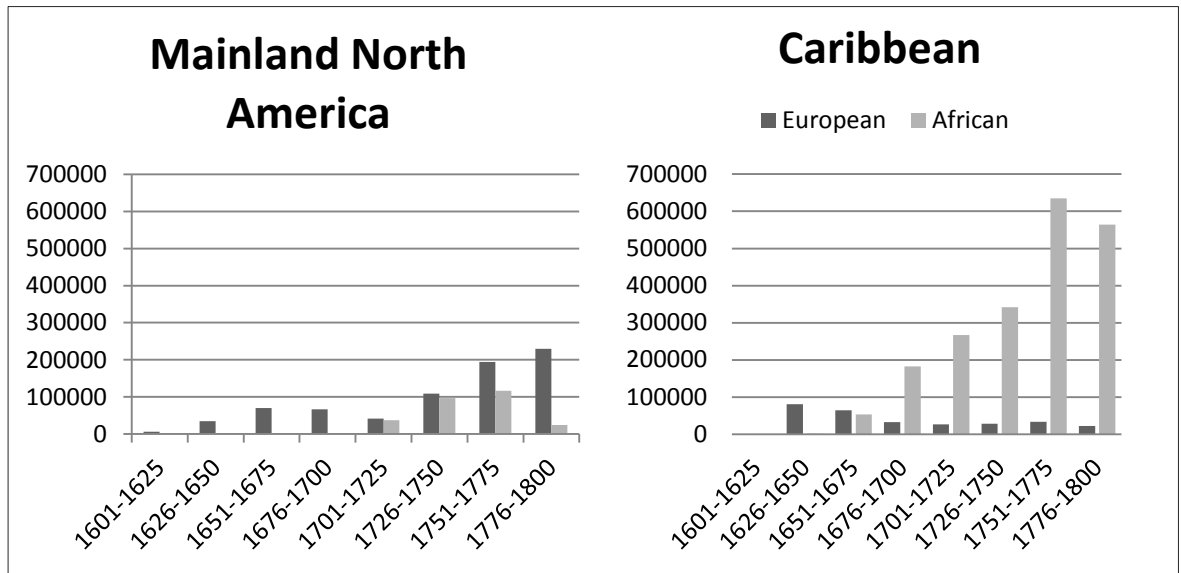
Figure 1.3 Migration (forced and voluntary) of Europeans (largely British) and Africans (forced) to British colonies in North America, 1601-1800 (based on Games 2009: 43).

Settling in Little England

One of the earliest, permanent English colonies was established on the island of Barbados. Although the cultural history of the island remains ambiguous (Hofman 2013: 206-214), when the first-recorded English ship, captained by John Powell, landed there in 1625, the primary evidence of previous human occupation were hogs left behind by the Portuguese to provide meat for passing ships (Amussen 2007, 24, Beckles 1990: 8-10). This initial landing was soon followed in 1627 by an expedition, again led by Powell and sponsored by English merchants, to "settle and plant" the island. The small size of Barbados (c.22.5 x 35.4 km) and its relative isolation, located more than 128 km from neighbouring islands, had left it unclaimed in the race of Empires in the early seventeenth century. However, the temperate climate, high proportion of arable lands, as well as favourable winds and currents aiding travel from Madeira and the Cape Verde Islands, encouraged English settlement.

The initial efforts to colonize the island were soon bolstered by Dutch-English merchant Sir William Courteen, who sponsored further settlement. By 1629 the population had swelled to 1600 people and would continue to grow for the next two decades (Figure 1.4). These were not only white British settlers but also indentured white servants[2] and a growing number of enslaved Africans brought to the island to serve as labourers (see below). Settlement focussed on the gentler western and southwestern coasts of Barbados

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[2] Indentured servants in Barbados were often individuals of Scottish, Irish or English descent who either sold their labour to escape poverty in Britain, or were deceived, coerced, or deported by Cromwell during the Civil War, and even kidnapped (cf. O'Callaghan 2013, Reilly 2015: 4-6). Their position in society was complicated; although outside of the racial discourse that framed African slavery, indentured servants were often faced similar levels of violence, mistreatment, malnourishment, and high mortality rates.

and land clearing was primarily restricted to the area between the shore and two and a half kilometres inland, though land was granted to settlers across the island. The process of settlement and further migration was held back by the tensions between various members of the English nobility who jockeyed for control; governors came and went in quick succession, until the Earl of Carlisle finally gained control and support by granting settlers title to land. Progress could finally be made with regards to establishing political and administrative structures on the island, including the establishment of Parliament, the electorate, and legislation. This also included the establishment of six parishes on the island, with six churches to facilitate attendance and maintenance given that movement on the island was hindered by dense forest and limited animals for riding (Campbell 1982: 23). The number of parishes, however, quickly increased to ten by the middle of the seventeenth century, through subdivision of the existing parishes, reflecting a growing population and dispersal of residents across the island (Figure 1.5).

	1655	1673	1676	1680	1684	1696	1712	1715
■ White Population	23000	21309	21725		19568		12528	16888
■ White Indentured Servants				2317	2381			
■ Militia				5588	5911	2330		
■ Enslaved Africans	20000	33184	32473	38782	46602	42000	41970	
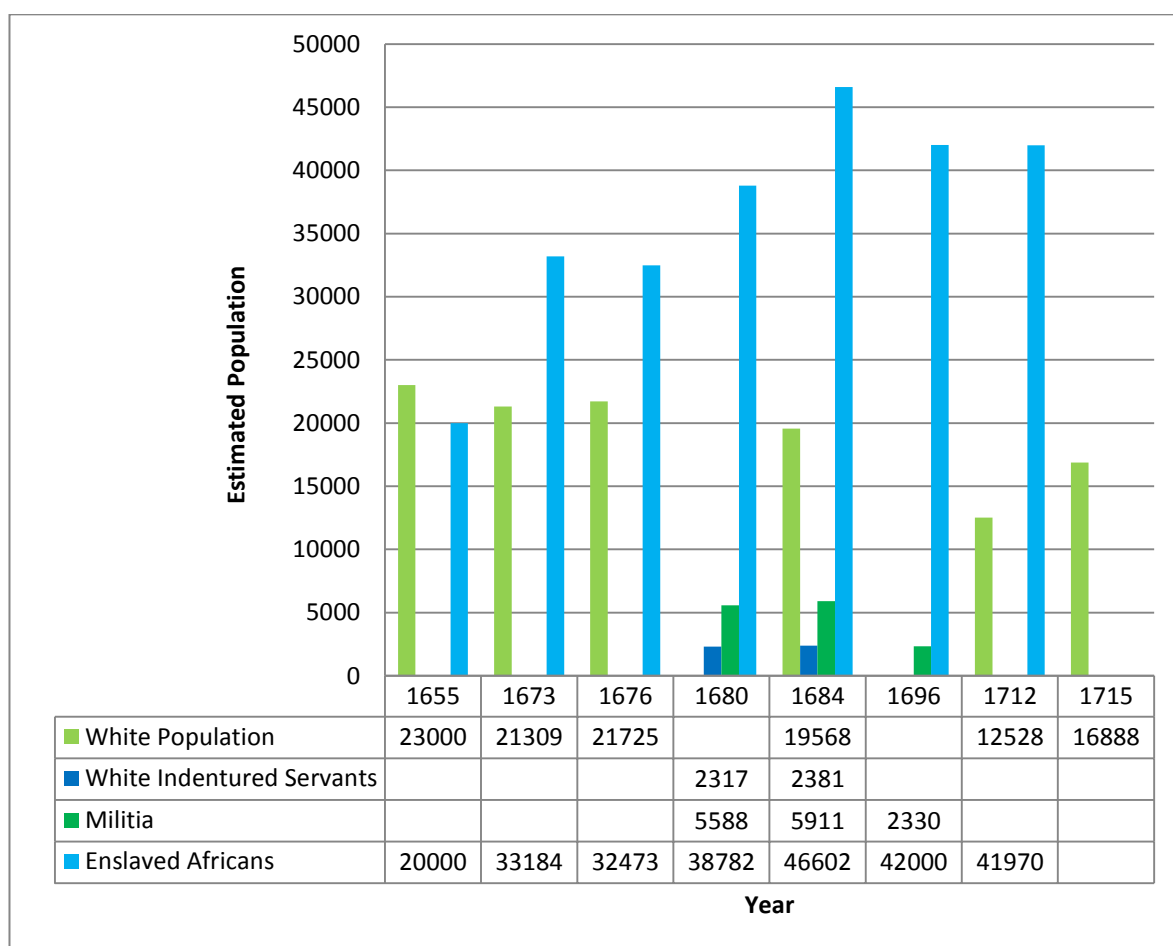
Year

Figure 1.4 Population estimates of Barbados, 1655-1715 (based on Dunn 1972:87[3]; gaps in data reflect years where records are not available).

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[3] Available data for early population estimates are extremely rare, and often include inconsistencies and unclear sources. These figures should only be used as a suggestion of the history of population growth, rather than a precise account.
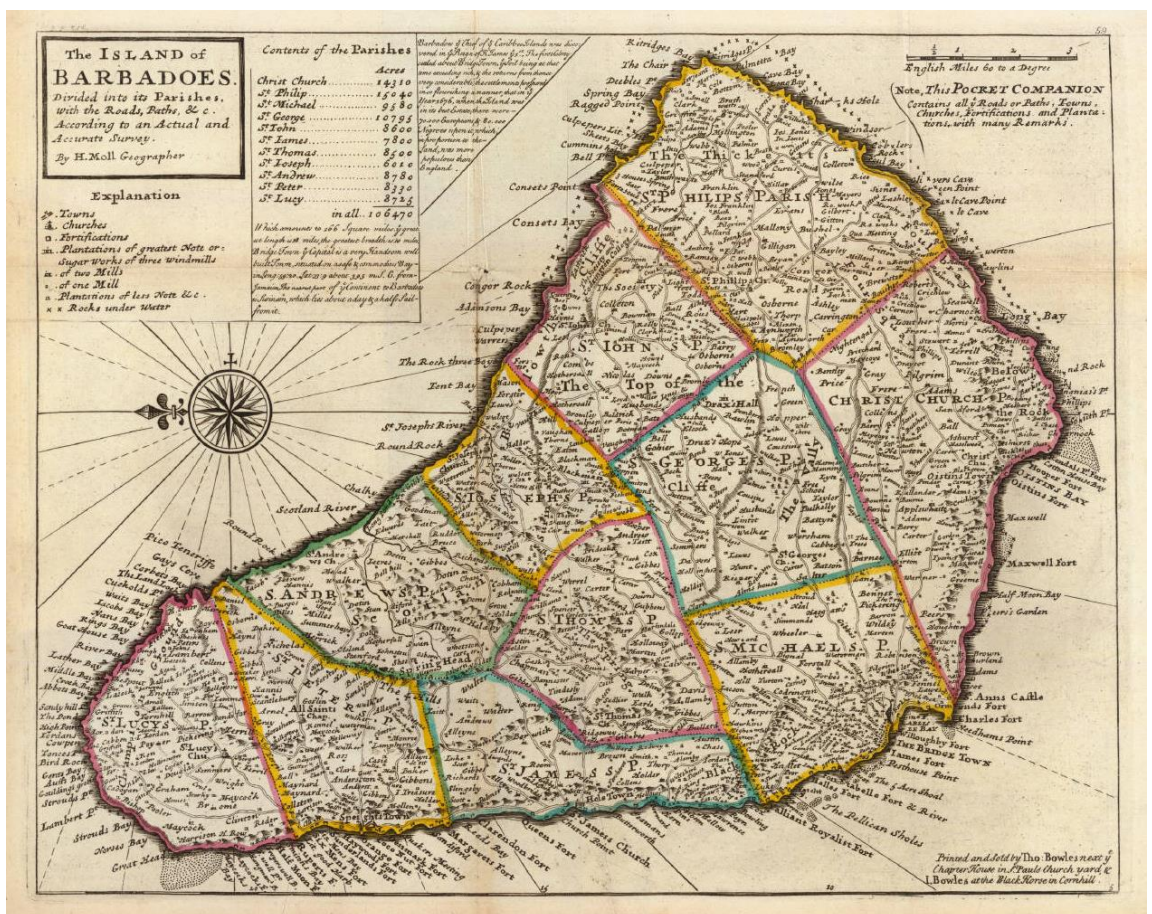
Figure 1.5 Maps of Barbados demonstrating progress of settlement from c. 1640 by Captain John Swan (top), to c. 1736 by Herman Moll (bottom) (British Library n.d., Moll 1736:59).

The First British Sugar Island

From the first settlement of the island, economic ventures focussed on establishing a successful export crop for Barbados (Puckrein 1984: 22-73). Tobacco, indigo, ginger, wheat and cotton were all attempted, but it was sugar that would transform the small island into one of the wealthiest colonies (Figure 1.6). The first documented shipment of sugar left Barbados in 1643, and by 1650, the island was primarily dependent on the crop as a source of income (Amussen 2007: 28-29). Sugar cane cultivation had been dominated by the Spanish in Jamaica, Cuba, and Puerto Rico and the Portuguese in Brazil; however, when Dutch conflict with the Portuguese disrupted sugar production in Brazil in the 1640s, the settlers of Barbados were able to take advantage of an opening in the market (Ogborn 2008: 231). The Dutch later invested in British sugar production as a means of maintaining pressure on the Portuguese in Brazil, extending credit and capital towards technology in addition to being the principal suppliers of enslaved Africans to Barbados (Beckles 1990:27). With significant investment in land, labour and processing technology, largely accomplished through credit and mortgages, the island was quickly transformed into the most lucrative of the British colonies. As production increased, England's demand for sugar kept pace; consumption increased from 1000 hogsheads[4] of sugar in 1660 to 32,000 hogsheads in 1700, and to a staggering 104,000 hogsheads by 1753 (Mintz 1985: 39). Used in medicines, spices, condiments, sweeteners and preservatives, not to mention as decoration, it was transformed from a luxury good of the nobility in 1650, to a staple of the English diet, with per capita consumption increasing from 4lbs/year in 1700, to 10lbs/year in the 1770s (Zahedieh 2009: 60). Although Barbados was the leader in the Caribbean sugar industry in the seventeenth century, its share of commerce with Britain fell in the eighteenth century as other islands in the British West Indies sought to replicate their successes in sugar production, flooding the market (Beckles 1990: 29). Between the 1650s-1670s, Barbados exported 65% of all sugar in the region, but by the 1700s they were losing their monopoly on the market to Jamaica and the Leeward Islands, as production fell due to diminishing soil fertility, rising costs, insects, and drought (Table 1.1). Between 1690 and 1705, Barbados accounted for 40% of sugar exports in region, but by 1715 their output was surpassed by Jamaica and Leewards (Beckles 1990: 29; Dunn 1972: 203-205). The flood in the market resulted in a drop in prices from 4£/hundredweight in the 1640s to 2£/hundredweight in the 1660s, before dropping as low as 16s/hundredweight in the middle of the 1680s (Dunn 1972: 205, McCusker and Menard 2004: 302), drastically reducing the profitability of Barbadian sugar production.

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[4] Hogshead was a unit of capacity used in Britain into the twentieth century, roughly equivalent to 1,456-1,792 pounds of sugar.

Figure 1.6 Tobacco plantation on Barbados, c. 1680 (Allard 1680: 88).

Table 1.1 Estimated quantity of sugar (tons) exported from Barbados, Jamaica and the Leeward Islands and London price for Muscovado Sugar, 1640-1705 (based on Dunn 1972: 203-205).

Year	Barbados Sugar (tons)	Jamaica Sugar (tons)	Leeward Islands Sugar (tons)	London Price for Muscovado Sugar (per hundredweight)
1640s				4£
1651	3,750			
1655	7,787			
1663	7,176		1,000	2£
1669	9,525	500	1,679	
1672		522		25s
1676		1,154	3,600	
1678		2,259	1,505[Nevis]	
1680		2,563	2,134[Nevis]	
1683	10, 000	4,902	3,300	
1686		7,739	2,054[Nevis]	16s
1691	9,191	7,099		
1698	15,587	6,004	5,060	
1699	9,140	5,276	8,015	
1704		6,056	1,630[Nevis]	
1705	9,419			

Nevertheless, sugar remained a critical resource on the island until the nineteenth century; however, means and relations of production changed over time and these transformations had a major impact on the families of Barbados and their experiences (Menard 2006). The profit-driven plantations of Barbados were quickly transformed to meet market demands as planters continued to clear forest and consolidated small land holdings into larger plantations (Figure 1.7). Supplies were imported, so as to devote the greatest amount of land, labour and capital to the sugar enterprise. The tenant farmers who initially settled the island fought for tenancy, cleared the forests that covered land appropriate for agriculture, and established field systems that characterized the initial period of sugar production. Families with small land-holdings (usually less than a hundred acres) contributed to a diverse, constantly fluctuating community as fortunes were lost or gained, as people moved or died. However, the shift to integrated sugar plantations with gang labour placed an increasing emphasis on larger property holdings (more than two hundred acres) to make the greatest of profits. This contributed to larger, wealthier planters dominating landholdings and limiting the opportunities and social mobility of small land holders (Amussen 2007: 29, Dunn 1972: 46-47, Puckrein 1984: 56-90). Moreover, the shortage of land on the small island provided inadequate opportunities for people to acquire and build up land holdings and influence property dealings in marriages and wills. Land shortage also contributed to the eventual decline of the sugar industry when the price of sugar fell as a result of saturation of the market, and the costs of importing supplies and labour could no longer be offset (Beinart and Hughes 2007: 36). Throughout these economic developments, family networks connecting Britain and Barbados were constantly transforming, as the community changed, as access to resources fluctuated, and as opportunities for mobility, connections and negotiating relationships came and went.
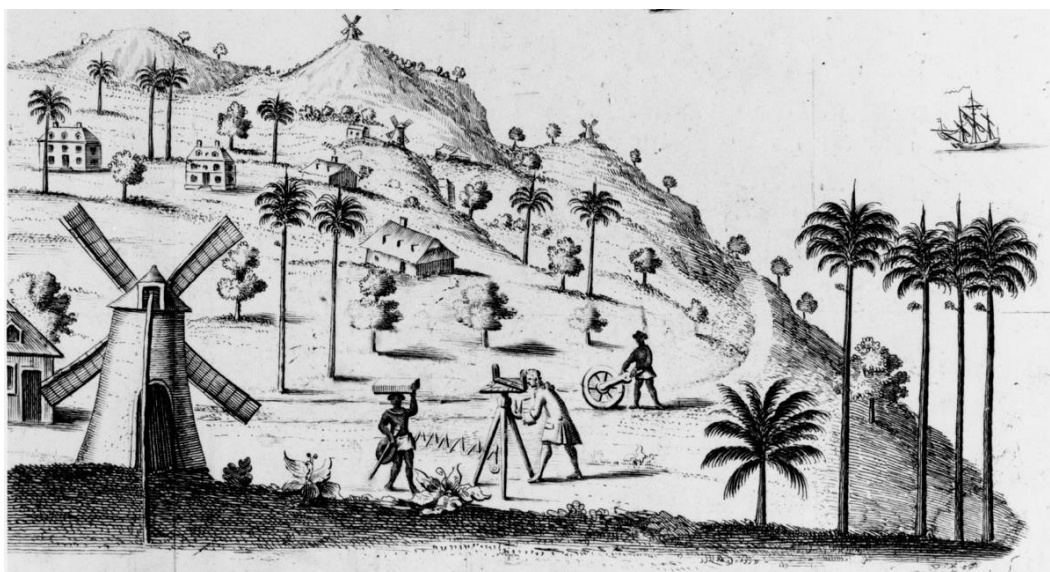
Figure 1.7 Surveyors of Barbados' sugar plantations and mills, c. 1721 (Beckles 1990: 53).

Sugar and Society

Plantations created new social configurations, particularly evident in the rise of the 'plantocracy', or planter class, in Barbados (Brown 2009: 234; Wrightson 2009: 159, 164-171). Thomas Tryon, a planter in Barbados, wrote that:

> Since the Climate is so hot, and the labor so constant… so that what with these things, the number of the Family, and many other Losses and Disappointments of bad Crops, which often happens, a Master Planter has no such easy life as Some may imagine, nor Riches flow upon him with that insensibility, as it does upon many in England. [sic](Tryon 1700: 201-202)

Despite the statistics showing increasing growth in terms of area under cultivation, productivity, and migration, there was great risk in colonial ventures and early planters often laboured alongside indentured servants to clear land, and plant and harvest crops. However, as the switch to sugar and slave labour empowered successful planters with increasing wealth, they often withdrew to great houses and urban properties, becoming more involved in business, administration and politics. They maintained connections with Britain for generations, sending their children, many of whom were born on the island, to pursue British education and marriages. By the late eighteenth century, most of the planter class was made up of island-born, British descendants, who possessed, "a real nationality, with characteristics, neither English, Irish, nor Scotch" (Sturge and Harvey 1838: 154-155). Whilst most sugar planters lived on the island (Handler and Lange 1978: 41), the tantalizing economic opportunities also created a category of absentee planters and investors, building portfolios of island property managed by family relations or trusted employees while they remained based in Britain, often heavily involved in the West Indian colonial lobby in London or merchant activities in growing port towns.

Perhaps more than any other social transformation, the escalation of slavery and its impact on ideas about race had critical implications for social structures, philosophy, ideology, and politics on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean (Chaplin 2009: 173). In British colonies, enslaved Africans were first used in Virginia, imported as early as 1612 to work in tobacco agriculture, but their cost often exceeded the means of early settlers, who more commonly relied on white indentured servitude. As population pressure eased in England in the late seventeenth century, and the availability of Irish and Scottish labourers declined following the end of the English Civil War, colonists across the British colonies looked to African slaves to fill the gap in labour (Beinart and Hughes 2007). This was further

encouraged by the shift to sugar production, which had particularly high labour requirements. The reliance on slavery in the Atlantic resulted in the largest forced migration in history, with over 11 million enslaved Africans making the arduous Middle Passage journey from Africa to the Americas in 350 years of trade, dominated by Spain, France and England (Ogborn 2008: 197). The interactions of European colonists and enslaved Africans presented new challenges that ultimately resulted in a language of racism, in which physical features of the body and concepts of lineage defined inescapable and non-negotiable power relationships (Chaplin 2009: 174, 179). These tensions and relationships created the unique character of Atlantic communities that would define colonial and post-colonial development and social structure.

Sugar has been characterized as one of the key factors in the reliance on slave labour (Mintz 1959: 49). Certainly in Barbados, the increasing dependence on slavery as a source of labour was heavily tied to the intensification of sugar production to meet European demands and improve profitability, as a cheaper alternative to indentured servitude. In 1640, there were 30 white indentured servants for every slave in Barbados; by 1680, the proportion had inverted to 17 slaves to every white indentured servant (Ogborn 2008: 232). Between 1701 and 1810, 252,500 enslaved Africans were shipped to the small West Indian island, primarily from the Gold Coast/Asante region of Africa (Mintz 1985: 53). As the number of enslaved Africans quickly outnumbered the white population of Barbados, concerns about uprisings and revolts grew and a harsh slave code was put in place, restricting the movements, socializing, behaviour and activities of slaves and giving white planters almost complete control over penalties and discipline. While these codes stipulated that plantations should provide annual clothing allotments, food rations were not specified nor were working conditions. In the seventeenth century, it was even illegal for whites to teach or baptize slaves in the Christian faith, due to concern with the implications for their treatment and the threat of empowerment through education (Beckles 1990: 120). Overwork, dangerous conditions, malnutrition and disease, not to mention over-zealous punishment and institutionalized violence, meant that a constant influx of new African slaves was necessary to maintain the labour force in Barbados (Levy 1980: 9). Plantation owners, however, focussed on profit and deemed it less expensive to replace slaves than to invest in the nutrition, health care, safety regulations, and sanitation necessary to keep them alive long-term. Slaves in urban settings, particularly Bridgetown, fared slightly better, with more freedom and independence, unsupervised absences, a different lifestyle, and often handling owner's money and accumulating their own, in addition to developing skills, particularly in the trades (Welch 1998: 296). However, overall, enslaved Africans in

Barbados faced constant discrimination, violence and abuse at the hands of the British and British-descendant populations of the island, resulting in extremely high rates of mortality, unrest and distrust, not to mention emotional and psychological trauma. The control of slave owners also meant that slave communities were frequently wrenched apart, particularly families, and often included a diverse range of African cultural groups, contributing to conflict, cultural shifts, and the development of creolised traditions, social relationships and structures.

The treatment of slaves did change towards the end of the eighteenth century; facing the impending abolishment of the slave trade, planters strategically sought to prolong the lives of their slaves by improving diet and care, particularly for young women, encouraging natural reproduction rather than continued buying of slaves (Beckles 1990: 103). As a result, Barbados was one of few West Indian colonies that eliminated the need for the slave trade before it was actually abolished in 1807. However, there was mounting frustration amongst African-Barbadians with the lack of progress following the abolition of the slave trade, due to the narrow economic rather than humanitarian interests of planters. The first significant slave rebellion in Barbados broke out April 14th, 1816, and lasted three days, including arson, violence and insurrection concentrated in the south-eastern, southern and central parishes. Led by an enslaved African named Bussa, more than 400 freedom fighters took action against the slow progress of emancipation on the island, but were eventually subdued by the militia. Unlike Jamaica, Suriname, and St. Lucia, where maroonage represented a significant threat to white residents, the density of population of Barbados, and the resulting heavy surveillance, had discouraged earlier slave revolts that other islands faced. This rebellion and the possibilities of emancipation resulted in radical changes in the 1820s, including the religious and secular education of slaves, which had been resisted by white planters since the seventeenth century for fear that literacy and Christianity would increase rebellion. Finally, in 1833, the Emancipation Act was passed, outlining a process through which enslaved persons would be emancipated, beginning with a period of apprenticeship to allow for the restructuring and adjustment of social, economic, and political frameworks on the island. At the time of emancipation, there were an estimated 83,150 enslaved people in Barbados, who gained full freedom by 1838 (Levy 1980: 55).

From Emancipation to Sovereignty

Post-emancipation Barbados saw a number of major shifts in social and economic systems that had long structured the island, but also a number of continuities that disappointed those who had hoped for increased freedom (Levy 1980: 60-65). Increasingly

competitive sugar markets, more modest profit margins, and the high cost of importing supplies meant that more of the island's agricultural land was turned over to food crops; nonetheless, improvements in land use, techniques and fertilisation meant that sugar production actually increased during this period. This expansion was still monopolized by whites, who reaped the rewards; in 1838, only one of 297 sugar plantations was owned by a non-white, and this increased to only six by 1860 (Beckles 1990: 139). In Bridgetown, 75% of property was owned by whites, and many schools and churches remained segregated. Small victories were won in social welfare, healthcare, education and gradual wage increases throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, however few were satisfied with the changes made. In many ways, the standard of living in Barbados did not change greatly between the time of emancipation and the 1930s. With land values remaining the highest in the British West Indies and wages the lowest, most previously enslaved individuals found it nearly impossible to get a foothold in property on Barbados, though some land tenancy agreements and leaseholds gradually gave African-Barbadians opportunities to strengthen their position. Overall, the changes in Barbados were less of the deluge expected, and more the accumulation of small steps punctuated by riots and debates that gradually eroded the old plantation systems and social structures of the island.

From the 1930s to the 1960s, the Bajan population focussed on the transformation from British colony to nation state along with many other West Indian colonies. The work of a number of activists at the turn of the century gave Barbados a reputation of a well-developed political and judicial system for the West Indies, however infant mortality, population densities, and standards of living remained among the worst (Beckles 1990: 242-250, see also De Barros 2014). With extremely limited land available but an increasing population, a solution to the pressures on island resources and space was hard to come by. Out of these tensions emerged the Barbados Labour Party in 1938; under the leadership of Grantley Adams, a new age of more formalized politics in Barbados was ushered in, including a push for adult suffrage (achieved in 1950), access to free education, unionization of the labour force, and even nationalization of the sugar industry. The island also increasingly turned to tourism as a key to economic development, in addition to non-sugar agriculture. As political administration formalised, frustration with the unwillingness of Britain to support or invest in the colony drove the movement for unilateral independence. Following ever-improving economic and social conditions on the island, Barbados gained sovereignty on November 30th, 1966. While connections to Britain remain, including tourism, heritage, and membership in the Commonwealth, Barbados has also developed strong international relationships with the United States and Canada,

through trade agreements and the partial use of US currency. Sugar cane fields are still ubiquitous, but tourism, in addition to alternative agricultural crops, has transformed the island since independence from Britain.

APPROACHES TO ATLANTIC HISTORY

The long history of social, political and economic connection with Britain, spanning from settlement in the first half of the seventeenth century to independence in the second half of the twentieth century, makes Barbados a useful case study for exploring Atlantic history. Whilst many social institutions, strategies and methods were rolled out across the growing British Empire, unique environments, contexts and historical contingencies in each locality resulted in quite diverse colonial experiences. These nuances have both inspired and challenged the work of scholars to understand this dynamic period of British, Atlantic, and ultimately global history. Early histories were largely imperial in nature, focussing on the administrative, economic and military control of European empires, structured by a metropolitan and periphery framework. In the middle of the twentieth century, however, studies were reconceptualised following the Braudelian model of unifying a sea and the lands that bordered it as inherently interconnected (Elliott 2009: 253, 259). Ferdinand Braudel's *La Méditerranée et le Monde Méditerranéen, à l'époque de Philippe II* (1949) demonstrated the potential for histories that recognized more dynamic processes in which communities were created, destroyed and recreated through the movement of people, commodities, practices and knowledge. The resulting creation of Atlantic studies has been enhanced in recent decades by growing emphasis on studies of contemporary globalisation, with the understanding that there is a much longer history of worldwide connection and that global relationships have changed over time, in different contexts (Ogborn 2008: 2-3, see also Eltis 1999). In bringing together the study of a social system with flexible social identities and permeable boundaries, which facilitated the transmission of ideas and complex exchanges, that are simultaneously local, temporal, and comparative (Armitage and Braddick 2009), Atlantic studies have been heralded as, "one of the most important new historiographical developments of recent years" (Elliott 1998, see also Bailyn 1996).

These studies tend to fall into three categories of scale: 1) Circum-Atlantic; 2) Trans-Atlantic; and 3) Cis-Atlantic (Armitage 2009: 17). Most classically Braudelian, Circum-Atlantic studies focus on a transnational conceptualization of history, emphasizing mobility, connection and exchange defined by the Atlantic Ocean. Largely finding definition in Joseph Roach's prominent work *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic*

Performance (1996), which traced diasporic interculture around and throughout the Atlantic world, studies have typically emphasized integration and the transformation of identities and cultures (see also Gilroy 1993). By contrast, Trans-Atlantic histories focus on the international nature of the Atlantic world, creating meaningful comparisons between linked regions and peoples. More grounded than the ocean-based Circum-Atlantic studies, Trans-Atlantic studies are often based in imperial units, comparing, for instance, British and Spanish slavery, on the basis that their existence within an interconnected Atlantic history meant that they already shared common features (cf. Tannenbaum 1946, Klein 1967, Elliott 1994). Finally, Cis-Atlantic history is a regional study based within the Atlantic context, focussing on unique historical contingencies that resulted from specific interactions between local and global connections, most famously in Huguette and Chaunu's *Seville et l'Atlantique* (1955-9), but also evident in the work of Meinig (1986), Sacks (1991), Evans (1996), and Cunliffe (2001). These three concepts are not exclusive, but reinforcing, contributing to each other in the development of coherent Atlantic histories; connecting multiple scales and localities has ongoing potential to produce more nuanced understandings of Atlantic exchanges and interactions. However, their usefulness in Atlantic studies is perhaps too limiting; although they add clarity to discourse in certain instances and assist to focus research design and analytical units, by continuing to isolate elements of Atlantic exchange, the full spectrum of sociocultural interaction is never realized. This thesis, therefore, takes the concepts of interaction and influence from these varied views of Atlantic studies as a basis for exploring different forms of colonial connection and movement, without committing to one particular approach.

On the other hand, criticisms of Atlantic studies question the very nature of the unification of these diverse regions. Characterizing studies that emphasize the degree to which British people were aware of, involved in and connected to metropolitan and peripheral regions of the empire as overly 'post-colonial', 'lazy' and 'guilt-inducing', Hyam (2010: 15) has instead argued that:

> However much they may have been surrounded by evidence of empire,
> they were unlikely to interrogate it, or connect it all up. Shopping at
> 'Home & Colonial' grocery stores, reading the Daily Mail ('for King and
> Empire'), seeing maps with big splodges of red, or encountering their
> first West Indian immigrant, seem unlikely to have made them more
> imperially aware or more patriotic. (Hyam 2010: 15)

This criticism highlights the lack of revolutionary social, political or economic shifts, particularly in rural Britain, and overall ignorance of the colonies amongst the lower classes. Measuring the impact of colonial endeavours is indeed complex and has mostly only been attempted by tracing the movement of enslaved people, capital and trade (cf. Amussen 2007: 171-216, Beauman 2005, Mintz 1985, Smith 2005) from the New World through Britain, and through inferences from social censure of people returning from the colonies who had apparently developed uncouth behaviours and a lack of morality (cf. Smith 2006: 33-36, Amussen 2007: 185-190). However, there is a growing body of evidence that conveys the degree to which the Atlantic world was represented in plays, paintings, literature, newspapers and popular culture (Pearsall 2003), in addition to the geographical mobility that threw together individuals from all corners of the Atlantic (Amussen 2007: 177). The complexity of processes of social replication and transformation can therefore only be adequately explored in the context of interconnected studies of local and global Atlantic histories. There is still very little known of localities, their specific social dynamics, identities, and relationships, and the ways that these both reflected and contributed to the Atlantic world (Wrightson 2009: 172), representing ongoing challenges and opportunities for historical analysis.

TRANSATLANTIC FAMILIES, DEATH AND MEMORY

This thesis will focus on exploring an individual island locality, with elements of comparison to other corners of the British Empire, crossing the boundaries of Circum-, Trans-, and Cis-Atlantic studies to reconnect related individuals and practices in an ever-widening world. A focus on family, the primary social unit of the period, will act as a focal point from which to examine relationships of British Atlantic communities during the colonial period. In particular, an examination of cemeteries and commemorative practice in England and Barbados will provide access to a new perspective on transatlantic families in the past. How were families' identities and traditions transferred across unprecedented distances and reinvented in new worlds? What were the implications for social structures and institutions on either side of the Atlantic? Can creolised[5] commemorative practices contribute to historical narratives of empire, memory, and family?

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[5] Creolisation is a widely used term that remains relatively ambiguous as a result of competing definitions. In this thesis, creolisation will be used to indicate the complex processes through which previously separate cultural groups came to interact, and were thereby transformed. It is not viewed as a one-directional or superficial system of adoption or assimilation, but rather an entangled system of influence, adaptation, and change resulting from diverse cultural interactions in new environments (see also Finneran 2013, Zucchi 1997).

Concerns with the ways in which family interests and identities were replicated or generated in the colonies were voiced more than fifty years ago (cf. Bailyn 1957, Farber 1971), however, a relatively static and immobile sense of identity and kinship permeates contemporary studies. Recognizing the substantial changes to social structure in Barbadian history, from the planters and slaves of sugar's 'golden era', to the tensions of race, class, and gender in post-emancipation and even post-colonial Barbados, the organisation and role of family was more dynamic and complicated than previously recognized. A more systematic and diverse narrative can, however, be accessed by integrating alternative sources of history. Cemeteries and funerary monuments provide such an opportunity because they have historically acted as venues through which to establish and promote identity (cf. Mytum 2006, 2009, Thomas 2009: 245-250). Moreover, the high mortality rates in the British West Indies provides a material record that was regularly added to, creating nuanced and detailed archives of the past. The churchyards and burial grounds of Barbados are palimpsests of the plantocracy's authority, social competition and identity construction, the emergence of freed and later emancipated churchgoers, and the resulting transformation of the religious communities across the island. The material manifestations of these events therefore represent family traditions, experiences and relationships through conscious and unconscious choices in self-representation. The tight chronologies and precise family sequences provided by commemorative material culture further enhances evidence of interactions, practice, image, fashion, emotion, environment, and economics to understand the cultural processes governing the generation and regeneration of families in the transatlantic world. In considering cemeteries as reflections of both short-term burial events and long-term cultural processes, this thesis will explore the development and negotiation of family identity and history during this period through commemorative practice.

Following a critical discussion of studies of memory, commemoration, and family (Chapter 2), and a description of the methods utilized in this project (Chapter 3), this thesis will examine and interpret textual, visual and spatial representations of family identity, memory and relationships reflected by funerary monuments from the seventeenth to twentieth centuries. Chapter 4 will present the results of a large-scale, systematic analysis of commemorative practice in Barbados, which has not previously been undertaken. These patterns will be contextualized and built upon in Chapter 5 through the transatlantic comparative analysis of samples of commemorative monuments from regions in the UK. This will establish the impact that colonialism had on different communities and outline the divergent strategies used in commemoration in changing communities on both sides of

the Atlantic. These trends will be used to examine the relationship between families' experiences of colonialism, traditions in commemorative practice, and the reasons and processes through which traditions change to recognize the diversity of family histories, from settlement to the abolition period (Chapter 6) and from abolition and emancipation to just before independence (Chapter 7). Finally, Chapter 8 will integrate the multi-scalar patterns delineated in previous chapters to contribute to our understanding of the British Atlantic and identify future avenues of study.

   This thesis contributes to emerging Atlantic studies in addition to archaeological discussions of material culture change and social practice in its focus on the ways in which families created and maintained identity and memory through the use of commemorative material culture. The transformation of family self-representation, engagement in society, and connection to place will highlight the changing relationship between tradition, memory and experience, and the continuing impact of historical landscapes on contemporary understandings of the past. British and Caribbean commemorative practices were shaped and negotiated in order to construct narratives of families and their experiences in the colonial era, reflecting and reacting to transformations in social structure, global mobility and local communities.

CHAPTER 2
MEMORY, COMMEMORATION, AND THE FAMILY

Tracing the experiences of families within the framework of Atlantic colonialism, and their strategies and approaches to maintaining and transforming their identity and position within a changing social system, presents a number of challenges, not least of which is the practical struggle with the availability of records and datasets to confront questions of the significance, stability and role that family played in colonial history. However, alternative approaches and materials can contribute to more nuanced histories than traditional evidence has previously allowed. In particular, burial practice and funerary commemoration have emerged as critical records of memory and identity in the study of colonial history (cf. Blouet 2013, Cipolla 2013, Finneran 2013, Paterson 2013). Since the twelfth century, funerary monuments have played a retrospective function in the western world, translating memory through material culture, because, as historian Keith Thomas (2009) outlines:

> funerals were soon over and obituaries forgotten. A 'fair monument',
> however, was a more enduring way of making the deceased 'memorable'
> to posterity… by recalling details of individuals' lives so that their
> memory might be preserved and their virtues imitated (Thomas 2009:
> 245).

As society, religion, and relationships to the dead were reshaped by religious reform, industrialization, and globalisation, funerary art, commemorative motivations, and the position of burial grounds within the landscape were all transformed. Understanding these historical processes, in relation to memory and social structures, makes it possible to utilize commemorative material culture to examine identity and experience in the past. The

following chapter will explore interdisciplinary theory governing the study of memory, commemoration and family in historical contexts to provide the platform from which it is possible to understand churches, churchyards, and cemeteries as colonial narratives of the globalization of families, the relationship between metropole and colony, the transformation of race relations, and the development of creole communities.

APPROACHES TO MEMORY

Recognition of the role and active use "of the past in the past" (Van Dyke and Alcock 2003: 1) and the centrality of memory studies to archaeological research was stimulated by the long-established, interdisciplinary range of theory focussing on time, perception, and embodied memory (Borić 2010: 5-16; see also Bourdieu 1992, Bergson 1941, Halbwachs 1992[1950], Husserl 1964, Proust 1983). More recently, controversies over contested or marginalized heritage, management and policy (cf. Alonso 1988, Blight 2001, Crossland 2000) and post-modern nostalgia, genealogy trends, and seeming obsessions with memorialisation and commemoration (Borić 2010: 4-5, Buchli 2010, Nora 1989, Zerubavel 1995) have also served to emphasize the impact of memory in contemporary societies, and trigger questions about its role in the past. The development of landscape studies focussing on phenomenology and social engagement with place, whereby experience and perception of landscapes (bound up in memory) mediates and reinforces social structures, relationships and attitudes (cf. Ashmore and Knapp 1999, Bender 1993, Cosgrove 1984, Edmonds 1999, Ingold 2000, Tilley 1994), have also contributed a body of theory that has been incorporated into the foundations of memory studies. As a result, critical examinations of recollection, remembrance and commemoration have greatly expanded since the 1990s (cf. Bradley and Williams 1998, Chesson 2001, Joyce and Gillespie 200, Lillios 1999, Meskell 2002). There is increasing recognition of the complexities of the selective, interpretive and transformative processes through which memory is constructed (Lowenthal 1985: 210, see also Gosden and Lock 1998, Manning 1998), but also the impact that memory has on attitudes, behaviours, choices and actions. Archaeological approaches to memory range from the creation of objects specifically for the purpose of acting as external symbolic storage devices or mnemonics (Donald 1991, Lillios 1999, 2003), to focussing on long-term object and landscape biographies, monumentality, and the 'past in the past' (Bradley and Williams 1998, Barrett 1994) to the role of memory in cultural transmission (Jones 2007, Rowlands 1993). However, there is an overarching view that understanding memory and its complex

relationship to material culture has widespread implications for archaeological interpretation across a range of spheres.

From Individual to Social Memory

Memory studies often differentiate between individual and collective memories; whilst inherently connected through processes of communalization and transference, individual and collective memories diverge in terms of accountability, appropriation, consciousness, coherence, and temporal longevity (Gell 1992: 222, Ricoeur 2004: 93-126). The long temporal scales accessible to archaeologists, and the focus on social structure and reproduction, places particular emphasis on collective historical narratives, which are more lasting and often more coherent in the material record. In particular, Van Dyke and Alcock (2003: 2) have argued that archaeologists are uniquely poised to explore social memory, or the collective construction of notions of the past (Connerton 1989: 6-40, Halbwachs 1992[1950], Hutton 1993, Van Dyke and Alcock 2003: 2), with the ability to explore its variability, multiplicity, flexibility, and transformation over long periods of time. The power of social memory to create and support identity, authority, resistance, and conflict makes it central to understanding historical processes in past societies (Alonso 1988, Blake 1998, Paplexandrou 2003). The ways in which memory reinforces or reproduces sociocultural structures, and the impact of perception and emotion, often blur the boundaries between reality and fiction (Ricoeur 1984: 33).

Social memory does not imply universal memory or heritage; emotional attachments, trauma, nostalgia, perception and resistance create variability in histories. Speaking specifically of historical methodologies, but relevant to all narratives of the past, Klein (1997) notes:

> Stories are what we live in, and in them we find both our worlds and our selves. We differentiate among them, we call some fairy tales and others true stories, and we tend to believe that our favourite tale is one everyone else should adopt. But we do this from within narrative traditions we can interweave with others but never entirely escape. As our traditions change, so do our worlds; as our worlds change, so do our traditions.
> (Klein 1997: 5-6)

The co-existence and competition of multiple narratives, their instability, and their relevance to social reproduction highlights the fluidity and flexibility of social memory, particularly evident in contested or traumatic memories (cf. Bajić 2010, Filippucci 2010, Ricoeur 1999, Saunders, 2004, Weiss 2010). While some narratives may be more

sustainable, justifiable, evidenced or even politically correct at certain times, the tensions in competing and contested memories, and the ways in which individuals promote, manipulate and solidify their version of events, illustrates the importance of social memory and multi-vocality. Archaeological studies of memory, therefore, must understand the relationship between individual and collective memories, the ways in which narratives are promoted or gain popularity, and the tensions between the historical perceptions of individual agents in the past and the more coherent, stable narratives that are preserved and developed within societies beyond individual lifetimes.

Memory and Material Culture

Although social memory may be considered intangible, objects have been recognized to play a crucial role in helping societies remember, and are therefore central to understanding social reproduction (Jones 2007: 4-5). A number of frameworks from other disciplines have served as the foundation for archaeological approaches to the relationship between memory and material culture. French philosopher Henri Bergson's *Matter and Memory* (1981) differentiated between 'habit memory', so routine that it is recalled without difficulty (i.e. walking and writing), and 'event memory', which involves effort to reproduce an image of a memory (which may include the use of objects or images). Bergson's distinction is premised on the 'economy of effort' involved in recollection, where investment in material *aides memoires* is sought to balance the effort that is necessary for recollection. This is not to say that habit memory is not accessible in the archaeological record, but it is more akin to discussions of habitus, communities of practice and knowledge transmission, whilst the role of objects as memory storage devices is more inclined to discussions of object biographies, the ways in which things accumulate or incorporate symbolic meanings, and the transformation of those meanings. Social anthropologist Paul Connerton's seminal work *How Societies Remember* established a related distinction between inscribed and incorporated memory practices (1989: 72-73, see also Bloch 1985, Sahlins 1985) that has provided the framework for archaeologists to explore the relationship between societies, objects, and memory. The distinction, here, lies primarily in the ways in which memory is stimulated, but also the level of consciousness and cohesiveness, rather than the level of effort involved in each. Inscribed practices, which have a material product similar to Bergson's 'event memory', are seen as more readily accessible to archaeologists, as evident, for instance, in the study of engraved plaques in Iberia by Lillios (2003) or nuclear warning markers by Bryan-Wilson (2003). However, incorporated memory practices, which are based in performance and embodiment, somewhat analogous to 'habit memory' but increasingly recognized as

involving a great deal of effort or investment, are increasingly a focus for archaeologists, as examined in Moore's (2006) study of drumming in Andean ritual practices or Price's (2014) discussion of funeral dramas, storytelling, and performance in Viking memory and death. It is therefore possible to explore and understand memory and the past through engagement with a range of elements, including rituals, oral histories and narratives, objects, landscapes and representations/symbols. The materiality of memory, however, also leaves perceptions of the past open to the same processes that transform objects, including fragmentation, decay, reuse, and discard (cf. Gutteridge 2010, Pollard 2004). Although the relationship between memory and objects is often predicated on perceptions of stability and durability, to maintain fixed meaning and value, the narratives associated with the objects can still be negotiated or contested. Moreover, the transience and attrition of material can also be linked to regeneration, mutation and transformation of memory in conjunction with changing societies (Pollard 2004: 47-48, see also Miller 1994:413).

Combining both inscribed and incorporated memory, mortuary practices have long been a focal point for archaeological memory studies (cf. Barrett 1988, Chesson 2001, Kuijt 1996). Rituals, feasting, processions, and votive deposition all contribute to social memory through performance, but it is commemoration and ancestor worship that most often involve inscribing or creating material objects and places to store, retrieve and shape ideas about the past, both intentionally and unintentionally. The performance of rituals of burial and the creation of commemorative material culture maintain social connectivity between the living and the dead (Bommas 2011: 177), and through this connection, and the choices that are made in the process, the dead preserved and shaped the identities of the living (Carroll 2011: 65, see also McNeill 2008). However, it is the diversity of performances and material culture of death, burial and commemoration that reveals the complex and historically-contingent role that memory is playing, including the motivations or strategies of the living, the audience for memory displays, and their impact on social structures and relationships.

COMMEMORATING THE DEAD

When Parker Pearson (1993: 203) drew attention to the fact that, "the dead do not bury themselves", he highlighted the importance of considering the social, political, and ideological contexts of funerary and commemorative practice (see also Pader 1982), and connected mortuary practice to memory by highlighting the choices and motivations of the living, their ability to manipulate the past, and the long-term impact of these behaviours. Traditionally, archaeology has focussed on structural investigations of these contexts,

formulating identity and social structure as the causative variables reflected in burials (see for instance Binford 1971, Allen and Richardson 1971, Saxe 1970). Methods and frameworks have of course developed in sophistication and nuance, but the proliferation of studies evaluating burials as equations for status (Goldstein 1981, Shimada et al. 2004), gender and age (Arnold 2002, Sofaer Derevenski 2000), or collective identities such as kinship and ethnicity (Howell and Kintigh 1996, Tung 2008) demonstrates the consistent recognition that mortuary practice is heavily influenced by social phenomena. The influence of identity theory, and in particular feminist perspectives and post-modernist/post-colonialist concerns, however, has increasingly underlined the fluid nature of identity, and most significantly, the importance of recognizing social practice as a means of negotiating, maintaining, forgetting, and neglecting particular facets of identity. As a result, burials and commemorative practice can no longer be conceptualized as passive reflections of social relationships and identities, but rather as highly charged, meaningful and complex contexts in which the living and the dead perform, materialize, create and maintain social memory (cf. Blake 1999, Moore 2006, Sørensen and Rebay 2008). The maintenance or manipulation of the identity of the dead impacts the social relationships and therefore the identity of the living; the writing and rewriting of dead histories therefore becomes a medium for the negotiation of the living identities that remain.

While other semi-regular ceremonial events have also been recognized as important contexts for the negotiation of identity (such as marriages, births, coming of age ceremonies, etc.), the events surrounding death are increasingly viewed as serving a particularly significant role as death can create a social void necessitating the reframing of living social relationships and identities (Conklin 2001, Dernbach 2005, Francis et al. 2002, Natzmer 2002, Runia 2007). This conceptualization of the role that burial and commemoration plays has much older foundations in the work of anthropologists such as Malinowski (1948), who argued that religious mortuary practice served the essential function of reintegrating the group, re-establishing social order and dealing with emotional stresses. In this sense, performance (Conklin 2001), but also textual communication (Kassabova 2008), material display (Dubisch 1989) and other means of commemoration (Taylor 1989) can act as means to mediate experience of death, the construction of identity, and the maintenance of long-term memory.

Monuments as Material Memories of the Dead

As 'continuants', sustaining memory of past occurrences in the present (Kassabova 2008:333), monuments are seen as part of the retroactive reconstruction of the past through

retention, remembering, retrieving, reminding and even forgetting. While continuants are not essential to memory, objects inscribed with symbolic meaning do play an important role in maintaining recollection but also stimulating a degree of historical imagination or even rewriting and inventing (cf. Foot 1999, Williams 2003). But, as social contexts for the construction of memory and identity, commemoration, and funerary practice more widely, is shaped by complex factors, including emotion and bereavement (Conklin 2001, Tarlow 2000), but also social taboos associated with mourning and public expressions of grief and loss (Ariès 1975, Walter 1991, 1994), and social and institutional influences, such as religious and legislative frameworks (Garces-Foley 2003, Howarth 1997, Laderman 2003, Walter 2005). The study of changing trends in commemorative practice can therefore contribute to nuanced histories of social identities and experiences in the past.

Early study of commemorative monuments was dominated by art historical concerns with quality, style and aesthetics over their context and social, ideological and spatial meaning, which produced extensive descriptions of art form rather than social practice (Finch 2000: 2, Mytum 2004: 2-5). A shift to interdisciplinary studies of the historical context of monuments expanded the relevance of monuments to archaeological research, recognizing not just their artistic merit but also the active role that they played in society, marking places of memory, orienting the living, and preserving the past. By giving priority to the function of monuments, rather than their artistic form (Llewellyn 1991:102-115, 1995:220), commemorative monuments can be recognized as central to historical processes, memory, and social reproduction. More systematic studies, carried out by Mytum (1994) in Pembrokeshire, Wales, Cannon (1986, 1989, 2005) in Cambridgeshire, England, Finch (2000) in Norfolk, England, and Tarlow (1999) in Orkney, Scotland have demonstrated the potential to explore identity, variability, and emotion through commemorative material culture. The proliferation of church and cemetery studies has included a range of theoretical approaches. However, they remain "largely inductive and descriptive" with "elements of functionalist interpretation and contextualist explanations" (Mytum 2004: 5). More recently, the influence of phenomenology, landscape and memory studies have contributed to widening interests in emotion, bereavement, social identity, and monument biographies (cf. Cannon and Cook 2015, Inglis 1998, Tarlow 2000). Shifting perspectives from viewing monuments as passive pieces of art to active components that are fundamental in historical processes has resulted in dramatic revisions in archaeological and historical approaches to studying commemorative material culture.

Approaches and Methods of Study

Uniquely situated as both textual and material records of the past, connecting multiple strands of style, fashion, emotion, symbolism, choice and structure, commemorative monuments offer the opportunity to read and reconstruct identity and experience in historical communities in ways that are rarely possible in fields such as history, archaeology, demography, religious studies, and art history. Even a cursory survey of cemetery studies highlights the infinite possibilities of datasets, particularly when combining the textual evidence of dates and names with more physical components like size, materials, and symbolism, or large-scale considerations of temporal and spatial distribution. Funerary monuments have been used to access religion, social values and worldview, in addition to emotional and social engagement with the dead, in diverse communities. The pioneering work of Dethlefsen and Deetz (1966; see also Deetz 1996), while primarily engaged in applying seriation to the motifs of early headstones in New England, nevertheless used commemorative inscriptions in combination with iconography to distinguish changing worldviews, maintaining that widespread shifts in motifs reflects changes in values. Similar considerations of emotion, religion, individualism and identity represented in style, iconography and text on funerary monuments have been pursued in a range of temporal and geographical contexts (see for instance Cannon 1989, 2005, 2015, Finch 2000, McGuire 1988, 1991, Silverman 2002, Tarlow 1999).

Following the momentum that built up in the 1970s to recognize variability in burials as material correlates for social organization, structure and cultural interaction (c.f. Binford 1971, Allen and Richardson 1971, Saxe 1970), mortuary archaeology has focussed on formulating these causative variables. However, despite the demonstrated value of using changes in mortuary material culture over time to contribute to historical narratives, many studies lack necessary connections to temporality. For instance, entire cemeteries are often flattened into a single temporal period for analysis (Howell and Kintigh 1996), several imposed developmental periods (Riordan 2009), or imagined/assumed sequences without any actual evidence (Mainfort 1985), masking temporal variation. Compressing time, however, serves only to blur the connections between context and cultural practice. Critique of this atemporal approach to cemeteries and funerary practice has been expressed repeatedly by Goldstein:

> … we cannot assume that a mortuary site represents a single, unified
> "finished picture" of mortuary ritual. It is far more likely to represent a
> group of different ritual stages that have changed in meaning and form
> over a number of years. Although we have come to understand the

inherent messiness of the real world in many other contexts, we still tend
to think of a mortuary site as monolithic in meaning and variation, when
change through time and across space, as well as the staged nature of
ritual, applies equally here. (Goldstein 2002: 202, see also Goldstein
1981: 56-57)

The diachronic approach to mortuary archaeology is of course limited by contexts and evidence – tight chronologies are rare especially for prehistoric cemeteries. Nonetheless, some of the best examples of temporality in mortuary contexts are prehistoric, drawing on the horizontal and vertical distribution of burials (Chapman 2000, Higham and Thosarat 1994), in addition to variations in material culture and funerary process (Hutchinson and Aragon 2002) to provide the necessary temporal clues to contribute a more dynamic narrative of the past. Only with a tight temporal framework in place is it possible to discern variability in mortuary material culture resulting from contemporaneous social differences (for instance, different family traditions, as seen in Chapman 2000), from the transformation of cultural practices and meanings due to larger structural transformations (for instance, the development of rice cultivation in Higham and Thosarat 1994). By isolating and identifying the intersections between multi-scalar phenomena, it becomes possible to highlight the ways in which families *shape* and *are shaped* by burial and commemorative practice.

In historic contexts, however, this often results in a superficial correlation of changes in mortuary behaviour with recognized, general social shifts rather than contributing new insights, nuance and narratives. Little *et al*. (1992), for instance, while dividing burials into four temporal groups to recognize changing funerary behaviour, use widely accepted historical contexts for the Virginian family cemetery to explain the elaboration of funerary and commemorative practice *as the result of* the Beautification of Death movement (Little *et al*. 1992: 411-2). Similarly, Mallios and Caterino (2007) correlate previously generated historical narratives of gender, ethnicity, religion and status to gravestones (see also Barber 1993). However, this means of interpreting the patterns and transitions visible in cemeteries restricts possible interpretations to common or authorized historical and archaeological discourses rather than taking advantage of the many opportunities that cemeteries provide to contribute new knowledge, voices and alternative interpretations. Moreover, by treating mortuary material culture as a mere reflection of historical contexts, it also overlooks the critical role that these landscapes and rituals played in social construction, negotiation and change and the ways in which individuals actively used mortuary practice and commemoration as communicative symbols.

In viewing mortuary behaviour as bound up in the processes through which social and historical transformations occurred, there is the opportunity to formulate or add to narratives of the past based on theoretical and analytical interpretation of the relationship between people and objects (Chesson 2001, Deetz 1996: 35, Parker Pearson 1982: 100). Although questions of interpreting intentionality, meaning and social reproduction from archaeological and historical evidence remain (cf. David 2004, Dobres and Robb 2000, Herzfeld 2004), and a much larger sample size and temporal scale is often required for the contribution of sound, new interpretations rather than just correlation (Cowgill 2000, Herzfeld 2004), there is great potential to reinvigorate mortuary archaeology.

The intention of accessing the source or meaning of cultural patterns through mortuary material culture, with an understanding that the cemetery is an appropriate or meaningful context within which to do so, has become increasingly evident since the 1980s, both in historic and prehistoric contexts. For instance, Morris (1987) uses prehistoric Greek cemeteries as evidence of the emergence of the *polis*, whilst Keswani (2005) recognizes the mutually-constitutive relationship between economic changes and ritual practice in Early-Middle Cypriot Bronze Age. Approaches to cemetery history remain far from formalized, however they do depend upon the historical role of the dead and evidence of active participation on the part of the living (Parker Pearson 1993). A focus on variability rather than the central tendencies is also essential, privileging the actions of people as the stuff of history and necessitating a scale and time depth appropriate to examining change, development and pattern (either through synthesis, i.e. Morris 1987, or new data, i.e. Preston 2007). Significantly, a multi-scalar approach to cemeteries is required to access both broader changes and smaller-scale mechanisms, explanations and meanings associated with large-scale shifts in social, economic and political structure (see for example Chapman 2000, Keswani 2005). These concepts make it possible to move beyond mortuary archaeology as a means to understand mortuary practice as an isolated phenomenon, to instead locate it within social practice and therefore contribute to the construction of much more diverse narratives. The anthropology of memory has perhaps been most influential in this shift, highlighting the significant and long-term impact that bodily and social practices can have on community or cultural memory (Climo and Cattell 2002, Connerton 1989, 2011; see also Jones 2007, Van Dyke and Alcock 2003).

A British Way of Death

Incorporating cemetery histories into the study of the British Empire and transatlantic experiences during the colonial period demands an understanding of the ways

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in which British mortuary and commemorative material culture were incorporated into social, economic and political practice, including their relevance to memory and identity construction. A survey of death, burial and commemoration in Britain in the historic period highlights diversity, change and continuity (cf. Cox 1998, Jupp and Gittings 1999, Mytum 2004, Strange 2005). Tracing the developments in mortuary practice would fill multiple volumes; this section will therefore focus on outlining the developments relevant to the themes of this thesis, particularly the impact of religion and social structure, and the primary forms of material culture associated with death and memory.

The relationship between religion and death was closely intertwined in early modern Britain. From as early as the twelfth century, the medieval doctrine of Purgatory placed increasing emphasis on post-mortem prayers, stimulated in part through material commemoration, and charitable works in order to speed souls towards salvation (Horrox 1999: 93-95). Christian contemplation of the transience of life, alongside famine and the Black Death in the fourteenth century emphasised the body after death, ghosts, and the macabre (Horrox 1999: 91-93, Morgan 1999:124-134). Preparation for burial centred on washing and shrouding the body, before it was placed in a coffin for those who could afford it. For the elite, embalming and more elaborate shrouding was often involved (Horrox 1999: 98-109). Burial took place on consecrated ground, usually locally and as soon as possible, with processionals, liturgies, and burial either within or outside the church, according to status. Grief was considered a private matter, and emotional decorum at the funeral and in public was expected; prayers for the dead were the most outward expressions of mourning and remembrance that were acceptable. Monuments for elite intramural burials typically took the form of carved slabs that sealed stone coffins, but developed into more elaborate carvings and brasses by the late thirteenth century, with heraldry, family identities, and status increasingly expressed in funerals and commemoration in the church, creating social memory and negotiating social structures (Morgan 1999: 139, see also Daniell 2005, McClain 2010, Williams 2006 for detailed discussions of death and memory in medieval history).

The Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth-century reconfigured relationships with the dead, particularly with the rejection of the concept of purgatory and the ability of the living to assist the souls of the dead (Gittings 1999: 152-154, see also Marshall 2002). Embalming, shrouding and placement in a coffin were still common practice, according to economic ability, but there was increasing focus on hiding bodily decay. Secular elements of mortuary practice were given prominence, particularly eating and drinking after the funeral, ranging from bread and beer to wine and claret with biscuits, cakes, fruit,

marzipan, and other sweets (Gittings 1984: 157). There was also increasing expression of social status, bereavement, and individualism, including personally selected funeral sermons and printed memorials in the seventeenth century (Gittings 1984: 137-138; Houlbrooke 1998: 295-330, 386-7). This was accompanied by a proliferation of memorials within the church for those who were of the status and wealth necessary, with inscriptions that were becoming more personal, possibly attributed to unease about mortality and the desire for what Thomas (2009:245) terms 'posthumous fame'. However, high mortality rates in the eighteenth century, in conjunction with increasingly over-crowded churchyards also challenged traditional ideals of respect and ritual for the dead (Houlbrooke 1999: 174-178), stimulating reforms in funeral cost and expenditure (Gittings 1999: 161-163, Strange 2005: 108-110). The partial specialization of the funeral industry, involving semi-professional coffin makers, undertakers, and furnishers, and the range of products that were increasingly available for mortuary and commemorative practices had contributed to increasing costs but also enhanced the diversity and individuality possible in burial and expressing memory (Janaway 1998: 17-18, Litten 1998). The boom in funeral consumerism at this time is attributed to social display and competition (Cannon 1989) and as a means of expressing grief, loss and affection for the deceased individual, which was increasingly acceptable in society (Tarlow 1998: 42-43).

Place of burial was transformed by the rise of individualism, 'rational religion' and secularism influenced by the Enlightenment, Romanticism and Evangelicalism, including commercialization of death, class divisions, the expression of loss, and the rise of elaborate monuments inspired by the Gothic Revival and individualized epitaphs and commemoration (Rugg 1999: 202-215). The growing professionalization of undertaking and commercialization of funerary accoutrements led to a rise in the range of services and products available, with elaborate coffin furniture, mourning coaches, and well-dressed attendants considered the necessities of a 'respectable' funeral for those who could afford it. On the other hand, assistance for pauper funerals fell to levels calculated to be humiliating and degrading to discourage individuals from relying on parish support; burial societies became increasingly common to ensure a respectable burial even for poorer members of society (Laqueur 1983: 117). It was also during this period that the cemetery emerged, providing the opportunity for large-scale burial beyond the Church of England, in beautifully landscaped settings, in order to cope with rapid population growth, sanitation concerns, and concepts of respectable treatment of the dead (Rugg 1998: 44-45, 52). The fall in mortality rates in the second half of the nineteenth century prior to the trauma of the

First World War further transformed approaches to death and mourning, with criticism that Victorian rituals were inadequate and increasingly inappropriate (Jalland 1999: 248-253).

The medicalization and institutionalization of death increasingly separated the living from the process of dying; the new model of 'the good death' sanitized it and emphasized private expressions of grief (Jupp and Walter 1999: 258-262). With the place of death becoming the hospital, undertakers were transformed into 'funeral directors' alongside the proliferation of private mortuaries and chapels, crematoria, and commercialization. Although there was a decrease in the ornate funeral furnishings and commemorative monuments that dominated Victorian practices, funeral costs remained high in the twentieth century, as embalming and specialized coffins were marketed to further sanitize death by staving off decay. From the 1930s onwards, tensions arose between funeral directors promoting embalming and elaborate private services and the push for funeral reform through natural processes, woodland burial grounds, and 'green' funerals (Albery et al. 1997: 174-175). Today, burial or cremation and the scattering of ashes typically occur in municipal and private cemeteries or gardens of remembrance, rather than religious grounds. Commemorative monuments are still popular as grave markers, and while heavily standardised, the incorporation of new technologies have enhanced the individual nature of monuments, including laser cut portraits of the dead, and even experimentation with incorporating audio or video into monuments. These trends in the British way of death, as they have developed over the last millennium, provide the evidence necessary to explore social, political and economic transformations in the past, including identity, cultural interaction, and social relationships in Atlantic world.

Commemoration as Family History

There are very limited examples of using commemorative monuments to study families in the past, beyond genealogical research; archaeological studies tend to focus on understanding larger social structures and relationships rather than the smaller scale social units represented by commemorative practice. However, mortuary and commemorative practice was very much a family endeavour, as individuals did their best in life to ensure a decent burial for themselves and their family in death (Thomas 2009: 164). The motivations for investing in increasingly elaborate commemorative material culture were also directly connected to the family; as Thomas argues:

> [monuments] were a form of social assertion, testifying to the importance both of the dead and also of their surviving descendants. They reflected intensifying social mobility and social competition. With their sometimes extensive load of genealogical and biographical information, and their

> bold claims (not always justified) to titles, property, and status, church
> monuments were cited in disputes about inheritance and descent.
> (Thomas 2009: 246)

Beyond the textual representation of family, and their reputation and status, assertions of respectability through commemorative monuments were also made through choices in style, decoration and material; as Cannon (2005: 49) demonstrates, concerns with perceived status, particularly amongst widows and women in general (as women's position in society was often linked to male relations), meant that more fashionable monuments were often erected for men by women. However, it should be noted that status and position did not govern all choices; the emotion and personal sentiments and meanings associated with the dead and commemoration have also been identified as key influences on commemorative choices, evident in high proportions of monuments with little communicative information (Thomas 2009: 250, see also Tarlow 1999, 2000). Overall, accessing the choices that families made in remembering the dead, including inscribing material objects with symbolic meaning, provides the opportunity to access the experiences, strategies and relationships of kin groups in the past and better understand their changing structures, attitudes and functions in the modern era.

FAMILY: STRUCTURE, IDENTITY AND MEMORY

Between the 1950s and 1990s, studies of family history flourished, particularly popular within the realm of social history, but also infiltrating discussions of economics and politics (Anderson 1980, 13). Women's and gender studies further contributed to understandings of the complexity of family identity and experiences, and the social ramifications for the transformation of structures (cf. Coontz 2000, Hudson and Lee 1990, Parr 1990, Sharpe 2002, Tilley and Scott 1978, Zarnowska 1997). This proliferation marks the widespread emergence of the idea that the structures and attitudes of these central social units not only reflected, but contributed to, historical events and processes, as families reacted to, and even rebelled against changing social, economic and political structures and conditions. However, concepts of family, and resulting notions of the best approach to study families in history, continue to be a source of debate.

Family Historiography

Although some historians view genealogical studies of family as separated from or antedated approaches to family history (Houlbrooke 1984, 5), tracing lineages and recording family accomplishments represent the earliest studies of family. Often coloured

by interests in rank, inheritance and proof of right (see for instance, Battelle n.d., Wedgwood and Wedgwood n.d.), they nonetheless present exceptionally detailed accounts of lifestyles, migrations, religious and political inclinations, and socioeconomic conditions (c.f. Godfrey 1903). These studies draw mainly on personal records associated with families, and elite families in particular, including correspondence, diaries, memoirs, wills, and records of lineage, but also oral tradition, administrative records, and most recently genetics, to produce visual and textual representations of family development and descent, and have provided sources for later scholarship, in addition to stimulating new ideas and approaches to the subject. Importantly, geographical and biographical narratives have influenced theory (recognizing of the structures and relationships of families that contributed to and were shaped by broader historical processes, cf. Bailyn 1957, Cowles 1979), methodology (particularly the burgeoning field of microhistorical studies Levi 2001, Walton et al. 2008) and communication (disseminating research in engaging and evocative ways, cf. Ginzburg 1976).

The introduction of studies of whole populations through demographic, quantitative analysis of parish registers and documents by a group of French demographers quickly reshaped the way that scholars thought about and approached families in the past (Anderson 1980, 17-38, Abbott 1993, 7-8). With a focus on covering entire populations, to produce more reliable histories, methods were further refined and gained exposure through the *Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure*, and its main members Peter Laslett, Tony Wrigley and Roger Schofield. This intensive research programme involved transcribing and analyzing data from 404 English parishes, and culminated in *Population History of England 1541-1871* (Wrigley and Schofield 1981, see also Laslett 1972, Gaskin 1978, Wrightson 1982). Archaeological demographics, and more recently genetics, have had similar motivations in addressing entire populations in a systematic and scientific manner (cf. Howell and Kintigh 1996). The proliferation of this method has seen the development of enormous datasets that can be compared across time and space, which in turn has built a framework for family studies more generally and exposed many of the problems with previous interpretations of family, including assumptions about marriage rates and ages, patterns in conception and childbearing, and the size and membership of households. However, demographic histories are not without their own limitations, and inconsistent and incomplete records from which to work (Berkner 1975) and the erasing of meaningful variability through statistical averaging - '*le mal des moyennes'* (Flandrin 1979: 3) - limit the precision and nuance of this approach.

Many scholars have rejected this reliance on a limited range of sources and quantifiable data to outline family structures in favour of pursuing changes in *meaning* and *sentiment* within the family structure (as pioneered by Ariès 1962, Flandrin 1979, Shorter 1976, and Stone 1977). The emotions, attitudes, and experiences of family construct a complex web of symbols, ideas and practices that define modern social relationships and structures. A history of past societies cannot, therefore, be divorced from an understanding of the sentiments that both bring them into being and are created by them (cf. Chrisman 1983, Curet and Oliver 1998, Joyce 2001, Pickens 1980). Theoretically-driven research questions occasionally present problems in accessing appropriate source material, in addition to issues with the reliability of interpretation of emotion and experience (Anderson 1980, Hope 1997, Trumbach 1978). Regardless of the issues in source material and interpretation, this remains one of the most active and dynamic areas of family history. The emphasis on context, emotion and experience in shaping social structures and behaviour has joined harmoniously with many schools of modern history and archaeology seeking to populate the past with people possessing agency, humanity and individuality (see for instance Tarlow 2000). Although there is a danger of projecting the present into the past, emerging concepts of family advocate an active process of creating social identity through complex sequences of practices, experiences and histories. For instance, Joyce (2001) and Manzanilla (2002) highlight places and traditions of burial as integral to the construction of kin relationships, whilst maintaining that kinship cannot be isolated from other social identities that family intersects with. The recognition of microtraditions in the past is therefore not only key to identifying families, but to understanding their role, transformation and position in the past (Yasin 2005). Studies of affection, deference, patriarchy and authoritarianism, multi-temporality, memory and ancestors, as well as other emotional or experiential elements envision the small scale, including the family, as the level at which larger structural processes are produced, reproduced, and transformed (see for instance the focus on individuals in Meskell 1998 or localities in Mizoguchi 2005).

Alternatively, economic or household approaches treat family as a fundamental mechanism for property and resource acquisition and distribution, which by extension impacts social structures, relationships, attitudes, and even chances for survival (influenced by sociology and social anthropology, but taken up by historians and archaeology (cf. Anderson 1971: 65-66, Goldstein 1981, Goody 1976). The household has been a key unit of study in history and archaeology, but based on a broader sense of family than in other approaches, defining groups of individuals based on shared habitation spaces and sets of day-to-day activities that defined economic models, gender, ideology, practice and

embodied placed (Ames 2006, Bender 1967, Flannery 1976, Foster and Parker 2012: 1, Hodder and Cessford 2004). However it has also been considered a more applicable label, moving away from twentieth century notions of nuclear families to recognize the importance of distant kin, servants, and slaves in defining social, economic and political relationships (Puckrein 1984). Historical documents related to property holdings, utilisation and transmission (i.e. employment records, family budgets, descriptions of working practices, account books, etc.), or the distribution of goods, food, and waste in the archaeological record can provide evidence of structural constraints of social relationships, systems of power, and systems of exchange/resource distribution that were beyond individuals' consciousness, impacting family behaviour, norms, meanings and symbols. Concerns with resource-generating potential and limitations, modes of production, and income-generating relationships highlight family behaviours or strategies to maintain or alter standards of living for present and even future generations (cf. Tilley 1979). However, the disconnect between structural changes and changes in attitudes and experiences ignores agency and cognition and tends to overemphasize the unity of the household (Abbott 1993: 9, Anderson 1980: 84, Morris 1991, for exception see Stone 1992).

Previously established datasets and interpretations have provided a framework to build more dynamic and representative syntheses and narratives through the mixing of theory, methodology and interpretive frameworks (cf. Levine 1977, Macfarlane 1970). More diverse and alternative approaches have become not just an aspiration, but an expectation as scholars continue to grapple with the same issues of visibility, reliability and availability of appropriate source material, theoretical and interpretive concerns with reflexivity, and the representativeness of conclusions. In this process of diversification and innovation, a major divide has developed between scholars that see the family as a social unit capable of transformation, development and evolution in interaction with other social structures, and scholars that advocate for overall continuity, or at most slower and less profound change than would be expected of social institutions. In the first instance, the family unit, including its attitudes, practices and structures, is seen to have undergone major transformations throughout the modern period, and throughout history more generally – not simply as a backdrop or reflection of historical events but rather as directly involved in them (cf. Chapman 2000, Coontz 2000, da Silva 1998, Gillis 1985, Higham and Thosarat 1994). However, some scholars suggest that the character of sources and evidence changed more significantly than the actual behaviours and attitudes of the families they represent, inflating speed, degree and regularity of change but failing to bring about any noteworthy change in form, function or concepts since at least the fifteenth

century (Houlbrooke 1984, 15, see also Abbott 1993, Macfarlane 1986, Pollock 1983, Thomas 1988). This position is premised on the notion that family relationships, at the intersection of hierarchy, religion, gender, occupation, and lifecycle, were governed by practices, behaviours and customs that were resistant to change. This perspective seems increasingly untenable, recognizing the vast changes in socioeconomic structures, religion, gender relations, and demography during the colonial period, and the implications of global mobility for the experience of the family unit, not to mention the agency of families themselves. Histories of family, therefore, must seek new sources that better capture how families thought of themselves and reacted to the massive changes.

The recent increase in the diversity of approaches and themes in family studies has not produced a unified history of the family as many early scholars hoped for; rather it has contributed a multitude of histories of family that are much more in keeping with contemporary theory on social structure and processes of change. Considerations of family structures, behaviours and experiences are more often incorporated into a wide range of topics rather than being outwardly characterized as a study of family, but this variability in studies has resulted in a much more dynamic and broad understanding of kinship, taking into account many more facets of practice, tradition and relationships in innumerable time periods and geographical regions. The work of future scholars studying family history will be to understand how these diverse histories connect, intersect and interact with one another.

Family in the Colonial Era

The development, maintenance and transformations of kin structures and relationships following settlement in the colonies are typically treated as separate processes from those in Europe. In fact, many of the major syntheses of English family history are devoid of any reference to colonialism, the dispersal of English families across the world, or the impact that this would have had on English family structures (including Abbott 1993, Houlbrooke 1984, Stone 1977). Most recently however, qualitative studies of family, using individual case studies to reconsider family relationships, marriage, divorce, inheritance and illegitimacy have produced more comprehensive narratives across the colonial world (cf. Chamberlain 2002, Smith 2009). These histories tend to remain extremely localized; the recentness of their development has limited broader synthesis or exploration of how families in different places and different time periods interacted with each other, and with Europe, considering the degree of mobility and communication that is now recognized (cf. Morgan 1989). This level of comparative family history is encumbered by a lack of comparable coverage and depth of phenomena and themes by the

scholars working in different regions and periods, different availability of sources, and drastically different timing of historical events such as conquest, settlement, economic development, emancipation, conflicts, and independence. This research is dominated by consideration of the variability of colonial settings that impacted family structure and attitudes, such as the influence of land availability on inheritance and family dispersion (cf. Adams and Kasakoff 1984, Ditz 1990, Metcalf 1990, Zacek 2010), the impact of isolation of colonies on demographics, attitudes towards marriage and social relationships (cf. Cline 1993, Paquette and Bates 1986, Pickens 1980, Ramos 1975, Seed 1985, Twinam 1989, Zacek 2010, 182), and the effect of mortality rates, mobility and occupations on gender relations (cf. Carr and Walsh 1977, Cott 1976, Drummond 1978, Handwerker 1989, Nazzari 1990, Newton 2008b). Variations between colonies have provided an excellent opportunity to study how changes occur as a result of changing social, economic, political and even environmental conditions, however transformations are most often treated as temporary (either until families return to Europe or the colony develops and stabilizes) or as geographically restricted, though localized creolisation (Lambert 2005, Zacek 2010).

The colonization of Barbados, similar to many British colonies, was from the outset a family endeavour. Interest in lineage and genealogy is of course evident throughout the colonial period, as individuals connected themselves to their most prominent relations, drew security from kin networks and established a footing in new colonies (cf. Smith 2006, Puckrein 1984: 26-27). Where blood ties did not exist, marriage was a means to create necessary networks of security and wealth. The importance of family to colonial history is evident in Caribbean studies from as early as the nineteenth century. Captain J.H. Lawrence-Archer, for instance, produced his compendium of monumental inscriptions, descriptions and annotations from the British West Indies, "with a view to the production of a work which should contribute, though the genealogical medium, to a better knowledge of the social origin of those colonies" (Lawrence-Archer 1875, ix). Vere Langford Oliver's (1915) more complete collection of monumental inscriptions in Barbados soon followed, focussing on family history and lineage within the colony and throughout the British Empire. When Thomas Simey, a British sociologist, was invited to conduct a scientific investigation of the West Indies as a basis for social policy reform in the 1940s, he too took family as the starting point – a position that would orientate social studies in the Caribbean for decades to come (Chamberlain 2002, 189, Simey 1946). This development of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century research and social studies represents some of the earliest efforts to move towards systematic and generalizable studies of family in the

Caribbean with the recognition of their significance for understanding colonial history more broadly.

In comparison to Europe, and even colonial America, the study of family in the English Caribbean has been limited and primarily the work of historians, though some archaeological explorations exist as well. Many of the resulting narratives either assume that the institution of family has been transplanted wholly and completely from Europe (Gragg 2003), or that it is different from, but without impact on Europe, and therefore not a contributor to the *longue durée* of social history. Family history in the Caribbean has largely concerned itself with social relations amongst enslaved Africans, and later freed and descendant populations (cf. Chamberlain 2002, Cody 1982, Corruccini et al. 1989, Handler and Jacoby 1996, Patterson 1982). These studies form part of a larger interest in processes of creolisation, including the impact of mass transplantation, interactions of diverse ethnic groups, and interactions with new environments (for a more detailed discussion of creolisation, see Allen 1998, Palmié 2006). Nonetheless, emerging from the work of Deetz (1977), Reitz and Scarry (1985), and Faulkner and Faulkner (1987), there has been some recognition that the processes of cultural transformation that changed the behaviours and attitudes of colonial residents in new social and physical environments had significant and lasting impacts on British and African social institutions such as family. Within a system of mobility and interaction throughout the empire, the intersection and repercussions of these cultural transformations and interactions are a future challenge to be tackled in family studies.

Although it is clear that family has been recognized as critical to understanding the colonial period, the range of aims, evidence and geographical/temporal foci that have been pursued highlights the continuing debate regarding how best to access and address this integral social institution (Amussen 2007, Loftfield 2001, Hauser 2009). A major question remains in colonial histories regarding what happened to colonists when they returned to Britain, and more significantly what sociocultural elements of colonial experiences were brought home and to what degree. This topic has only received minor attention, mostly in considerations of slaves, capital and colonial products being sent to British homes (cf. Amussen 2007, 171-216, Beauman 2005, Mintz 1985, Smith 2005) and social censure of people returning from the colonies (cf. Smith 2006, 33-36, Amussen 2007, 185-190). However, there is ample evidence recorded in correspondence and diaries, port and ship records, census and parish records, and even on funerary monuments and other material culture, that demonstrates that colonists, successful or not, frequently returned to Europe, that the wealthy made multiple journeys across the Atlantic during their lifetime, and that

many families sent their children back to the metropole for education, apprenticeships and marriage (Amussen 2007, 177). While the representation of colonies and colonists appear regularly in plays, paintings, literature, newspapers and other sources from this time period (cf. Pearsall 2003), the impact of new world influences is not yet fully understood in Atlantic histories (Hyam 2010). Did the changes that occurred in the new world have a lasting impact? How do we represent and understand processes of development, reversion and transformation in relation to family identity, memory, and structure?

CONCLUSIONS

Studies of family during the colonial era have already provided insight into the transformative processes influencing kin-based structures and attitudes. Relating the local and small-scale nature of families to global and long-term historical processes and structures continues to be a stumbling block for family studies; understanding colonial families in relation to colonies, empires and global exchanges remains a complicated process of navigating available records, incomparable datasets, and interpretive theory. Future use of alternative sources of history, innovative interpretive frameworks and ongoing communication and debate will fuel the exploration of Caribbean connections and exchanges and their relationship to family structures, experiences, identity and memory during the colonial era.

Cemeteries and commemorative monuments, which have historically been used to establish relationships and identities, provide a rich material record to consider the complex intersection of social interaction, memory, experience, emotion, motivations, environment and economics. In considering monuments in Barbados and Britain as components of both short-term burial events (evident in individual commemorative events) and long-term social memory (visible in sequences of commemorative events and island-wide trends), it becomes possible to explore the cultural processes governing the generation and regeneration of families in the transatlantic world, preserved through choices and trends in commemorative material culture during this period of early globalization. These burial grounds and commemorative monuments have for the most part been ignored by scholars of colonial history, and have never been systematically studied. The following chapters will demonstrate the potential for a multi-site analysis of colonial-era commemoration to provide the foundation for connecting families to empires, colonies to metropoles, and microhistories to global narratives of expansion, interaction and conflict.

CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY: COMMEMORATION AS COLONIAL HISTORY

Funerary commemoration was a powerful means of negotiating family relationships and identities, and forging links to new places and people. However, monuments and burial grounds are only now beginning to be critically examined in studies of family during the colonial era. For example, the exploration of Euro-Canadian family burial grounds in Niagara by Paterson (2013) considers the process of building connections to new landscapes, the nucleation of families, and changes in heritage values. Within the Caribbean, historical examinations of burial rites and archaeological excavation of unmarked burial grounds are most common, highlighting processes of creolisation in the funerary practices of enslaved labourers (Brown 2008, Crain et al. 2004, Handler 1972, Handler and Lange 1978). Nevertheless, Blouet (2013) and Finneran (2013) have recently published studies considering commemorative monuments as part of the process through which creole identities and cultures were developed, in St. John (US Virgin Islands) and Barbados, respectively. They highlight changes in commemorative practices, motivations and strategies and the potential to contribute new understandings of family structure and identity throughout the colonial period. With this in mind, and the limitations of family history more generally (see Chapter 2), this thesis employs funerary commemoration to trace approaches to death and memory in the new world as a means to explore the ways in which colonialism shaped and was shaped by families. How were family identities and traditions transferred across unprecedented distances and reinvented in new worlds? What were the implications for social structure, colonialism and global relations? These aims demand a methodology that provides the temporal and geographical breadth necessary to access transatlantic families – specifically a large sample of monuments from different temporal, geographical and social contexts, detailed records of textual, iconographic and material elements of monuments, and strong recourse to dates and family names. This

chapter will outline the motivations and methods for recording, analysing and interpreting the transformation of memory, identity and connections to place in the transatlantic world.

A MULTI-SITE CEMETERY HISTORY OF TRANSATLANTIC FAMILIES

Although patterns in mortuary practices and fashions are occasionally compared between geographical regions, cemetery studies are often framed around a regional typology or small localized study. These studies contribute important levels of nuance and small-scale narratives of individuals and communities. On the other hand, larger geographical scales can also enhance historical narratives by delineating sociocultural boundaries, interactions and the diversity or similarities in experiences and behaviours. For instance, Robb's (1994) study of 75 Italian Neolithic cemeteries differentiated regions that were undergoing separate but parallel development (see also Brück 2006, Crass 2001, Kroeber 1927, Pader 1982). In other instances, wide cross-cultural comparisons across geographical and temporal spectrums have been used to develop theoretical understandings of the material culture of mortuary practice that help to better understand small-scale practice, including Arnold's (2002) discussion of expression of gender as a social process or Cannon's (1989) examination of social competition. Balancing analytical scales and spatial boundaries (real or artificial) is a constant struggle between the intimacy of examining a small community in great detail and the depth and diversity represented by large datasets made up of different contexts. There is a need to pursue studies along the complete spectrum of scales, but moreover to connect those studies to create stronger interpretive and theoretical frameworks.

A similar tension can also be viewed in Atlantic histories. Reactions to overly-generalized histories of colonialism have resulted in a focus on local identities and developments, producing microhistories of colonialism and cultural interaction that have greatly refined our understanding of this critical period of globalization. However, the isolation of these narratives is largely artificial. The continuous movement of people and objects, in addition to communication (albeit largely delayed), maintained a much higher level of connection, influence and interaction between these diverse localities than is often recognized (for examples of connections see Amussen 2007, 177-217, Debe and Menard 2011, Smith 2006). Analytically, it is critical to target and connect the scales of identity, including Barbadian, Caribbean, African, British, European, Atlantic, and global identities as they interacted, overlapped, and clashed, through study at a range of geographical and temporal scales. Multi-sited studies of cemeteries are one approach to understanding how

material culture traditions were shaped and transformed in particular places or at particular times, and how different traditions interacted with one another during the colonial period (cf. Mytum 2010). For this thesis, exploring the experiences and development of transatlantic families both at home (particularly in select regions of Britain) and abroad (specifically Barbados) through commemorative practices was utilized to develop a particular range of identities and narratives, which, when combined with other scales of analysis, contribute to current efforts to develop understandings of the complex historical processes of this period.

In order to consider the relationship between metropolitan and colonial practices most clearly, it was necessary to build comparable datasets. This approach required a sample of cemeteries, monuments and families from Britain, to be linked with comparable data from one of the British colonies, from the seventeenth to twentieth centuries. Barbados was the ideal choice given the stability of the British connection in contrast to many other colonies that changed hands repeatedly; this was considered necessary to limit variables for this preliminary study. Barbados was also selected because of the presence of funerary monuments that spanned the breadth of the colonial period, and the existence of strong records and archives to support the study. Spatial, textual and visual examination of these monuments in Barbados and Britain highlighted the ways in which identity, relationships and connections were created, maintained or negotiated through commemoration of deceased family members both at home and abroad.

BARBADOS CASE STUDIES

A selection of church and plantation monuments was made largely based on existing records, accessibility, and temporal range (Figure 3.8). Two volumes of monument inscriptions have been published previously, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Lawrence-Archer (1875) recorded monument inscriptions, descriptions and genealogical annotations throughout the British West Indies, including 190 monuments from 11 churches and 3 plantations in Barbados, largely selecting the highest ranking families or most interesting inscriptions. This publication also includes detailed illustrations of family crests and arms from monuments and genealogical information where available. Oliver (1915) focussed on Barbados, resulting in a much larger and more complete record of monuments on the island. Oliver includes 1472 monuments in his publication, from Anglican churches and plantations with known commemorative monuments. He supplements this record with additional information from newspapers, burial records, wills and genealogies, where available. It is clear that Oliver tended to

record all visible monuments inside churches, and most monuments in a churchyard, except in cases where they were too large, in which case he indicates targeting the oldest sections of churchyards, ignoring evidently twentieth century additions. All of the monuments in Oliver (1915) were included in this study, with the exception of 100 monuments recorded from the Jewish burial ground located in Bridgetown. Jewish burial grounds have been the focus of repeated study (Shapiro 2010, Shilstone 1956) and, given that the majority interred there were Ladino-speaking Sephardic Jews, was beyond the focus of this project. A further, unpublished collection of monument inscriptions by Thorne (n.d.) was also used, particularly for his more detailed recording of plantation monuments on the island, including 40 sites.
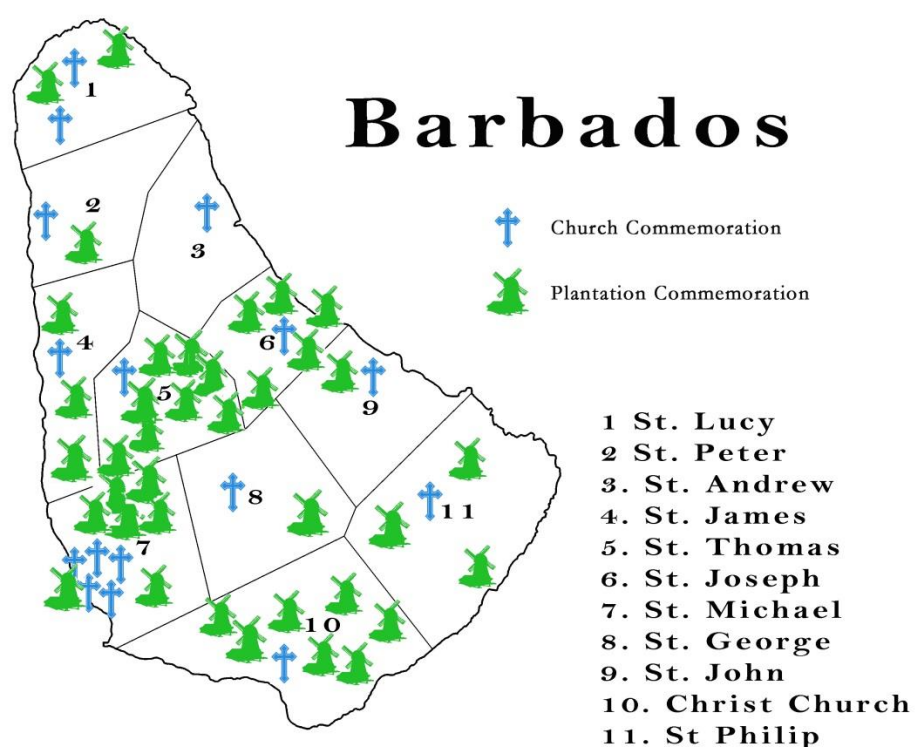
Figure 3.8 Geographical distribution of the church and plantation sites included in this study.

Fieldwork was carried out to increase the temporal breadth and level of detail regarding material culture available for analysis. This work targeted the same Anglican churches visited by Lawrence-Archer and Oliver with the intention to not only add detail to existing records but also to record rates of loss and add monuments that were previously missed or had been erected following the previous publications. In March and April 2013, 1630 monuments were recorded in 16 churches and churchyards, with the cooperation of the Anglican Diocese in Barbados (see Appendix I for more information on individual field sites). This included 580 new monuments that had not previously been recorded, and 1050 monuments recorded in previous publications. This was followed by further

fieldwork in October 2014 that sought to record surviving monuments on plantations, including four sites and eight monuments. Every monument was photographed (Figure 3.9) and recorded on a sketch map to document their relative location, using an arbitrarily assigned identification number. Details relating to their style, decoration, lettering, material, size and condition were also recorded (Table 3.2). Monuments more recent than 1950 were not typically recorded due to the temporal focus of this research project, limitations of time and in respect to visitors who were concentrated in more recent sections of the churchyards. However, more recent commemoration was recorded when associated with an older monument or a group of family monuments that otherwise fell within the temporal limits of this study. These later monuments, however, were only used in microanalysis of individual family groups, not the analysis of more widespread patterns of commemoration. A database was compiled with all inscription information, material details, and numbers linking them to the photographic database and maps (see Appendix III). Demographic details of those commemorated, geographical links, indicators of status or occupation, as well as themes in commemoration were summarized in the database before analysis was pursued.

Figure 3.9 Photographic recording of monuments (Christ Church Parish Church).

Table 3.2 Example of the recording form used for monuments in Barbados.

#	Photo	Name:		Date:
INSCRIPTION:		**STYLE:**		**DECORATION:**
		LETTERING:		**MATERIAL:**
		SIZE: L x W x H		**CONDITION:**

Preservation

Due to the high frequency of hurricanes and levels of acid rain, monuments both inside and outside of churches have been and continue to be at substantial risk – particularly given the nature of the materials used. Coral stone was a popular choice for funerary monuments, either on its own or in combination with other materials, because of its abundance in Barbados. Approximately 85% of the island is made up of a Pleistocene coral reef limestone cap[6] and has been quarried locally since early settlement (Donovan with Harper 2005). Coral stone is evident in architecture, road works and monuments throughout Barbados but it is an extremely porous, soft stone that is easily damaged by water. When used in the production of funerary monuments, the coral stone was most often rendered in a plaster or concrete to protect the stone, occasionally with marble or bronze plates with inscriptions added as an applique or inset (many of which have been lost as the coral stone degrades, making these monuments difficult to date or associate with particular individuals) (Figure 3.10).

Figure 3.10 Example of a coral stone (*Monastrea annularis*) monument from St. Thomas Parish Church, exhibiting erosion likely caused by acid rain.

Other materials, more typical of British commemorative monuments, were also popular choices throughout this time period. Marble, a common material for British funerary monuments, was imported to Barbados, often as commissioned monuments, but also as raw material for stone masons (particularly after the seventeenth century) (see Chapter 4 for more detailed discussion of commemorative practice in Barbados). However,

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[6] Reef rock islands are formed through a sequence of rain falling on the soluble aragonite-based coral. This creates holes and pits in the coral structure, allowing ions to migrate down into the outcrop and precipitate as a cement-like calcium carbonate that creates a limestone cap (Michael Risk, pers. comm.; see also Donovan with Harper 2005).

like coral stone, marble monuments are also at risk of water damage due to their porosity. Although granite, iron and poured concrete monuments have fared slightly better in the environmental conditions of Barbados, they have still suffered considerable wear. Frequent tropical storms and hurricanes have damaged monuments together with houses, churches, and other large structures on the island, particularly due to flooding, high winds and falling debris (as was relayed by local church wardens and community members during the course of this research; see also Brandow 2001: 651, Oliver 1915: 181). Some churches have removed monuments deemed to be unused or to have been too damaged. They were also a source of building materials, and it is not uncommon to see monuments built into windmills and walls, and used as stairs and boundary markers throughout the island (see for instance Barbados Museum and Historical Society 1910, Thorne n.d.; see also Chapter 6). Vandalism in cemeteries, which has been on the rise since the late twentieth century, and the reuse of churchyard plots have further reduced the number of monuments surviving from the colonial era.

The correlation of monuments recorded by Lawrence-Archer (pre-1875), Oliver (pre-1915), and this study (2013-14) provides a strong record of how the composition, use and character of churchyards and burial grounds in Barbados has developed and transformed over time. By comparing these records, the modification, replacement and attrition of monuments is highlighted. Although Lawrence-Archer's records of monuments were limited to those deemed most interesting, there is still evidence of attrition in the interceding years. More significantly, a comparison of Oliver's records to this study show a great deal of change, in terms of additions, loss and increasing illegibility of inscriptions (Table 3.3). When the number of monuments missing from one record to the next is calculated in relation to the total monuments existing in the older sample, it is possible to quantify approximate attrition rates. In the 40 years between Lawrence-Archer and Oliver's publications, there is a monument attrition rate of 22.1%, or roughly one monument per year. In almost 100 years between Oliver's work and my own, approximately 28.7% of monuments were lost, or nearly 4 monuments per year.

Table 3.3 Comparison of Monument Preservation Based on Lawrence Archer (1875), Oliver (1915), and Cook's (2013) records.

Date of Record	Years Elapsed	Monuments Recorded			Illegible		Lost	
		New	Prev.	Total	#	%	#	%
1875	--	190	NA	190	42	22.1	NA	NA
1915	40	1325	147	1472	282	19.2	43	22.6
2013	98	580	1050	1630	389	23.9	422	28.7

Preservation is a concern when gauging the completeness of the archaeological record and interpreting results. For instance, the susceptibility of aforementioned coral stone monuments to erosion has had a major impact on attrition rates. The less substantial economic investment in coral stone or wood monuments, in comparison to other materials such as granite, or the placement of monuments inside or outside churches, would suggest that monuments of families of more limited economic means at the time of commemoration have likely been lost at a higher rate than those of the upper classes of society.[7] While it is impossible to completely quantify and account for monument attrition, it is a necessary consideration for interpreting results, particularly when considering social groups with differential access to materials or styles of monuments that vary in preservation.

Summary of the Data

The total sample used in this study includes 1924[8] monuments, from 24 churches and burial grounds, and 40 plantations, dating between the 1630s and 2011 (Table 3.4, Figure 3.11). All parishes were represented, selecting the parish churches and primary chapels[9] that served Anglican communities and all monuments at each site were utilized. The Barbados monument sample was used in the analysis of changes in representations of family identity and structure over time and the development of commemorative traditions amongst families in Barbados to explore the experience and transformation of families throughout the colonial era and in comparison to British comparative samples (see below).

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[7] Not all groups within the social hierarchy of Barbados commemorated their dead with stone monuments, and rates of commemoration vary between the social classes. However, the preservation issue has likely accentuated the differential rates due to poorer survival of certain commemorative choices.

[8] The sample size used for various research questions may vary due to incomplete data as a result of preservation and the differences in data recorded in previous publications. Where necessary data was missing, these monuments were excluded from analysis and the subsample size will be indicated.

[9] Parish churches served as the primary religious centre for each parish, however chapels were often established to facilitate access to religion on the island. Individuals typically had rights to burial at the church that they attended, however there was some flexibility, particularly for those who owned property in more than one parish, or had the money and influence to be more selective about their place of burial.

Table 3.4 Summary of Dataset from Barbados Selected for this Study (based on fieldwork 2013 and 2014, in addition to Lawrence-Archer 1875, Oliver 1915, Thorne nd.: 253-280).

Location	Parish	Date Range	Total Monuments	Main Source
Adams Castle Plantation	Christ Church	1679	1	Oliver
Airey Hill Plantation	St. Joseph	n.d.	1	Thorne
All Saints Chapel	St. Peter	1666-1949	48	Cook, Oliver
Andrew's Plantation	St. Joseph	1667-1772	3	Oliver
Ayshford Plantation	St. Thomas	1772-1832	2	Oliver
Bannatyne Plantation	Christ Church	1680	1	Oliver
Bissex Hill Plantation	St. Joseph	1680s	1	Thorne
Bromefield Plantation	St. Lucy	1745	1	Oliver
Buckden Plantation	St. Joseph	1650s	1	Thorne
Bush Hall Plantation	St. Michael	1709	1	Oliver
Cane Garden Plantation	St. Thomas	1668	1	Oliver
Christ Church Parish Church	Christ Church	1659-2006	92	Cook, Oliver
Clermont Plantation	St. Thomas	n.d.	1	Thorne
Codrington College	St. John	1810-1896	10	Oliver
Coverley Plantation	Christ Church	n.d.	1	Oliver
Drax Hall Plantation	St. George	n.d.	1	Thorne
Easy Hall Plantation	St. John	1793-1854	2	Cook, Oliver
Halton's Plantation	St. Philip	1796	1	Oliver
Hannay's Plantation	Christ Church	172?-1734	1	Oliver
Hayne's Hill Plantation	St. John	1711	1	Oliver
Holborn Plantation	St. Michael	n.d.	1	Thorne
Holder's Plantation	St. John	1705-1783	1	Oliver
Hope Plantation	St. Lucy	1742	1	Oliver
Joe's River Plantation	St. Joseph	1771	1	Oliver
Lear's Plantation	St. Michael	1651-1688	2	Oliver
Malvern Plantation	St. Joseph	n.d.	3	Cook, Oliver
Mangrove Plantation	St. Peter	1794	1	Oliver
Military Burial Ground	St. Michael	1862-1883	10	Oliver
Military Hospital	St. Michael	1831	1	Oliver
Navy Land	St. Michael	n.d.	1	Oliver
Penny Hole	St. Philip	n.d.	1	Thorne
Porter's Plantation	St. James	1731	1	Oliver
Rice's Plantation	St. Philip	1766	1	Oliver
Ridge Plantation	Christ Church	n.d.	1	Oliver
Rock Dundo Plantation	St. Michael	n.d.	1	Thorne
Rugby Plantation	St. Thomas	1760	1	Oliver
Savannah of St. Ann	St. Michael	1810-1831	2	Oliver
Searles Plantation	Christ Church	1697	1	Oliver

Table 3.3 continued

Location	Parish	Date Range	Total Monuments	Main Source
Selman Plantation	St. Thomas	1845	2	Thorne
St. Andrew's Parish Church	St. Andrew	1665-1989	35	Cook, Oliver
St. George's Parish Church	St. George	1680-2003	140	Cook, Oliver
St. James Parish Church	St. James	1669-1964	72	Cook, Oliver
St. John's Parish Church	St. John	1666-1986	97	Cook, Oliver
St. Joseph's Parish Church	St. Joseph	1701-1948	14	Cook, Oliver
St. Leonard's Chapel	St. Michael	1808-1948	282	Cook, Oliver
St. Lucy's Parish Church	St. Lucy	1696-2001	100	Cook, Oliver
St. Mary's Chapel	St. Michael	1681-1967	103	Cook, Oliver
St. Matthias District Church	St. Michael	1852-1930	21	Cook, Oliver
St. Michael's Cathedral	St. Michael	1660-1975	649	Cook, Oliver
St. Paul's Chapel	St. Michael	1811-1995	97	Cook, Oliver
St. Peter's Parish Church	St. Peter	1729-1951	53	Cook, Oliver
St. Peter's Quaker Cemetery	St. Peter	1700-1907	19	Oliver
St. Philip's Parish Church	St. Philip	1677-2011	168	Cook, Oliver
St. Swithin's Chapel	St. Lucy	1854	1	Cook, Oliver
St. Thomas Parish Church	St. Thomas	1659-1988	71	Cook, Oliver
Strong Hope Plantation	St. Thomas	1828	1	Oliver
Sturges Plantation	St. Thomas	1758	1	Oliver
The Society's Chapel	St. John	1889	1	Oliver
Thorpe's Plantation	St. James	1721-1810	2	Oliver
Vaucluse Plantation	St. James	1843	1	Oliver
Welches Plantation	St. Michael	1720	1	Oliver
Welchman Hall Plantation	St. Thomas	1660	1	Cook
Whitehall Plantation	St. Michael	n.d.	1	Thorne

TOTAL   **1924**
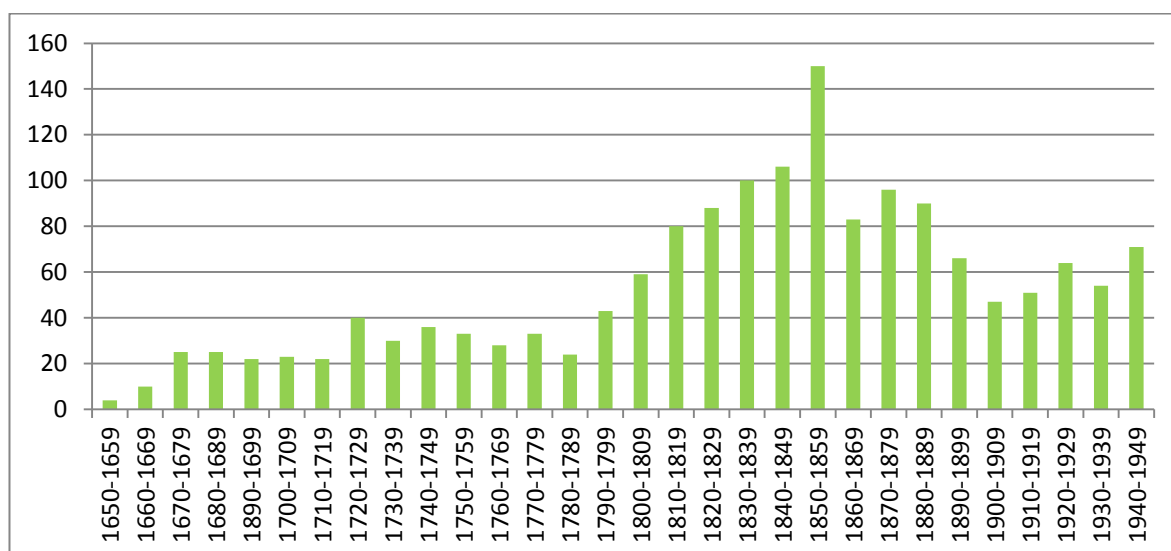
Figure 3.11 Temporal distribution of monuments in the Barbados sample.

THE UNITED KINGDOM CASE STUDIES

Although there has been a long history of archaeological and genealogical recording of cemeteries throughout Britain, few studies have systematically analysed the role of family in commemorative traditions. A comparative sample of churches and cemeteries was therefore selected in Britain to not only give an indication of how families were commemorating the dead in different regions of the metropole, but also to target areas in which some of the families in Barbados might still have had connections to, as a means to gauge ongoing influences and reconstruct Atlantic networks. Drawing on references to counties in England, Scotland and Ireland in commemorative inscriptions from Barbados (Figure 3.12), with consideration of immigration trends more generally, areas with different levels of connection to the British Empire were selected. Both urban and rural regions were also targeted as funerary practices could vary significantly between areas depending on levels of migration, social mobility, and available space for burial and commemoration. This research primarily relied on existing records – including collections of monumental inscriptions, photographs, and burial records collected by family history societies and cemetery trusts/Friends' societies. Sites were selected based on their temporal compatability with the study, as well as the completeness of records. Collections were only selected where entire cemeteries had been recorded to avoid sampling bias where the "best" examples or most famous individuals have been targeted, rather than representing the whole commemorated population.

Summary of the Data

Based on the known connections between families in the Britain and Barbados, and the available collections of monument inscriptions for cemeteries in Britain, 19 burial grounds[10] were selected for analysis (Table 3.5, Figure 3.13; see also Appendix II). Urban areas with high levels of connection to Barbados included London (30 individuals), Liverpool (11 individuals), and Bristol (11 individuals). The huge population of London and limited availability of cemetery collections[11] and the lack of comparable records for burial grounds in Bristol excluded them from this study. However, extensive records of monuments and inscriptions existed for Liverpool and four burial grounds in the city centre

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[10] The British sample includes both church/churchyards and municipal/private cemeteries. Population sizes in Britain, along with other factors (Tarlow 1998) meant that there was a much earlier shift to cemeteries than in Barbados. Cemeteries had to be included to reflect the same temporal period with large enough sample sizes. These records are also primarily external monuments as a result of recording practices (with the exception of the churches in Cambridge and Liverpool). The impact of these deviations in datasets was considered in interpretation but is unlikely to account for the patterns of practice.

[11] The British sample relied heavily on existing monumental records and included only limited fieldwork; records were selected to best parallel those created for Barbados, particularly temporal distribution.

were selected. As a major port, Liverpool and surrounding regions were heavily engaged in Caribbean colonialism, frequently exposing residents to the products, experiences and politics of the Caribbean, and the opportunities for employment and immigration were vast. Rural samples were selected from two burial grounds in Lancashire as a rural region associated with the urban port town of Liverpool, with 6 monuments in Barbados referencing this county. Four cemeteries and churchyards from the city of Cambridge and five from rural parishes in Cambridgeshire were selected as urban and rural regions with little connection to Barbados, but strong existing collections of monument inscriptions. The data from these collections was put into a database that mirrored the Barbados sample. The British samples were analysed together as a collective group, in addition to breaking them down to recognize differences between regions, and rural and urban communities. Comparative analyses of commemorative trends and family patterns in Britain and Barbados were carried out to develop an understanding of Atlantic commemorative practice and influence.
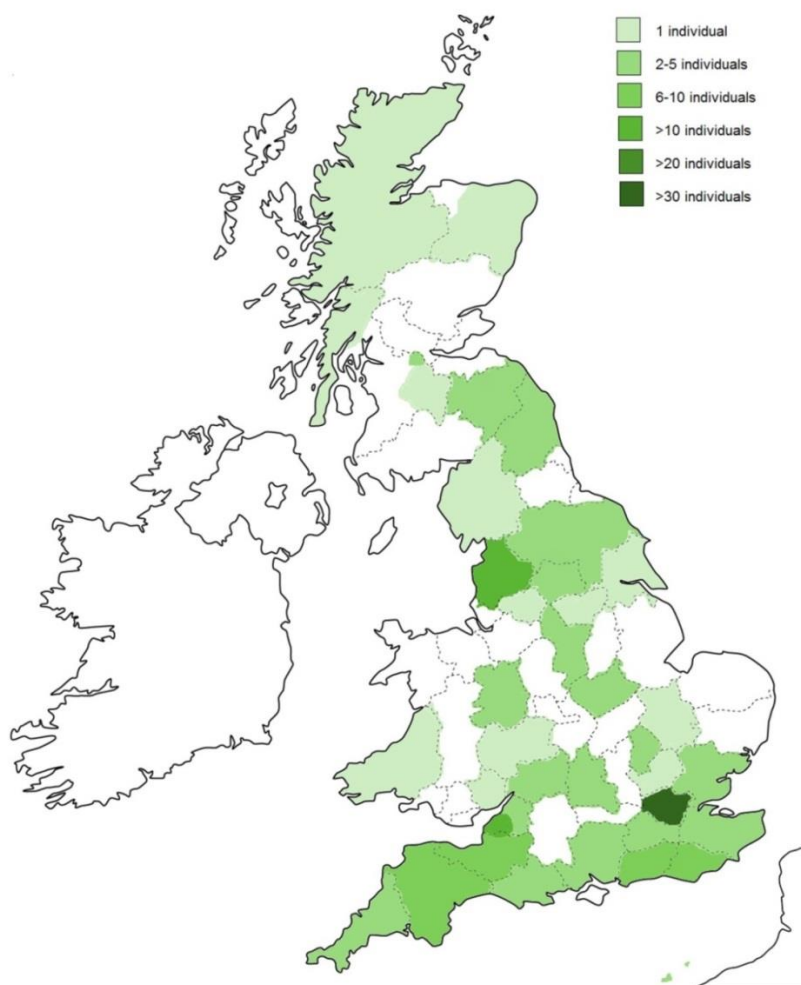
Figure 3.12 Distribution of Barbadian commemorative references to geographical origins or connections to counties in England, Scotland and Ireland (n=172).

Table 3.5 Summary of Dataset from the United Kingdom Selected for this Study.

Burial Ground	Location	Date Range	Monuments	Source
St. Nicholas	Liverpool	1361-1868	173	Gibson (2007)
St. Peter	Liverpool	1704-1844	107	Gibson (2007)
St. John's	Liverpool	1767-1878	212	Gibson (2007)
Anfield Cemetery	Liverpool	1863-1950	435	Liverpool Cemeteries (n.d.)
St. Michael (Whittington)	Lancashire	1680-2006	240	Lancashire FHS (2007)
Accrington Cemetery (Accrington)	Lancashire	1864-2009	800	Lancashire FHS (2009)
St. Mary the Great	Cambridge	1766-1915	59	Cambridgeshire FHS (n.d.a)
St. Edward	Cambridge	1699-1870	48	Cambridgeshire FHS (n.d.a)
St. Michael	Cambridge	1698-1908	42	Cambridgeshire FHS (n.d.a)
Mill Road Cemetery	Cambridge	1847-1950	153	Cambridgeshire FHS (n.d.a)
St. Mary/St. John (Hinxton)	Cambridgeshire	1756-1950	154	Cambridgeshire FHS (n.d.b)
All Saints (Harston)	Cambridgeshire	1714-1970	146	Cambridgeshire FHS (n.d.b)
St. Mary (Bourn)	Cambridgeshire	1727-1998	333	Cambridgeshire FHS (n.d.b)
St. Mary (Comberton)	Cambridgeshire	1773-1980	186	Cambridgeshire FHS (n.d.b)
St Mary (Great Eversden)	Cambridgeshire	1737-1977	107	Cambridgeshire FHS (n.d.b)
TOTAL			**3195**	
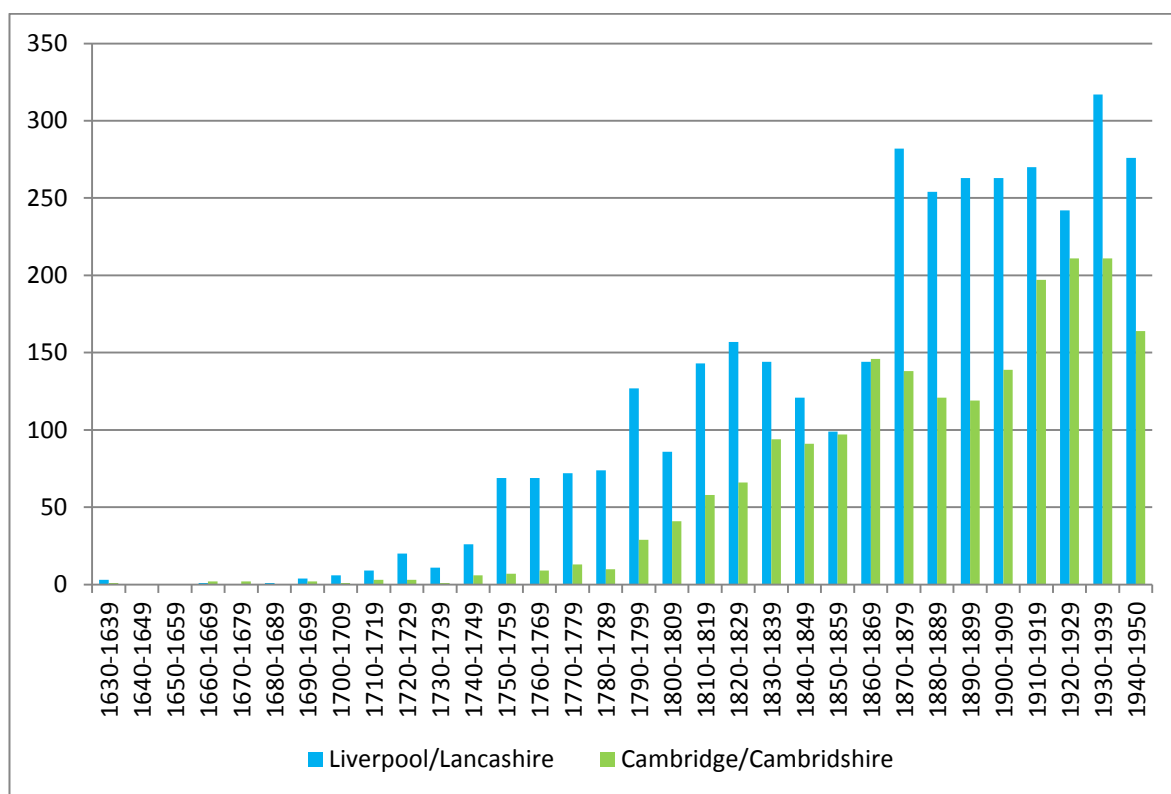
Figure 3.13 Temporal distribution of commemorative events in the British sample.

A COMMEMORATION-BASED HISTORY

Traditionally, studies of historic cemeteries take the monument as the basic unit of analysis. This approach has a great deal of merit given that monuments are a fundamental element of mortuary material culture; moreover, monuments provide a tight chronological and spatial focus, given that most choices in the production of a monument are made at the time of initially commissioning and erecting a monument. Generally the only modifications to follow will be the addition of commemorative inscriptions – which are typically more textual than stylistic, represent less investment and often have only a minor impact. There are of course exceptions, including additions of plaques or extensions to monuments. However, for the most part, the stylistic elements that many archaeologists focus upon can easily be analysed from a monument-centred approach. This approach has long been successfully applied to a range of research questions, from the traditional examination of seriation and fashion in Dethlefsen and Deetz (1966) to more contemporary concerns with practice, individual and group identity and the roles or impact of commemoration (Buckham 2003, Finch 2000, Mytum 1994). However, given that many changes do occur throughout these objects' life histories (Cook 2011), this approach can contribute to an overly stable view of monuments – a perspective that is perhaps influenced by the seemingly permanent nature of the materials used in monument production. While this approach is appropriate for some research questions, eliminating later additions to monuments or including them in the analysis of the monument as a whole can simplify or erase some of the complexities and changes in commemorative practice.

Alternatively, some studies take the burial population as the starting point – creating a narrative from burial records or other parish documents connected to existing monuments and commemorative inscriptions (Cannon and Cook 2015). This is perhaps most similar to traditional archaeological studies of cemeteries and non-commemoration-based mortuary practices, where buried individuals, and their accompanying material culture where present, become the analytical unit of analysis (cf. Chapman 2000, Handler et al. 1989, Howell and Kintigh 1996, Mainfort 1985). Focussing on individuals can provide a means to move away from considering monuments as unchanging, and link the material culture with people, emotions and actions that are occasionally lost in the monument-centred approach. Nonetheless, this may obscure certain trends by making individuals and their deaths the central focus, when commemoration can be greatly delayed, can memorialize groups rather than solely individuals, and can vary in value and meaning. There is a danger, then, of losing some of the connection to the material culture and the event of commemoration, along with the choices and circumstances that

contributed to it. Each of these approaches have demonstrated merit and are suited to particular research questions and aims, but this research project sought to balance the focus on material culture and individuals, whilst maintaining the connection between them.

The 'Commemorative Events' Approach

Given the incomplete or inaccessible nature of the burial records for most of the churches and burial grounds included in this study, the need for strong chronologies, and, most importantly, the intent to analyse material and textual connections to the choices and experiences of individuals and families alike, this study takes temporally-separate choices in commemoration as its central unit of analysis, what will be termed 'commemorative events'. That is, each instance of commemoration, whether it involved placing a new monument (primary commemoration) or an addition to an existing monument (secondary commemoration), was considered individually, with the means to both connect related events together to examine a monument as a whole, but also differentiate between different types of commemoration. This methodology recognizes that the context and meaning of commemorative choices separated by even a few years can be drastically different. Thus, every monument was broken into separate commemorative events, whether connected to an individual death in particular, or to a number of individuals more generally. Spacing, wording, changes in lettering, and material modifications of monuments were used as indicators of separate events (Figure 3.14, Figure 3.15).

1 — Monument erected in 1891 to commemorate Mary F. Wilderspin

2 — Addition of inscription in 1906 to commemorate Martha J. Gibbs

4 — Addition of plaque in 1934 to commemorate Julia L.E. Smith

3 — Addition of a 2nd headstone in 1913 to commemorate James C. Gibbs
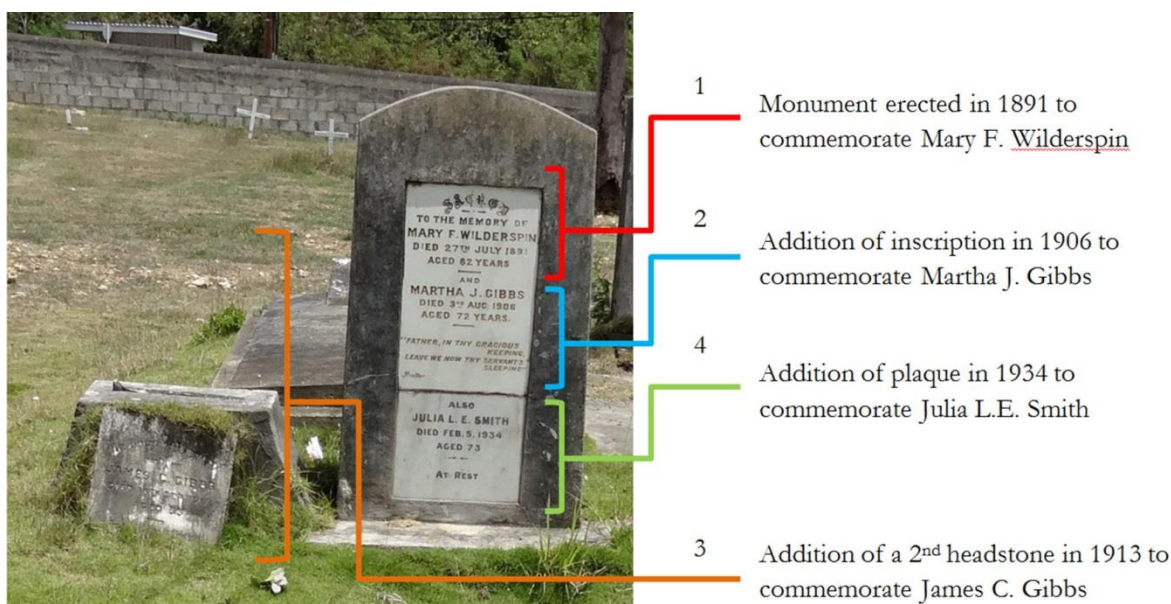
Figure 3.14 Example of the breakdown of commemorative events from a family plot at St. Thomas Parish Church, based largely on the addition of new plaques or monuments.
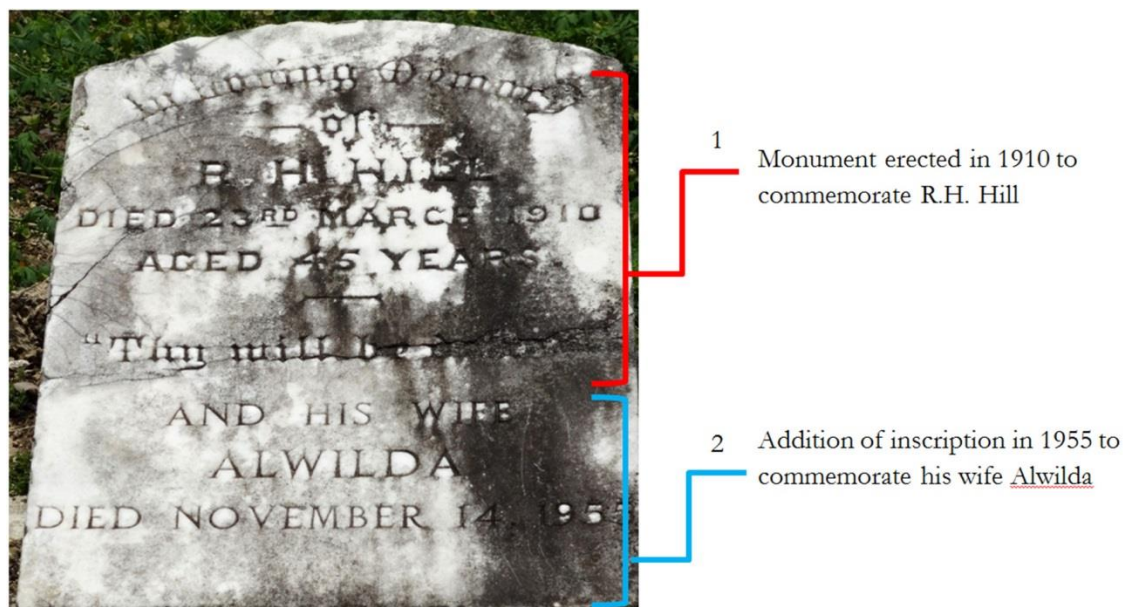
Figure 3.15 Example of the breakdown of commemorative events from a family plot at St. Thomas Parish Church, based largely on changes in lettering.

In so doing, the 1924 Barbadian monuments included in this study were broken into 3323 commemorative events, and the 3195 monuments in the Britain were broken into 5600 commemorative events (Figure 3.16). Each commemorative event entry in the database was accompanied by descriptive and quantitative data regarding the monument (style, material, decoration, size, etc.), the individual commemorated (age, gender, status/occupation, geographical links, family relationships), and commemorative themes in the epitaph (indicators of family, religion, other social/political/economic relationships, biography, sense of loss, etc.). The database was set up so that commemorative events from the same monument could easily be grouped for analysis, but this also allowed for all the commemorative events associated with a given family to be grouped and organized into temporal sequences, even when involving more than one monument, to provide a more complete picture of commemorative traditions. It also allowed for the analysis of much tighter chronologies of family and commemorative trends in Barbados. Rather than compressing indicators of family structure and identity that might represent numerous additions over several decades, each commemorative event could be analysed individually and usually could be linked to a relatively precise date. Although this approach creates a complex dataset requiring extensive analysis, it proved to be most appropriate for answering the theoretical questions of this thesis (see Chapter 8).
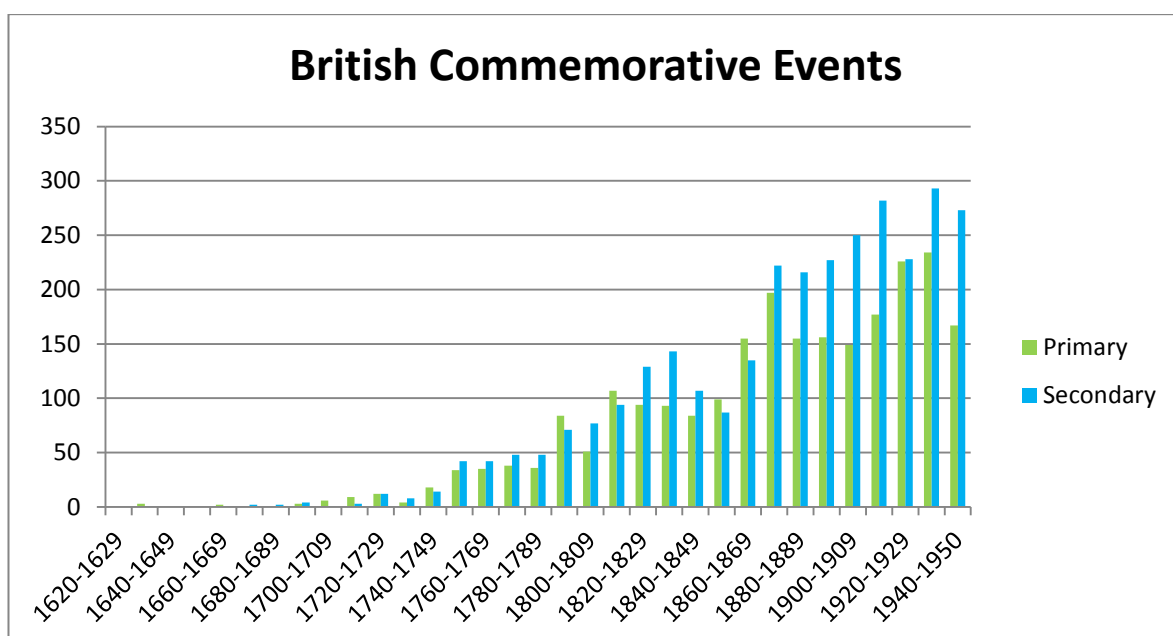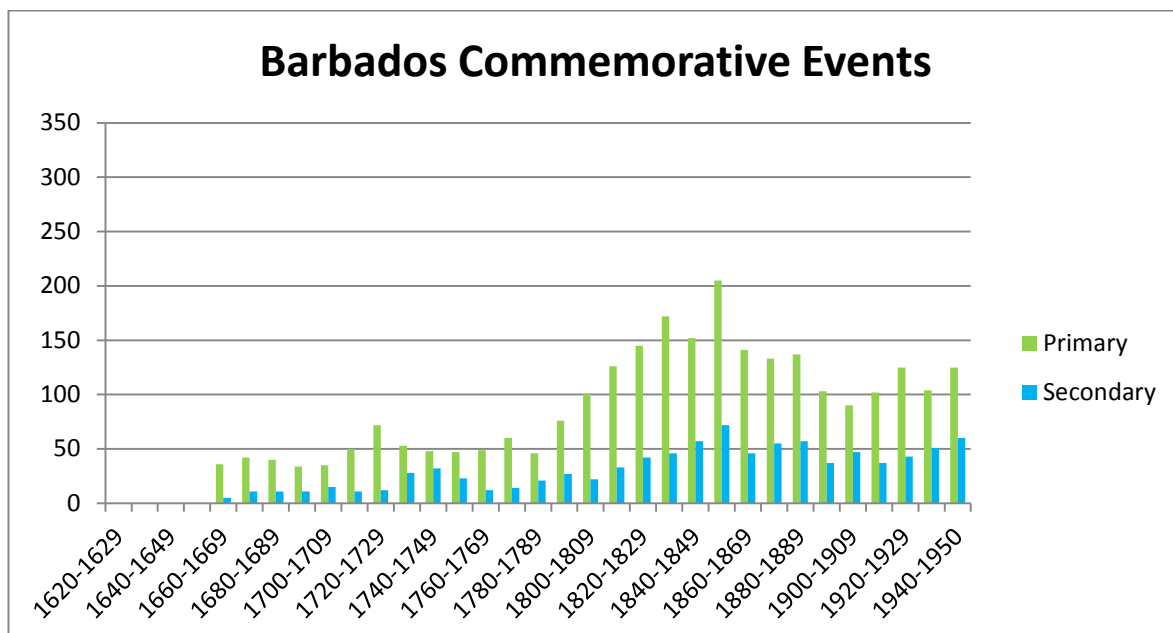
Figure 3.16 Distribution of primary (new monuments) and secondary (additions to existing monuments) commemorative events in the Barbados and British samples.

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORKS

The creation of comparable datasets of commemorative events in Barbados and Britain during the colonial period provides the unique opportunity to directly compare patterns in family structure and identity as represented on funerary monuments on either side of the Atlantic Ocean at various scales. At the largest scale, systematic comparison of trends in the spatial distribution of families within churchyards and across parishes, in addition to indicators of family self-representation on monuments were considered as means through which families created identifiable family identities even in death.

Temporal changes in these patterns of family indicators are discussed in relation to new levels of mobility and geographical dispersal brought about through colonialism and the impact of establishing new social, economic and political relationships in colonies like Barbados. On a different scale, the examination of the development and change of traditions in family sequences of mortuary material culture in Barbados and in Britain seeks to understand the role of mortuary material culture during this period, in different regions and for different communities. These sequences were analysed for family-based patterns in the individuals selected for commemoration, the relationships and elements of identity indicated, the spatial relationships between monuments and burials, and material similarities in monument styles. By connecting commemorative events for a number of families as micro-scalar case studies, in combination with related historical records and genealogies, it is possible to explore why and how commemorative fashions change, the ways in which families were making use of them, and the factors that impact a family's propensity to develop identifiable or stable traditions, to lead or lag in funerary fashion, or to change their existing traditions. This will not only contribute to family narratives during the colonial era, but also to archaeological debates about why and how material culture changes. These scales of family, experience, tradition and change were explored through three primary components of commemoration: space/place, materiality, and text.

Finding the Dead: The Space and Place of Memory

Although Barbados is a relatively small island, choices in burial and commemoration invoked a range of dimensions of space and place. Beyond commemorating the geographical ties of the deceased, including place of birth, residence, death and burial as components of inscriptions on monuments (see discussion of commemorative inscriptions below), the placement of burials and commemoration (which could be spatially distinct, and not always based on place of residence), included decisions to bury and/or commemorate the dead on plantations versus Anglican grounds. Further distinctions between commemorating inside churches or within the surrounding churchyard had implications for memory and material culture. Analysis of the place of commemoration traced changing relationships between the metropole and colony, social structures, and family identity.

Rural and urban contexts, with distinct demographic, social and economic composition, often influence divergent commemorative patterns. Finneran (2013) first identified the contrasting commemorative practices evident in rural and urban Barbados. His sample from St. Peter's Parish Church (Speightstown) and All Saints Church (St. Peter's Parish) suggested that there is a, "different approach to the culture of death and

commemoration between the inland plantocracy and the mercantile community of the town" evident in more simple memorials in rural churches relative to the grandiose displays of urban commemoration (Finneran 2013: 338). It is hoped that this study, with samples from across the island, will contribute more data to this important discussion, recognizing the diversity of rural and urban, and merchant and planter relationships across the island. This analysis will also benefit from the British comparative samples, using the Liverpool/Lancashire and Cambridge/Cambridgeshire relationships to contextualize commemorative practice in rural and urban areas (see Chapter 5). Overall, this project includes 1715 commemorative events in characteristically urban areas of Barbados, including St. James in Holetown, St. Mathias in Christ Church, St. Paul's, St. Mary's, and St. Michael's in Bridgetown, and St. Peter's in Speightstown. These urban areas were defined by their ports and were therefore focal points for merchants, military and sailors, in addition to the necessary trades that grew up around these activities. In contrast, 1252 commemorative events occur in rural settings, including plantations, as well as All Saints, Christ Church, St. George's, St. Joseph's, St. Thomas', St. Andrew's, St. John's, St. Lucy's, St. Philip's, and St. Swithin's parish churches. In rural settings, parish churches tended to serve a much more dispersed community, with small towns and hamlets as well as large agricultural properties. Given the population density of urban settings, it is not surprising that there have typically been higher levels of burial in the urban churches, but also inflating the commemorated population (Figure 3.17). This was strengthened by many wealthy elites from rural settings electing to commemorate in St. Michael's Cathedral, the largest and most important church on the island.[12] Nonetheless, rural commemoration dominated both the beginning and the end of the study period, characterizing the mid-seventeenth and the early 20th centuries.

Although church/churchyard burial and commemoration was by far the most common practice for British and British-descendant communities in Barbados, there was also burial and commemoration (Figure 3.18) on plantations from the mid-seventeenth century through to the early twentieth century. Slave burial practices on plantations have been widely recognized and examined (cf. Handler 1999, Handler and Lange 1978, see also Chapter 7). However, British and British-descendant communities also buried and commemorated their dead on plantations during this period. Almost entirely based on commemoration rather than records, the number of individuals buried on plantations is likely underestimated due to low survival rates and the likelihood of burial grounds

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[12] There were some regulations of burial at the Cathedral, based on residence, however, individuals of influence often found avenues through which to commemorate here, including through donations.

60

without monumental commemoration. Oliver (1915) recorded 34 monuments on plantations, that he tracked down based on local knowledge, whilst Thorne (n.d.) noted 44 monuments on plantations. In some instances, parish records indicate burial on private property and a small number of monuments in churches reference this practice. There was also some level of movement between the two, as a monument on Mangrove Plantation, in the parish of St. Peter's, notes that the remains of John Brathwaite Skeete, Esq., who died in 1794, were removed from St. Peter's Church and reburied on the plantation in line with his wishes. Although private family burial grounds are often part of colonial experiences, there is the common perception that this was expedient due to the rarity and distance of churches early in the colonial experience. However, the small size of the island, the use of plantations for burial long past when churches were established across the island and the disinterment of individuals from churchyards to be reburied on plantations suggests that, at least for part of the population, plantation burial was a choice and was preferred.
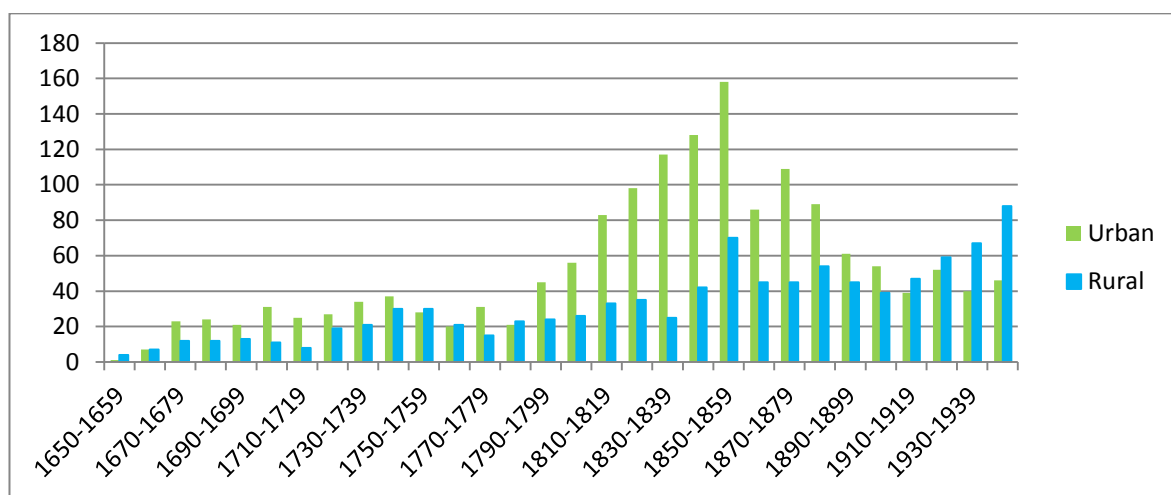
Figure 3.17 Distribution of commemorative events in rural and urban settings in Barbados.
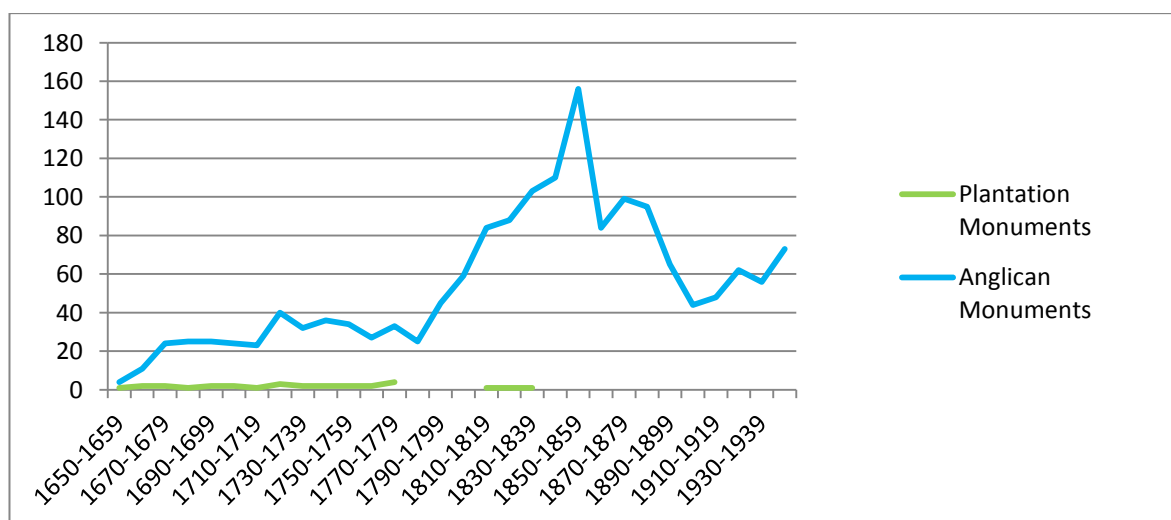
Figure 3.18 Distribution of monuments on plantations and in Anglican church environments in Barbados 1650-1950.

Finally, the place of Anglican commemoration, granted by the clergy or leaders of a church's community, can be divided into two main categories: internal and external (Figure 3.19, Figure 3.20). Internal monuments represent primarily the upper classes, in addition to community leaders, including church wardens and organists. They are often sculpturally elaborate and made of finer materials and benefitted from more sheltered environmental conditions. They were designed to be seen by captive audiences, often with lengthy inscriptions in addition to detailed iconography. External monuments represent a wider range of the burial population (particularly with regards to social classes), are more diverse in style and form, and more consistently use materials that will stand up to the elements or can be easily maintained. Inscriptions tend to be shorter and less detailed. With limited social and economic access, and in some settings restraints on space, the majority of commemoration has always taken place externally; nonetheless, there is a decline in internal commemoration during the study period (Figure 3.21). Although 43.2% (n=54/125) of commemorative events were on internal monuments between 1650 and 1699, this dropped to 27.54% (n=122/443) between 1700 and 1789 and only 18.37% (n=377/2052) between 1790 and 1950. This is likely influenced by changing practices and fashions, but also increasing regulation of burial within churches and churchyards (cf. Finch 2000, Rugg 1999).

Figure 3.19 Internal monuments in St. George Parish Church.

Figure 3.20 External monuments in St. George Parish Churchyard.
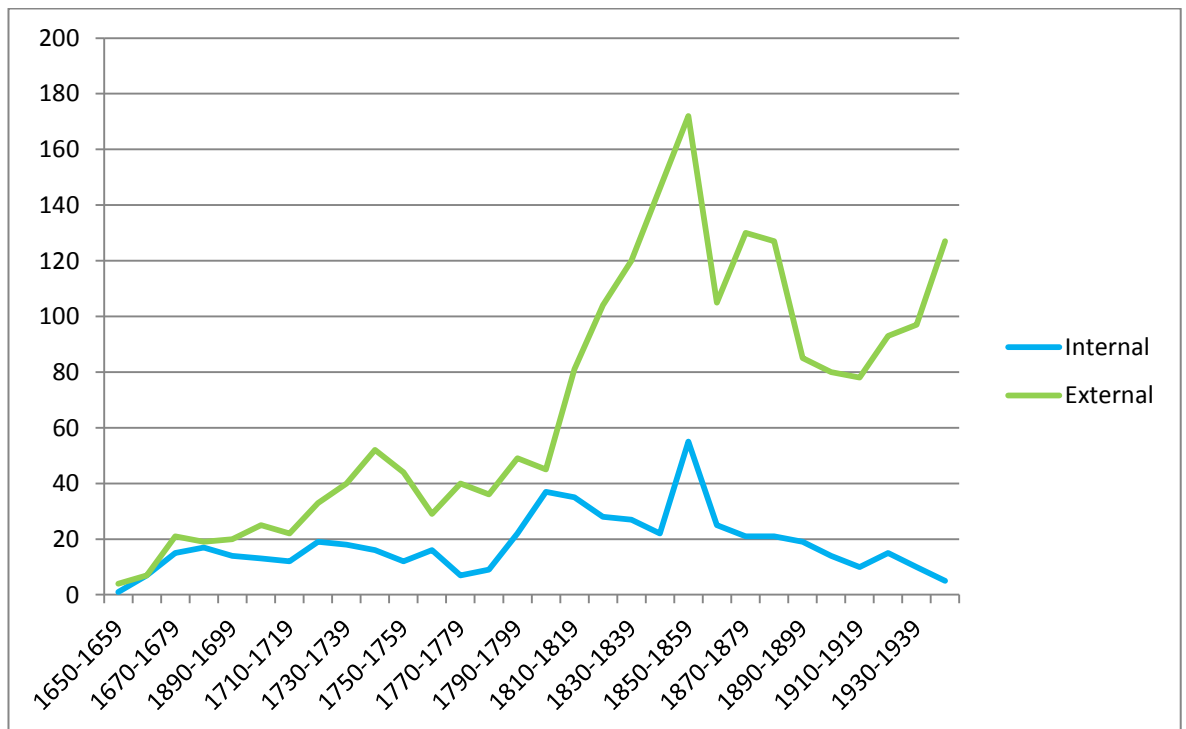
Figure 3.21 Frequency of internal and external commemorative events in Barbados, 1650-1950.

Material Memory: Interpreting Monuments

Monuments are the products of complex processes influenced by economic means, family choice, fashion, politics, and the influence of the sculptor/stone mason and masonry catalogues (Figure 3.22), amongst other factors. In Barbados, this was further complicated by the influence of stylistic developments on both sides of the Atlantic, the economic decisions of ordering a monument from abroad (usually Britain or the United States), or employing a mason locally, and the impact that this would have on the involvement of the family in design of a monument. Although material elements, particularly iconography, could communicate some of the same themes as commemorative inscriptions, including religious, social and occupational affiliations, other features, like material, size and style enhance the impact and communication value of a monument. Analysis of the 1924 monuments recorded in Barbados, and the 1399 additional commemorative inscriptions added to these monuments throughout their history, can therefore contribute to an understanding of the motivations and choices the living were making in commemorating their dead, and the impact that these monuments would have had in accumulating memory and history in the churches and churchyards of the island. Internal commemoration primarily included wall plaques and ledgers inserted into the floor, though they occasionally also involved plaques for various church furnishings like lecterns, bells, and windows. External monuments included a much wider range of formats, including mausoleums, vaults, tombstones, chest tombs, monuments with large three dimensional sculptural elements, and mural and horizontal plaques. For the most part, external monuments were accompanied by curbs, railings, and low walls marking off plots. The principal materials used were stone, generally marble, granite, and coral stone, and concrete, though metal, including brass and iron, and wood were also used. Iconography included family crests and arms, regimental and occupational symbols, religious symbols, as well as a range of symbols of mortality, including skulls, crossbones, hourglasses, and decorative elements such as flowers, drapery, and scrollwork. Font choices for lettering, singularly or in combination, included Roman, Sans Serif, and Gothic, which could be inscribed, in relief, appliquéd in lead, or painted black, white, red, or gold.

All of these features were recorded for as many monuments as possible, though monuments that have been lost since the recordings by Lawrence-Archer and Oliver relied on their descriptions, which were typically limited to style and material. Moreover, in view of the division of monuments into commemorative events, design elements were matched with particular commemorative events when recorded in the database. Thus, commemorative events that involved erecting a new monument were recorded with

Figure 3.22 Monument design sketch by Joseph Nollekens of London, England, matching Richard Salter's monument in Barbados (Victoria and Albert Museum n.d.).

information relating to style, material, size, lettering and iconography. In contrast, commemorative events that were inscriptions added to existing monuments were typically only recorded with the lettering style, though occasionally they were also accompanied by iconography. It was therefore possible to focus on the material features and choices associated with each commemorative event, rather than generalizing monuments that are composites of numerous additions and therefore a series of temporally-distinct choices.

Inscribed Memory: Text-based Commemoration

In addition to basic identifiers, including name, date of death/burial, and either age or date of birth, epitaphs may also give details regarding occupation/status, family relationships, cause of death, geographical links, biographical information, character descriptions, references to political, social and religious affiliations, in addition to the use of sayings or phrases that reflect religious values, sense of loss, or commentary on mortality (Figure 3.23). The inclusion of extensive commemorative detail is certainly tied to economic means, as it not only cost more but also took more space and thus fewer

individuals could be commemorated on a single monument. However, finances alone cannot account for temporal, geographical and demographic distributions. The waxing and waning of these additions therefore represent the opportunity to explore changing motivations, values, choices and fashions in commemoration (see also Thomas 2009: 245-250). Given the variation in the text inscribed on monuments, different categories of detail were coded in the monument database. The primary categories considered include:

1) Relationships with the living and the dead (direct references such as parents, children, spouses, siblings, grandparents/children, but also friends and employers)

2) Status and/or Occupation (including whose status, that is, their own, that of a family relation, and/or that of a non-family relation)

3) Geographical Ties (their origins/place of birth, late residence, place of death and/or burial, family's base, and property names)

4) Cause of Death (disease, military, accidental, childbirth, heroism, environmental conditions such as hurricanes, murder)

5) Character and Individual Detail (general family role, personality or virtues, biography, political, religious and masonic affiliations, sense of loss)

Once coded, it was possible to analyse the frequencies of different commemorative information or themes in relation to date, parish, gender, age, and type of commemoration, including differences between internal/external and primary/secondary commemoration.
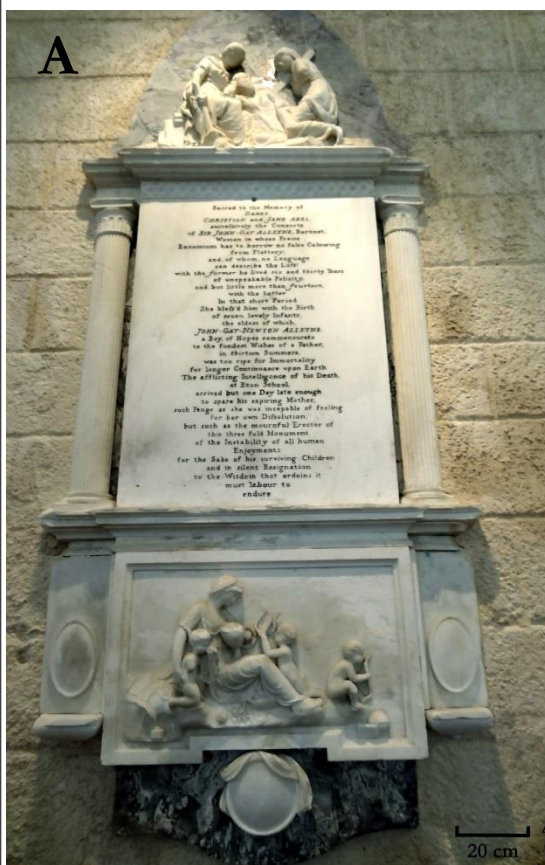
Sacred to the Memory of
DAMES
CHRISTIAN and JANE ABEL
successively the Consorts
of SIR JOHN-GAY ALLEYNE Baronet ;
"Women in whose Praise
Encomium has to borrow no false Colouring
from Flattery ;
and of whom no Language
can describe the Loss!
with the former he lived six and thirty years
of unspeakable Felicity
and but little more than fourteen,
with the latter
In that short Period
She bless'd him with the Birth
of seven lovely Infants ;
the eldest of which,
JOHN-GAY-NEWTON-ALLEYNE,
a Boy of Hopes commensurate to the fondest Wishes of a Father,
in thirteen Summers,
was too ripe for Immortality,
for longer Continuance upon Earth !
The afflicting Intelligence of his Death
at Eton School
arrived but one Day late enough
to spare his expiring Mother,
such Pangs, as she was incapable of feeling
for her own Dissolution
but such, as the mournful Erector of
this three-fold Monument
of the Instability of all human
Enjoyments for the Sake of his surviving Children
and, in silent Resignation
to the "Wisdom that ordains it, must labour to
endure!

In | Affectionate | Remembrance of
Henry Thomas Birmingham
Of Bagatelle Estate
In this parish.
Died May 15th
Aged 65 years.
This monument is erected
By his deeply afflicted widow.
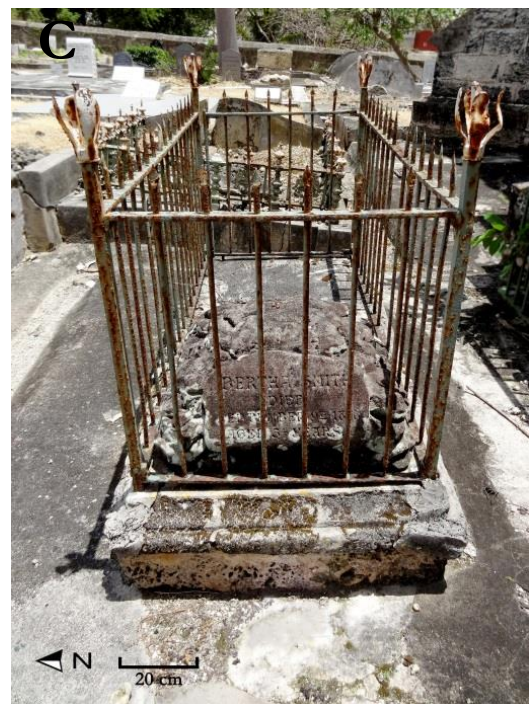
Bertha Smith
Died
September 9th 1876
Age 5 ½ Years

Figure 3.23 Examples in the range of inscriptions, from A) elaborately detailed internal monuments; to B) more typical inscriptions containing only one or two details about the individual, to C) more limited inscriptions.

CONCLUSION

This multi-sited analysis of commemorative events in Barbados and Britain has been designed to take advantage of the tight chronologies and material records of intertwined social phenomena provided by historic cemeteries. The spatial, material and textual examination of family identity and relationships represented on monuments, by locations of burial and commemorative objects, and other forms of creating and maintaining memories of deceased relations across increasing distances highlights changes through family-based sequences of mortuary material culture. This will contribute to an understanding of the transformation of experiences of death, social relationships, and uses of commemoration throughout the colonial period. In employing the transformations in British and Barbadian commemorative practices to construct alternative narratives of families and their experiences in the British Atlantic, this research contributes to emerging transatlantic studies in addition to fundamental archaeological theory regarding material culture change. The methods outlined above will not only provide more detailed documentation of endangered mortuary landscapes, but also new understandings of family history and practice in the transatlantic world.

CHAPTER 4
COMMEMORATIVE PRACTICE IN BARBADOS: AN OVERVIEW

In St. Michael's Cathedral's churchyard, a marble slab over a vault once commemorated three children of the Lascelles family:

> Here Lyeth Interred ye Bodys
> of 3 children of EDWARD
> LASCELLES Merchant by
> MARY his wife that is to say
> FRANCIS MARY and DOROTHY,
> ye said FRANCIS dyed ye 1st of
> February 1698 aged 3 years
> 7 Months 10 days.
> MARY dyed
> the 29th of January 1700 aged
> 21 Months 13 days.
> DOROTHY
> dyed ye 6th of May 1701 aged 4
> Months 3 weeks in memory
> of whom their Loving Father
> Erected this Tomb
> [sic] (Oliver 1915: 49)

This monument is interesting for a number of reasons, including a somewhat rare glimpse at the commemoration of three children, two of whom were infant girls. Moreover, it is the only record we have that the Lascelles family commemorated their dead in Barbados, despite several hundred years of residential and business ties to the island.

The Lascelles established themselves as sugar merchants, working and living in Bridgetown, Barbados and London, Britain at the beginning of the eighteenth century

(Smith 2006: 1-5, 43-53). Beyond sugar and slaves, they were also active in customs and government, and eventually money lending and mortgaging. Through this latter venture, the Lascelles came to own their first plantations, possessing more than 27, 000 acres by 1787, in Barbados, Jamaica, Grenada and Tobago. In Barbados, this included Lascelles and Belle plantations in St. James, Mount in St. George, Kirtons in Christ Church and Thicket in St. Philip (Shilstone 2001: 378). The Lascelles sold their final plantation in 1975. In Britain, the Lascelles used their New World wealth to build the elaborate estate of Harewood House and were soon raised to baron, and later earl, of Harewood. As a result of a number of Lascelles dying without children to inherit their property and wealth, many estates and properties in both Britain and the Caribbean became concentrated in a single family line by the early nineteenth century, solidifying their wealth (Shilstone 2001: 378). Although generations of Lascelles lived in Barbados through to the twentieth century, the Lascelles are often characterized as "absentee planters" – a trend for large-scale plantation owners to spend the majority of their time in Europe. Family members were often in residence in Barbados, engaged in military, government and social posts, but from the eighteenth century onwards, the family largely controlled critical credit networks and mercantile communities, and defended their rights to trade and use slaves from Harewood House and London (cf. Finch 2008). Smith (2006: 5-6) has suggested that the West Indian connection has never been played up by the family, particularly in Britain, where they boasted a new found wealth, status, and eventually a royal connection through marriage. The downplaying of Caribbean connections is mirrored by the almost non-existent commemorative record, in contrast to at least five elaborate monuments commemorating the family in the nave of All Saints Church, Harewood.

The Alleynes also established and built their wealth and position in Barbados; however, their legacy and profile on the island could not be more different to the Lascelles. Their names are present in almost every churchyard across the island, and live on in the names adopted by enslaved Africans when they were emancipated in addition to street names, business names and tourist attractions. This history started with the emigration of a young Reynold Alleyne (b. 1609, d. 1651), son of the Reverend Richard Alleyne, rector of Stowing in Kent, who arrived within three years of the first settlement of Barbados. His father Richard's (d. 1651) will suggests that Reynold had already been relatively successful in his Caribbean ventures, having been, "blessed with abundance of temporal goods far beyond my abilitie to apportion" (Allen 2001: 5). Reynold had married Mary Skeet, the daughter of a plantation owner in the parish of St. Philip. He bought and sold plantations in St. Philip and Christ Church, and traded in cotton and tobacco between his

arrival and the 1640s. Fatally wounded in action in Barbados related to the English Civil War, and a leader of the Commonwealth cause, roughly eighty per cent of his land was then seized as part of an Act of Legislature to defray the costs of the Royalist defences, leaving only one fifth of the wealth that he had accumulated to his wife and five young children. This considerable set back was not however the end of the Alleyne lineage in Barbados. In many ways, Mary (Skeet) Alleyne secured the family's history through remarriage to John Turner, of St. Philip parish. It was with the assistance of his stepfather that the eldest son of Reynold and Mary, Abel Alleyne, began to accumulate shares in plantations from 1666, starting with Turner's Hall (also known as Mount Alleyne) in St. James (Allen 2001: 7). His son, Thomas Alleyne, married Judith Thornhill, the daughter of Colonel Timothy Thornhill, and through this marriage secured a 164-acre plantation in St. Peter, later known as Four Hills, in addition to inheriting Mount Alleyne on his father's death. By this time, the Alleynes were well established as plantation owners, merchants, land executors, and government officials across Barbados, in addition to London and the county of Kent in England (Allen 2001:10-12).

The experience and proliferation of the Alleyne family is visible in a very different commemorative record than the Lascelles'. The sample of churchyards surveyed in this study had more than fifty commemorative events associated with the Alleynes, in the parishes of St. James, St. Joseph, St. Thomas, St. Michael, Christ Church, St. Lucy, St. George, and St. Philip (Figure 4.1). It is worth noting that the oldest surviving, dated monument from the Alleyne family dates to 1749, more than a hundred years after the establishment of the family on the island. Despite accruing wealth and position early on in the colony, it was not until much later that the family invested in material commemoration. Nevertheless, the lengthy sequence of monuments demonstrates changing traditions and fashions in commemoration, as well as the motivations and choices behind them, from the elaborate church monuments of the eighteenth century, to simple yet sprawling family plots of the twentieth and twenty-first century. The names on the monuments also suggest changing social relationships and networks on the island.

The strong engagement in the development of Barbados and long-term residence of the Alleynes is captured in the monuments erected in the churches and churchyards across the island. In contrast, the history of the Lascelles, despite being residents of Barbados for nearly as long, is all but invisible (Figure 4.2). It could therefore be argued that commemoration in Barbados did not hold the same meaning or serve the same purpose to both families, with the Alleynes more likely to benefit emotionally and socially from commemoration in the colony on a long-term basis than the more absentee Lascelles. With

Figure 4.1 The earliest Alleyne monument (c. 1749, Christ Church), and a 20th-century burial plot with monuments dating between 1942 and 2010 (St. Lucy).
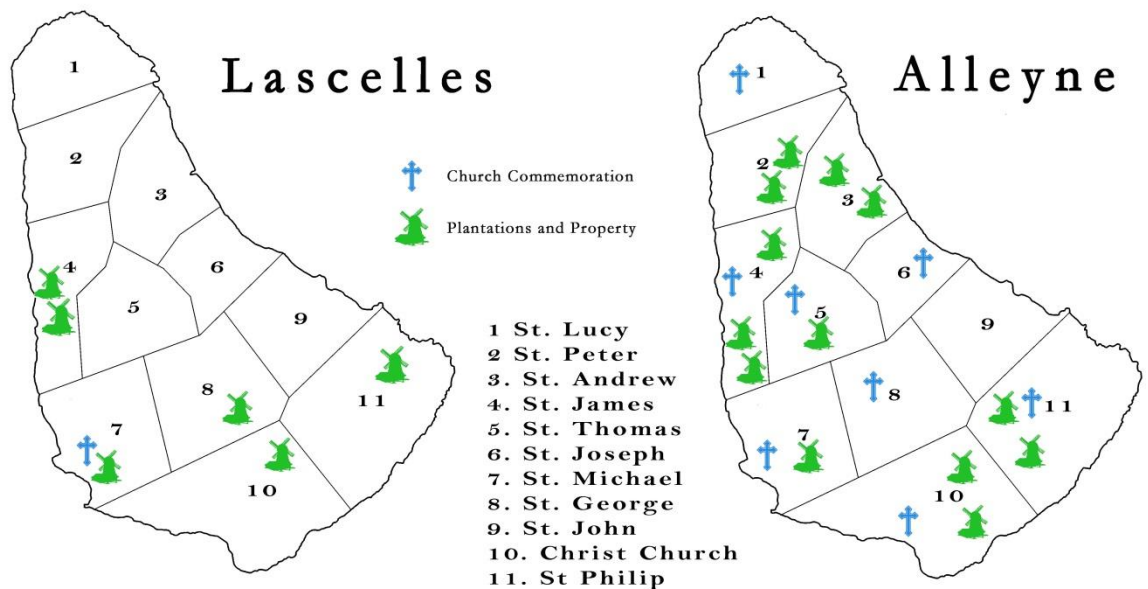
Figure 4.2 Comparative distribution of commemoration and property of the Lascelles and Alleyne families in Barbados.

a focus on accumulating status through displays of wealth and power, and the formation of new social relationships in Britain, Barbados always appears to be a material and social afterthought for the Lascelles family. Their commemorative traditions mirror their social strategies, with elegant and elaborate monuments in Britain, where they stood to gain more emotionally and socially, but barely a material trace in Barbados. Both families were in the position, financially and socially, to commemorate where and when they chose to do so. Choices to commemorate are clearly much more complex than simply the financial means to mark a grave; location, style and format of commemoration are also influenced by the needs of the bereaved as well as social motivations. The commemorative sequences of the

Lascelles and the Alleynes, in the context of their family histories, highlights both the relevance and the complexities of funerary monuments as a means of accessing colonial experiences and strategies, that can be extended to the study of a wider range of families, particularly those that are less well documented than the island's elites. This chapter will present the results of analysis of the database of Barbadian commemoration, tracing major trends in the data and their connection to colonial experiences and narratives. Because there has been no previous systematic study of Barbadian commemorative practice, the patterns presented here will remain relatively granular, as a foundation for finer interrogation of the data in Chapters 6 and 7. At the largest scale, Barbadian commemorative choices between the mid-17th and mid-20th centuries reveal changing family experiences, motivations and strategies for not only honouring the dead but also solidifying the position and identity of the living.

COMMEMORATING FAMILIES IN BARBADOS

The history of Barbados, and the individuals that came to establish one of the most economically-successful British colonies, is still riddled with gaps. As with most colonial history, documents and records, particularly for the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, are rare, inconsistent and difficult to access. Amidst the constant changes in leadership on the island, there were two censuses taken in Barbados in 1679 and 1715, which are a valuable resource despite questions about their completeness. Parish church records remain the main route of access for early populations on the island. These, however, varied greatly depending on the clerks responsible, as well as external influences (Lane 2007: 19-38, 137). For instance, burials during epidemics were often unrecorded due to sheer numbers, and hurricanes and other natural disasters on the island destroyed records at a number of churches. This, in combination with the frequent movement of individuals to and from Barbados, and the relatively limited voices we have from diaries, letters and other documents, mean that many people and their experiences are historically invisible. The story emerging from traditional historical research is often one of transiency and impermanency. The focus remains on the young men that came to Barbados as planters, merchants, or in the military, and to a degree the less accessible worlds of indentured servants. Certainly, early demographics of the British population emigrating to Barbados is overwhelmingly young men; records suggest that woman made up less than 10 per cent of immigrants to Barbados in the 1630s (Gragg 2003: 167). However, baptisms are recorded as early as 1637 on the island, and by 1676, Sir Jonathan Atkins counted 8, 695 white females (adults and children) and 3, 030 white male children, along with 10,000 white adult men – suggesting that more than half of the population was made up of women and

children within 50 years of settlement (Schomburgk 1848: 82). Family was an essential component of social structure and the construction of British communities in this new colony (Dunn, 1969, Smith 2006) and this process can be seen on the hundreds of monuments that fill the churchyards and grace the walls of churches across the island.

Barbados Demographics: Reconstituting Communities

Reconstructing demographics for Barbados, particularly for early periods as a result of the aforementioned limitations in records, has contributed to a number of debates about the early population of the island. Nonetheless, historians agree that the inner workings of colonies, especially the developments of particular economic systems, had an effect on population, and as a result social structure and community. The plantation system and resulting economic dynamics are seen as having had the greatest impact on demographic patterns, with large-scale land use and high economic risk resulting in the constant movement of the European and European-descendant population, difficulties reproducing, and overall social structure (Puckrein 1984: 181). The labour requirements of the plantation system also had significant ramifications for the demographics of the enslaved African population. Demographically, the inhabitants of Barbados have therefore been characterized as being in a constant state of flux; the debate has typically been divided between the view that the British consistently migrated away from Barbados as a result of an economy in which only a few large landholders could prosper (Pitman 1967) and the view that with high rates of mortality, Barbados depended on constant migration to maintain population numbers (Dunn 1972). Regardless, the conclusion has been that the British population did not think of Barbados as a long-term home as a result of constant economic and demographic risk. They did not therefore invest in establishing themselves permanently on the island, but rather looked to accumulate as much wealth as possible before moving on.

However, more recently, this conclusion has begun to be challenged. While early sources from letters, diaries and journals do record concerns with the climate, diet and pathogens of Barbados, the mortality rate was actually lower than many colonies, including early Virginia and South Carolina (Puckrein 1984), where scholars have traditionally viewed colonists as being more stable (Adams and Kasakoff 1984; Ditz 1990). The population grew exponentially in the first two decades, from 10,000 in 1640 to roughly 20,000 by the 1660s (Amussen 2007: 29), though this was followed by decades of droughts, famines, environmental disasters and outbreaks of epidemics. Nonetheless, baptism and burial statistics used as proxies for vital statistics do not suggest that mortality

harmed the establishment of families on Barbados (Puckrein 1984: 190).[1] The generalising principles of population demographics do not lend themselves to the diversity of colonial experiences, particularly since early records do not provide the evidence nor the sample sizes necessary to break down demographic data to different social classes, lengths of stay, and regions. Alternative sources are therefore necessary to explore the possibilities that parts of the population were stable and invested in creating a long-term presence on the island.

Cemeteries and commemorative monuments, which have historically been utilized to establish relationships and identities (Thomas 2009: 245-250), provide the opportunity to consider the complex intersection of social interaction, experience, emotion, motivations, environment and economics from a different perspective. However, it must be recognized that the burial population, and even more so the commemorated population, also fails to represent Barbados in its entirety. Beyond individual approaches to bereavement impacting choices to sustain or break ties to the dead (Cannon and Cook 2015, Gassin 2010, Stroebe and Schut 1999), the financial investment required made commemoration beyond the means of many island residents. Moreover, the enslaved population, which accounted for the majority of the residents, was excluded from Anglican churches on the island for most of the colonial period and is therefore all but invisible in the corresponding commemorative record (cf. Handler 1999, Shuler 2011). Despite a long history of using monuments to reconstruct demographic data (Dethlefsen 1969, Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966, Marr 2006, Sattenspiel and Stoops 2010), funerary commemoration is not therefore a precise means of inferring demographics. In addition to the communities that were actively excluded from commemoration, only a fraction of the individuals that were buried in the Anglican churchyards would have received permanent commemoration (Figure 4.3), influenced by preservation, economic means and social status, and the interest of the living in commissioning a monument. Nevertheless, by comparing commemorated and uncommemorated populations, it is possible to distill variations in choices, experiences and social structures and identities through the material culture of family memory, in a way that is not possible from parish records created by other people or from archaeological sources less directly influenced by conscious self-representation.

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[1] Puckrein (1984) has instead argued that it is actually the parishes and years selected for demographic studies that have produced an unrepresentative view of the dramatic fluctuations in mortality and population flux, particularly the overreliance on Bridgetown's demographic records, which, given the nature of the urban population, the town's position, and the impact of the port, meant that there were substantially higher rates of mortality than on the rest of the island, whilst most long-term residents were living outside of this region.
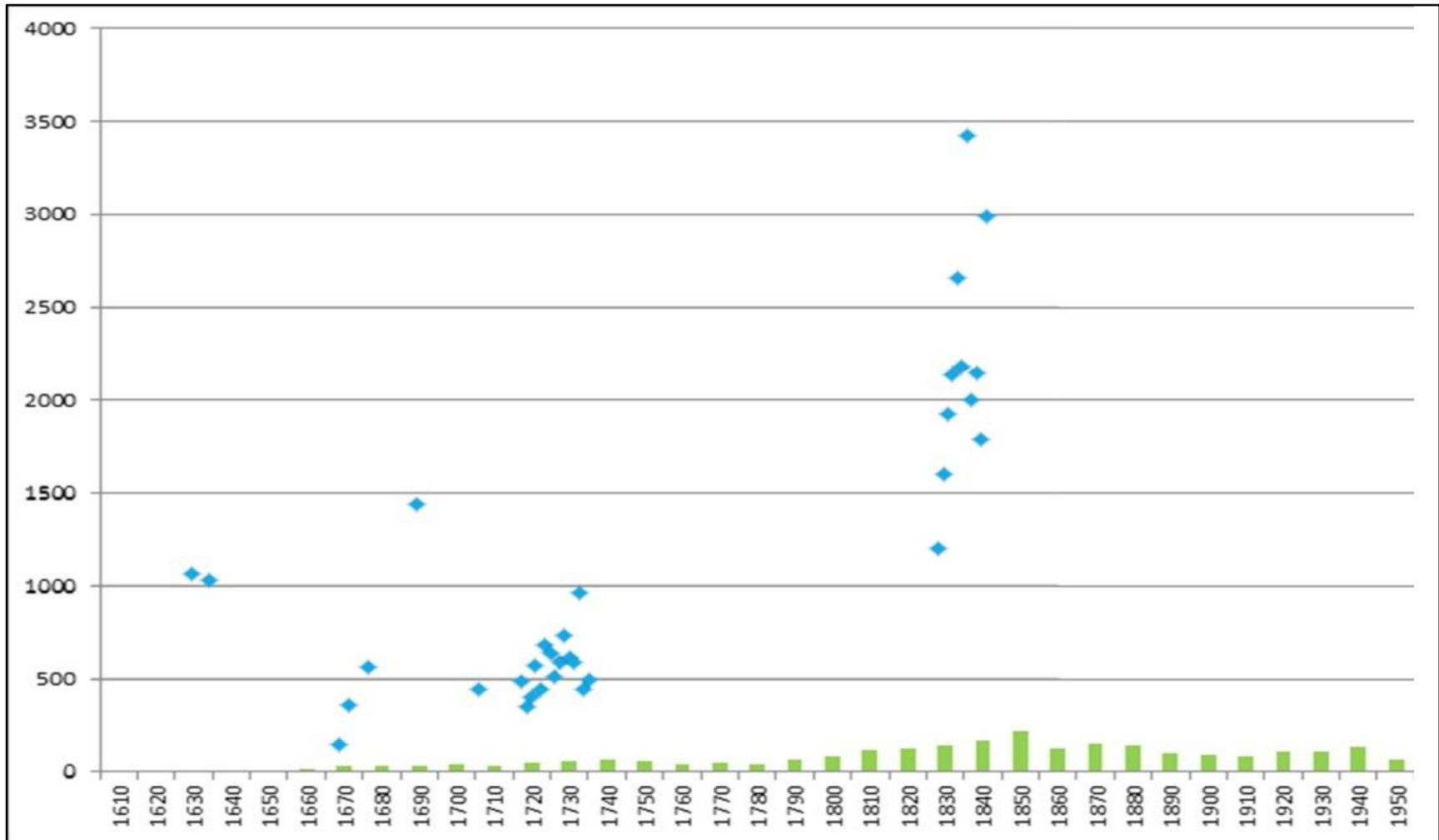
Figure 4.3 Comparison of frequency of recorded burials (blue, based on data from Puckrein 1984: 191 Appendix Table 2 and Schomburgk 1848: 90-91) with the frequency of commemorative events recorded in this study (green), in Barbados.

Fluctuations in the rates of commemoration for particular demographic groups in comparison to burial demographics (Table 4.1,Table 4.2) highlight changing relationships to monuments as mediums for creating social memory and dealing with death and grief. Commemorative monuments on the island likely over-represent individuals that were part of family units on Barbados because they would be more likely to be commemorated if there were surviving members of the family to undertake the endeavour. Although it was possible for family members abroad to commission a monument for a burial in Barbados, it depended on decisions about marking a distant grave or adding commemorative inscriptions for deaths in Barbados on monuments in their own parish churches. Individuals that were not accompanied by families were also more likely to be young, unestablished and single, and therefore may have been less likely to be commemorated. The commemorative population, as in most cemeteries, also over-represents the upper classes as they would more commonly have the means to commission permanent monuments; although lower classes are recognized as finding creative, pragmatic means of burying and commemorating their dead using cheaper materials or reusing everyday items (Strange 2005), they are often less likely to be preserved. The commemorative population is therefore characterized by shifting fragments of the communities that inhabited Barbados, as the community itself changed considerably in its demographic makeup and economic means, but also representing changes in relationships to death and grief, and motivations in commemoration.

Table 4.1 Frequency of Males and Females Buried and Commemorated in Barbados.

Buried Year	Males	Females	Ratio	Commemorated Year	Males	Females	Ratio
1650-55[1]	494	390	1:0.79	1650-74	22	13	1:0.59
1678-79[2]	353	190	1:0.54	1675-99	66	43	1:0.65
				1700-24	62	42	1:0.67
1725-30[1]	910	624	1:0.69	1725-49	88	67	1:0.76
				1750-74	89	63	1:0.71
				1775-99	75	69	1:0.92
				1800-24	191	106	1:0.5
1835-45[3]	11,145	11,765	0.94:1	1825-49	268	109	1:0.41
				1850-74	216	136	1:0.63
				1875-99	127	66	1:0.52
				1900-25	26	17	1:0.65
				1925-50	64	36	1:0.56

[1] Based on data from burial records on file at the Barbados Department of Archives, accessed October 2014
[2] Based on data from Camden 1874: 421-508   [3] Based on data from Schomburgk 1848: 90-91

Table 4.2 Frequency of Age Groups Buried and Commemorated in Barbados.

Buried							Commemorated						
Year	Infants <1 year		Children 1-20		Adults >20		Year	Infants <3		Children 3-18		Adults >18	
	#	%	#	%	#	%		#	%	#	%	#	%
1653-57[1]	27	14.3	9	4.7	153	81.0	1650-74	1	2.6	4	10.5	28	73.7
							1675-99	7	6.1	9	7.9	84	73.7
							1700-24	11	9.7	12	10.6	79	69.9
1733-37[1]	25	15.3	14	8.6	124	76.1	1725-49	21	12.8	13	7.9	109	66.9
							1750-74	22	13.9	7	4.4	95	60.1
							1775-99	17	11.0	12	7.8	114	74.0
							1800-24	35	11.7	19	6.4	167	56.0
1835-45[2]	5843	25.5	7430	32.4	9637	42.1	1825-49	33	8.4	17	4.3	327	83.4
							1850-74	32	8.9	23	6.4	293	82.1
							1875-99	6	2.9	9	4.3	171	82.2
							1900-25	4	9.1	4	9.1	39	88.6
							1925-50	7	6.3	7	6.3	74	66.7

[1] Based on data from Christ Church burial records, Barbados Department of Archives, RL 1/21

[2] Based on data from Schomburgk 1848: 90-91

Memorializing Family

The connection between family and commemoration cannot be overemphasized; decisions about who, when, where and how to memorialize the dead were most often undertaken by relatives. Moreover, indicators of social relationships, primarily family, formed a consistent theme on many monuments from Barbados, linking commemorated individuals to deceased and living members of the family, on the island and abroad (Figure 4.4). References to family relationships typically took three forms. The first was direct references to close or noteworthy relations, following the individual's name, situating them within their social network. For instance, in the parish churchyard of St. Lucy, a monument commemorates, "Clara Mary *wife of* Frederick L. Kellman who died June 22 1900" (emphasis added) (Figure 4.4a). Most commonly, living family relationships were commemorated in this fashion, although some inscriptions did make reference to other deceased individuals. Secondly, on monuments commemorating multiple individuals, it was very common for linking phrases between the inscriptions to indicate the connection between them, reconstructing social relationships between sequences of commemoration. For instance, the St. Andrew's monument commemorating Reverend John Hutson, who died in 1865, is followed by, "Susanna Jane, *his widow*, died 12th May 1891, aged 84" and "H.A. Hutson, *grandson*, died Oct. 1876, aged 3 months" (emphasis added) (Figure 4.4b). Finally, though less commonly, some inscriptions recorded the individual or individuals who erected the monument, and their relationship to the deceased. For instance, in St.

Leonard's, the inscription for "Samuel James Callender, who died January 11th 1861. Aged 50" further indicates that "this tablet is *erected by his sorrowing Brother* George for his many virtues" (emphasis added) (Figure 4.4c). Whilst these direct references are not the only way that family relationships can be communicated (i.e. the use of last names or the spatial grouping of monuments, Figure 4.4d), the above formats suggest additional effort and investment in making family relationships explicit.

Figure 4.4 Commemorating social relationships through: a) situational references; b) linking references; c) identifying erector the monument; and d) repeated last name.

The presence of social relationships in commemorative inscriptions fluctuates considerably throughout the period of 1650 and 1950 (Figure 4.5). During the first three decades of commemoration on the island, an average of 56.14% (n=32/57) of inscriptions include at least one social connection. During the ensuing four decades, this drops to an average of 42.25% (n=60/142), reaching a low of 34.21% from 1700-1709. However, 1720-1750 sees the highest rates of commemorative inscriptions containing social relationships, with an average of 59.55% (n=106/178), and a peak of 72.41% from 1730-1739. This is followed by another increase before a final peak period between 1770 and 1819, averaging 53.51% (n=193/360). From 1820 onwards, there is a steady drop in commemorative inscriptions with indicators of social relationships, with only 21.76% (n=170/781) of commemorative inscriptions after 1880. This is not merely the effect of increasing reuse of monuments and the practice of linking the individuals commemorated in successive inscriptions; while there is a slightly lower rate of social relationships in the case of primary commemoration (the commissioning of new monuments), the temporal patterns remain relatively unchanged (Figure 4.6). Moreover, the higher rates of social relationships included in secondary commemorative events still demonstrates a level of investment in making connections, which were are already visible to a degree on the monument, less ambiguous. Overall, the evidence suggests that temporal variations in frequency of social relationships are the result of varying value or relevance of providing the social context of the individuals commemorated. As the community and structure of the colony fluctuated alongside changing economic and political structures, including the rise of the plantation system, intense periods of emigration, and emancipation, the context and inherent communicative value of inscriptions also shifted.

There are further fluctuations in the types of social relationships commemorated on monuments (Figure 4.7). Principally, whilst parent/child, and spouse relations are always the most common relationships commemorated, there is a much wider diversity in the categories of social relationships in commemorative inscriptions, particularly between 1730 and 1900, including references to a range of family members from aunts and uncles to cousins, grand-nephews and even great-grandparents. While this is a broad time range, it does not simply correspond with a peak in the frequency of commemorative inscriptions referencing social relationships. Commemorative inscriptions retain this peak in diversity beyond the decline of direct references to social relationships in the early nineteenth century. The range of social relationships is not a function of the frequency and popularity of including social references in inscriptions, but rather the result of separate motivations and choices, possibly associated with changes in family structure in the eighteenth and

nineteenth centuries (see Chapters 6 and 7 for more discussion of social relationships and change in Barbados).
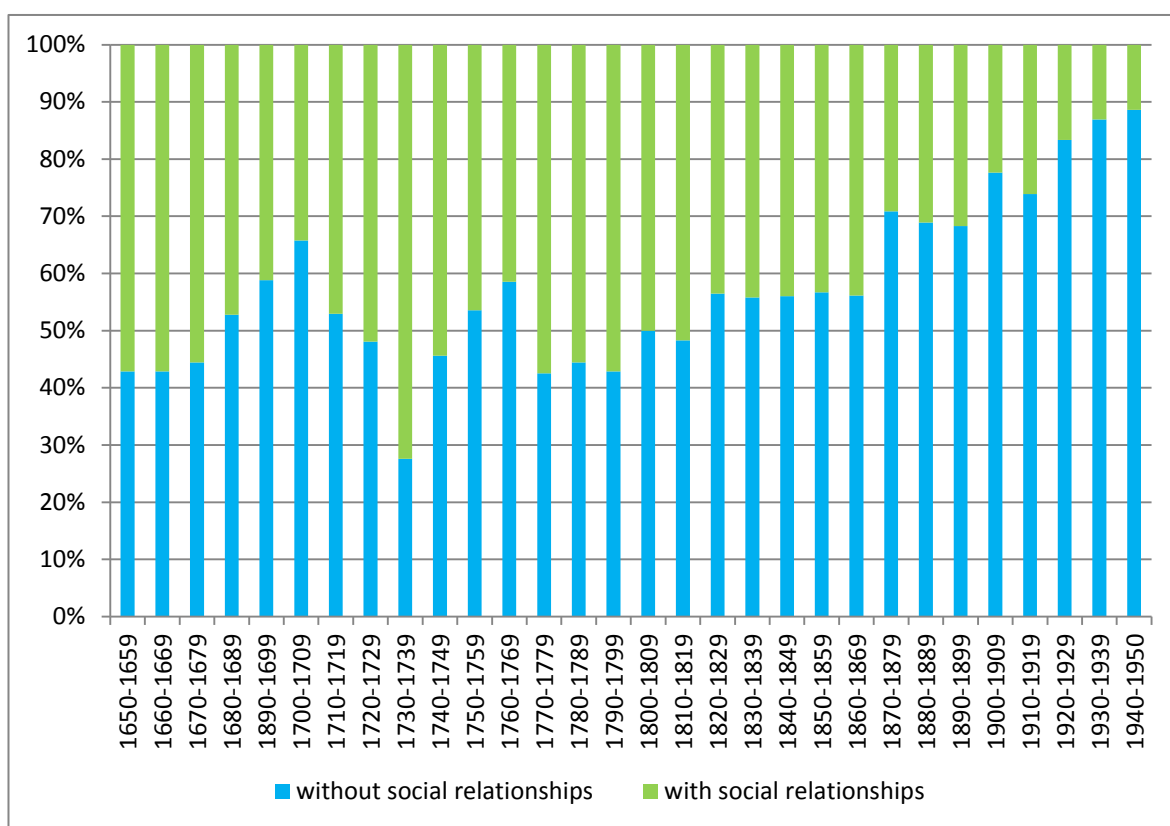
Figure 4.5 Proportion of commemorative inscriptions with/without social relationships.
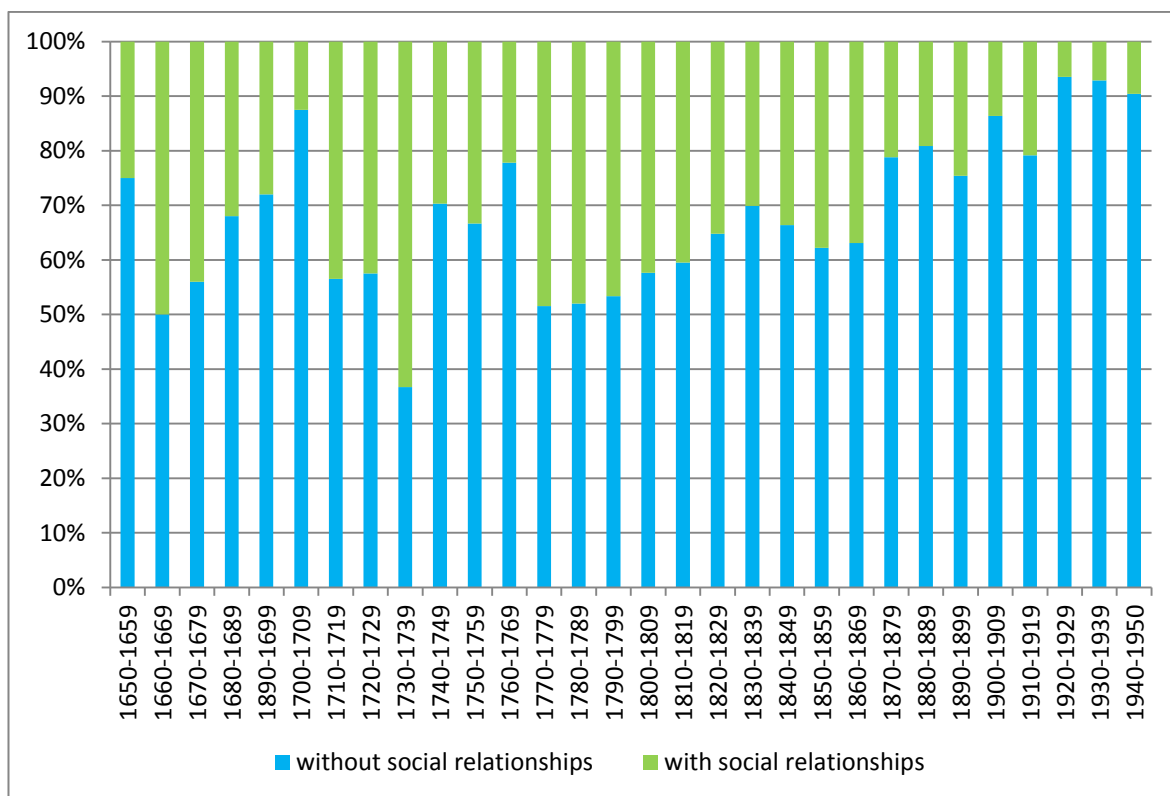
Figure 4.6 Proportion of primary commemorative inscriptions (i.e. commemoration involving erection of a new monument) with/without social relationships.
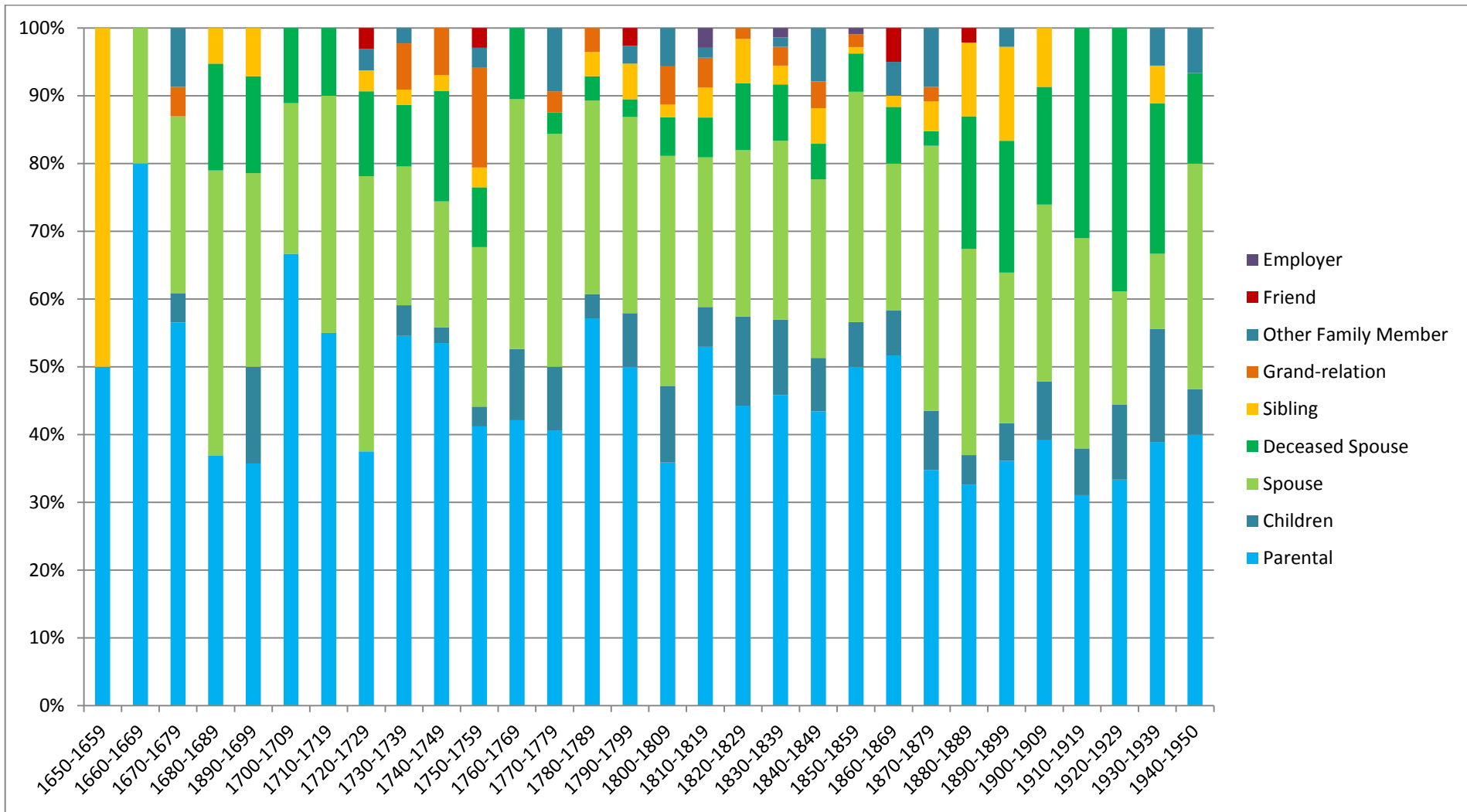
Figure 4.7 Proportion of categories of relationships referenced in commemorative events with social relationships in Barbados, 1650-1950.

The nature of family structures was transformed through early globalisation and the risks involved in colonial endeavours, with many families strengthening bonds with friends and business partners through marriage. The value, but also dispersal and diversity of family relationships, particularly in the eighteenth and nineteenth century is clear in inscriptions. Family is the most commonly commemorated relationship, with only 0.67% (n=6/1052) indicating friends and 0.38% (n=4/1052) referencing employers. Despite the diversity of family relationships and structures during this period, the nuclear family remained the most commonly represented relationship, with parents, children, and spouses making up 94.29% (n=992/1052) of commemorative references to social relationships between 1650 and 1950. While employer/employee relationships were part of a long commemorative tradition in Britain, particularly for housekeepers, butlers and governesses that often served long periods of time with a single family and developed intimate relationships with them, the tensions relating to race and class in Barbados likely made commemoration less appropriate or even impossible in many cases (see Chapter 7).

References to social networks were further enhanced through the use of heraldry on monuments (Figure 4.8, see also Appendix I). The right to bear arms was limited to the gentry and transmitted through male lines of descent. Iconography incorporates a complex combination of colours, symbols and words organized in a range of elements, including crests, helms, shields, supporters, fields, mottos and mantling to create original combinations that became symbolic representations of families (Aveling 1890, Blome 1730). A total of 110 monuments (4.33%) had some form of heraldry, dating from 1660 to 1930. The use of heraldry was most prevalent between 1660 and 1729, present on 17.87% (n=37/207) of monuments erected during this period; 26.5% (n=35/132) of intra-mural commemoration between 1650-1749 included heraldry, in contrast to only 6.9% (n=17/245) of extra-mural commemoration. This is, however, lower than the rates of monuments with heraldry in Britain; Finch (2000: 111, 163), for instance, reported 40-45% of intra-mural monuments with heraldry in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, which dropped to 17% in the 1740s. In Barbados, fewer families were amongst the ranks of the gentry, as many of the families that relocated to Barbados were those looking for opportunities to build wealth and status, rather than those who had already attained it. Where gentry families are represented, the individuals commemorated are often from lower ranking lines of the family or younger sons of nobility. Most of these gentry families had long histories in Britain, some allegedly dating as far back as the Norman Conquest, but 14 (12.7%) were granted arms for their role, wealth and position in Barbados, or the West Indies more broadly. Moreover, 22 (20%) had unclear pedigrees; some of these may

represent extremely distant relatives of gentry families, however some may also have created unofficial arms in the new world to amplify their position on the island. Despite the difference in rates of usage, the decline in heraldry occurs at the same time in both Barbados and Britain, suggesting a widespread social change.

Figure 4.8 *Left:* Heraldry detail from the monument of Elizabeth Seawell (d.1728), featuring a crest with a sea-bird holding a ring, and a coat of arms with three sea birds. *Right:* drawing of the Seawell arms (Lawrence-Archer 1875: 378).

Commemorating Status

The commemoration of family relationships and the use of heraldry on monuments was often interconnected with indications of status and position. Commemorative inscriptions often recorded the status or occupation of the deceased, their relatives, their non-relatives, or some combination of the above (Figure 4.9). The most common form of commemorating status was the inclusion of titles, particularly Baronet, Sir/Lady, Esquire, and Gentleman. Occupations were included, particularly for non-titled families, most commonly merchants, medical professionals (doctors, surgeons), clergy (vicars, clerks), and teachers. Military ranks were also commonly commemorated, including Captains, Quarter Masters, Lieutenants, etc. Although men were most commonly the members of family through whom status was acquired, women were occasionally commemorated with their own status, particularly when they were titled or heiresses. Children typically did not accrue their own status until the age of 18, and therefore generally only had references to the status of other family members. There is also the suggestion that, given the greater opportunity for social mobility and to recreate one's identity, some individuals may have inflated their status upon arriving in the New World. Oliver (1916: 7) notes several individuals that reached positions of authority and rank that he could not find in English

pedigree lists. For instance, the "Honourable Francis Bond, Esq.," commemorated on a monument in St. Michael's Cathedral in 1699, became the president of his Majesty's Council in Barbados and other accolades that extended beyond what his family had previously achieved in Britain. The widespread use of titles like Esquire, which did not require verification, is likely a result of both the social mobility possible in Barbados, but also the ability and desire to slightly inflate one's position in death and commemoration. This flexibility and mobility encouraged indications of status on commemorative inscriptions, to both advertise their status and create or solidify the levels that the deceased and their family had established as members of a new and constantly changing community.

Overall, references to status were present in 28.77% (n=737/2562) of commemorative events in Barbados between 1650 and 1950 (Figure 4.10). A further 10.5% (n=270/2562) of commemorative events that did not have any indicators of status were located on monuments that did have status indicated for another commemorated family member. Temporally, status was far more common in inscriptions before 1860, falling from 38.15% (n=573/1502) of commemorative events between 1650 and 1859, to 15.16% (n=164/1082) between 1860 and 1950. Furthermore, temporal distribution of status indicators correlates to some of the peaks in references to family relationships, particularly 1710 to 1740, with 45.83% (n=66/144) of commemorative events indicating status, and 1790 to 1809, with 46.71% (n=71/152) indicating status. This evidence suggests that in these two periods in particular it was important to fit the deceased and the living into networks of social relationships and status. These correspond to periods of social change, including the transformation of the sugar economy in favour of larger plantations, increasing the position of 'sugar barons' and triggering changes in communities as some individuals were forced to sell up while other families moved in, and later, the threat of abolition and emancipation emphasized the importance of status and position for many white families in Barbados (see Chapters 6 and 7).

Overall, these patterns underestimate the degree to which status could be advertised or projected by monuments. Choices to erect monuments, in addition to style, materials and decoration, could also be used to tout status or wealth in relation to the dead, and their living relatives by extension (cf. Cannon 1989). In particular, the investment in large-scale mausolea and elaborate vaults would have been a considerable undertaking. The ornate decoration of some internal wall plaques in churches, as well as decorative monuments within the churchyard, and the interlaying of multiple types of stone or metal into monuments could further enhance their impact and the impression they made. Although there are means of "faking" the look of sumptuous funerary monuments, for instance using

Figure 4.9 Examples of status: a) deceased's occupation (Thomas Salkeld Esquire, master of a grammar school); b) combination of the deceased and their family's status (Katherine Rokeby, coheiress, wife of a merchant, daughter of a gentleman).
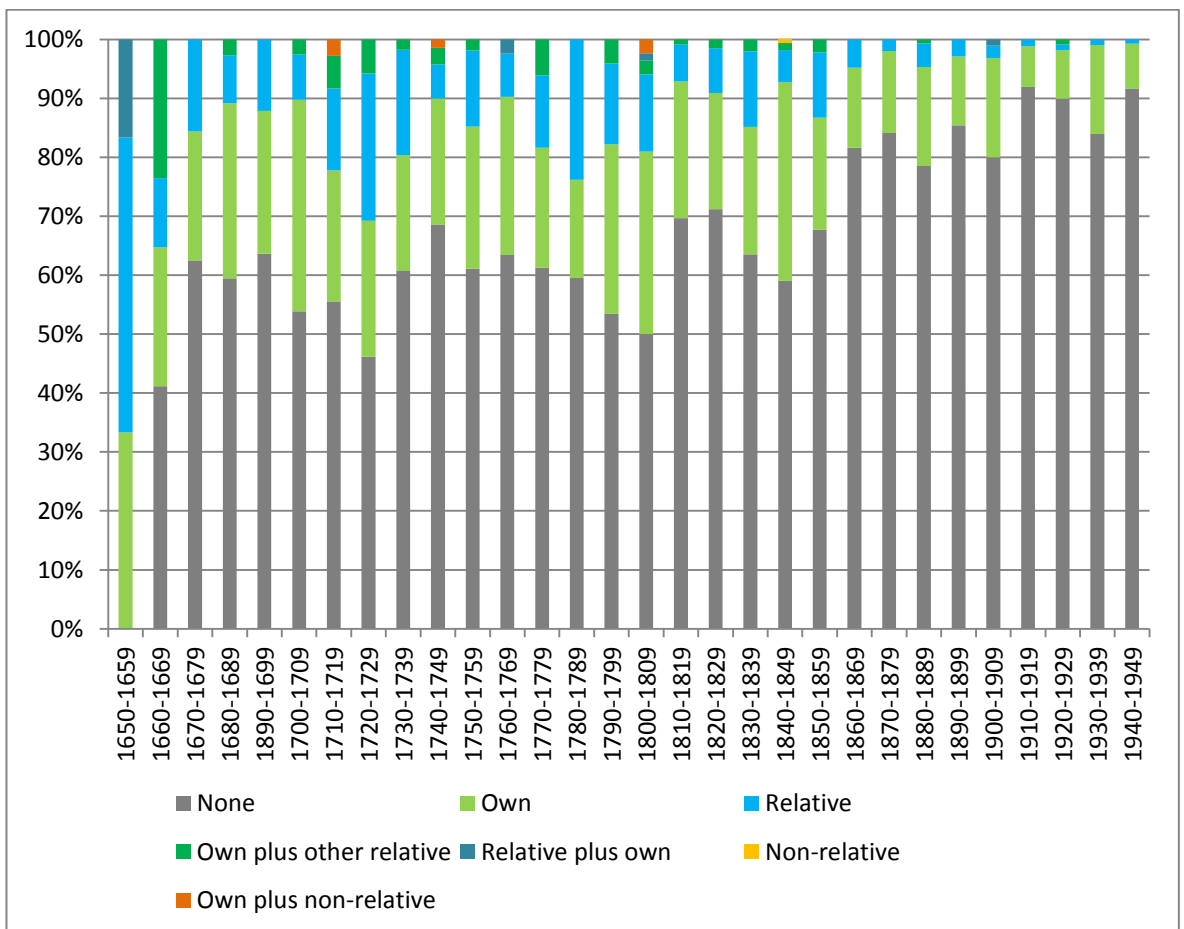
Figure 4.10 Proportion of commemorative events with references to status, including the status of the deceased, their relatives and non-relatives.

metallic paint rather than real metal, or plastering coral stone to look like marble, the motivation is nonetheless to communicate and negotiate status of the dead and the living alike (see also Parker Pearson 1982: 112). The use of modest headstones remains relatively constant between 1650-1950 (roughly 12% of monuments erected), however the types of more elaborate or display-based monument styles fluctuate, demonstrating both differences in fashion, and investment or value placed on the display of material wealth (Figure 4.11). Some of these changes were brought about by changing contexts for commemoration; for instance, as the proportion of wall and floor plaques diminished in the nineteenth century (likely resulting from fewer burials inside churches), there was an increase in vaults, large enclosures and large sculptural monuments in churchyards. Other changes were brought on by changing investment in commemoration, but a desire to maintain the opulence of previous periods. This is particularly evident in the enclosure of large plots covered with concrete or coral stone masonry, with relatively small and simple monuments on top, which emerged in the late nineteenth century and dominated the twentieth century. Stylistically similar to the large vaults of earlier periods, these are more manageable to erect and maintain than the large stone structures they reference, and the status that they were considered to represent (see Chapter 7). There are consistent efforts to use commemorative monuments as a status good, but the ways in which this is carried out has changed in response to changing contexts and means.
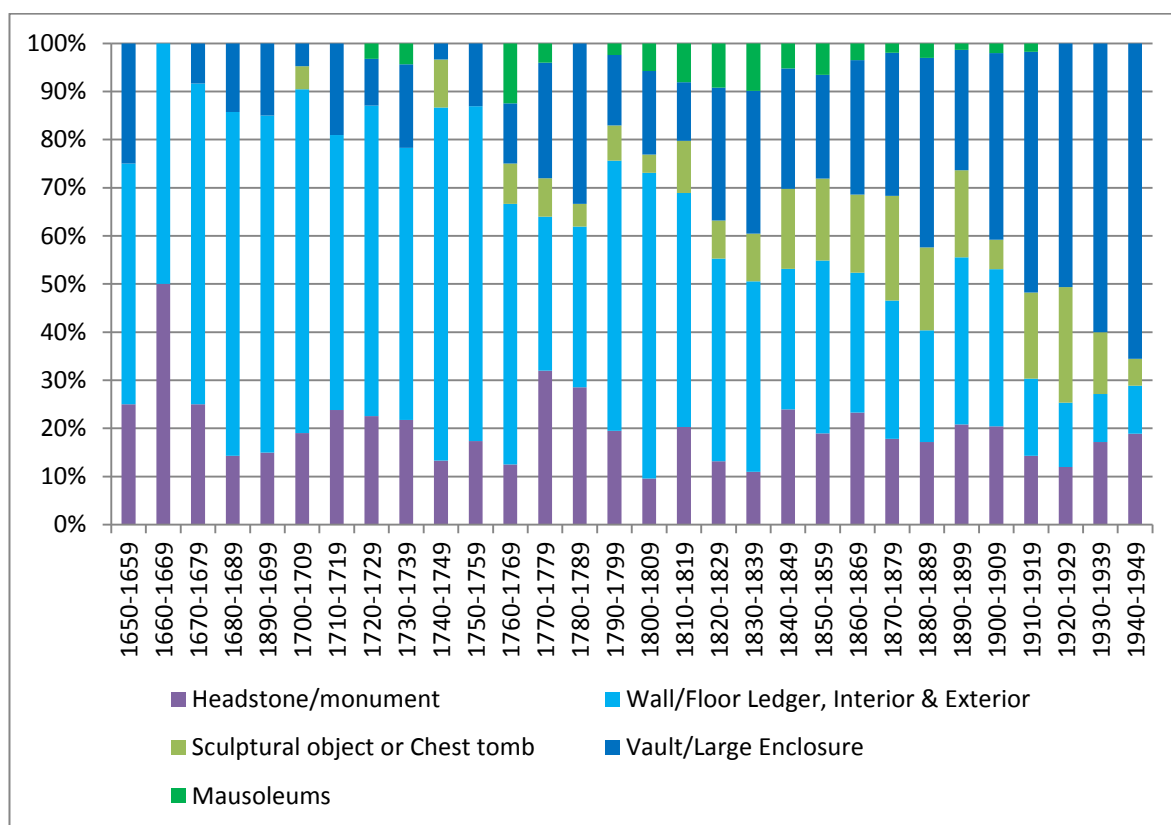
Figure 4.11 Proportion of monument styles erected in Barbados, 1650-1950.

Previous study of commemoration in Barbados has identified differences in the levels of wealth invested in monuments in rural and urban churches, resulting from the particular motivations of planters in rural parishes and merchants in the urban port towns of the west coast (Finneran 2013: 338). In particular, the use of mausolea were highlighted as a principal difference between merchants and the plantocracy, with urban churchyards viewed as more elaborate with large structural installations. This pioneering study of rural and urban commemoration underlines a critical issue in interpreting commemoration that this thesis provided the opportunity to expand on through a larger sample. Rural parishes were found to have higher proportions of mausolea and vaults than urban parishes (Figure 4.12,Figure 4.13). The first dated mausoleum in rural parishes was 1720, however this overestimates the date of their emergence. Brandow (2001: 651-652) reports that the earliest monuments on the island were mausolea erected in the original Christ Church parish churchyard (a rural area on the south coast, just south of what is Christ Church Parish Church today) and date before 1670. In contrast, dated mausolea do not appear in urban contexts until the 1770s. During their peak usage between 1810 and 1950, mausolea and vaults made up 47.2% (n=238/504) of monuments erected in rural parishes, and only 32.3% (n=221/684) in urban parishes. Wall and floor plaques also represent considerable investment and social rank, and were highly visible, status-oriented monuments. There is a slightly higher proportion of wall and floor plaques in urban contexts (39.45%, n=368/933) compared to rural parishes (31.8%, n=205/644). However, the urban churches also tended to be much larger, accommodating more monuments but also a larger, more cosmopolitan audience. Finally, urban populations have higher rates of reuse of monuments (35.43% of commemorative events were inscriptions added to existing monuments, in comparison to 29.70% of rural contexts, with considerably more fluctuation). Moreover, planters exerted a high level of mobility on the island, particularly with the development of better road systems in the eighteenth century. It was not uncommon for them to own urban properties and reside there, attend urban churches (particularly the Cathedral), and choose to be buried in urban churchyards. There are indeed differences in the monuments and their impact in rural and urban contexts, but the explanation appears to be more complicated than the proposed divide between merchants and planters. There were different means of creating an impact with monuments given the different church/churchyard contexts in urban and rural settings, but there were also particular choices made in the place of burial and commemoration for those with the necessary position and means (see Chapter 6 for further discussion).
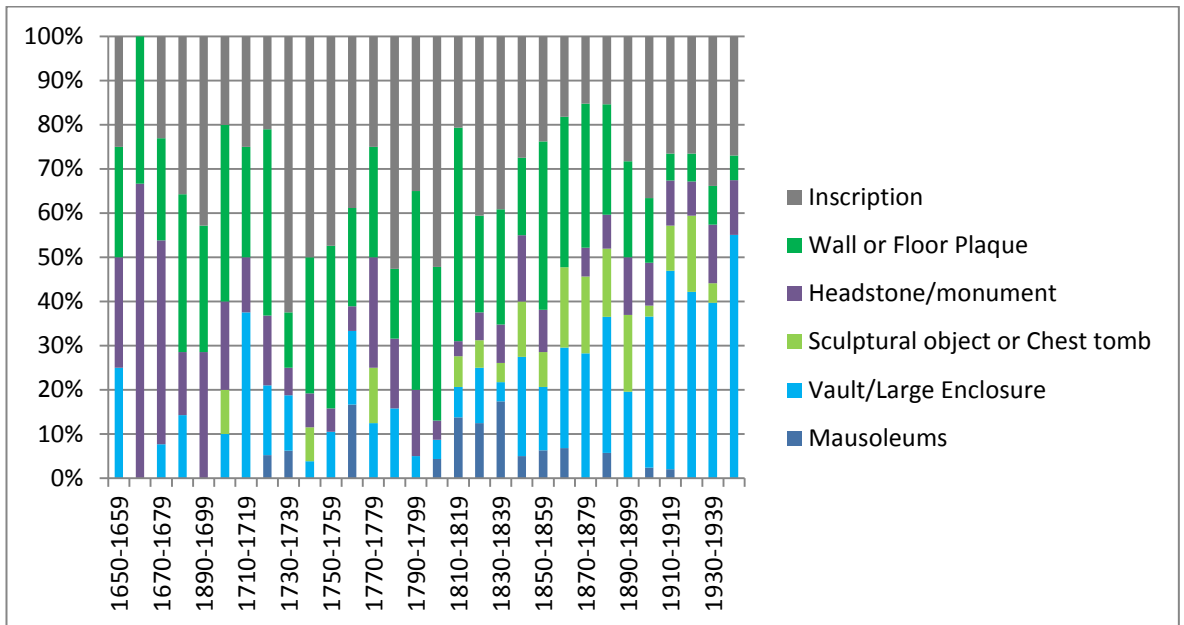
Figure 4.12 Proportions of commemorative styles in rural Barbados, 1650-1950.
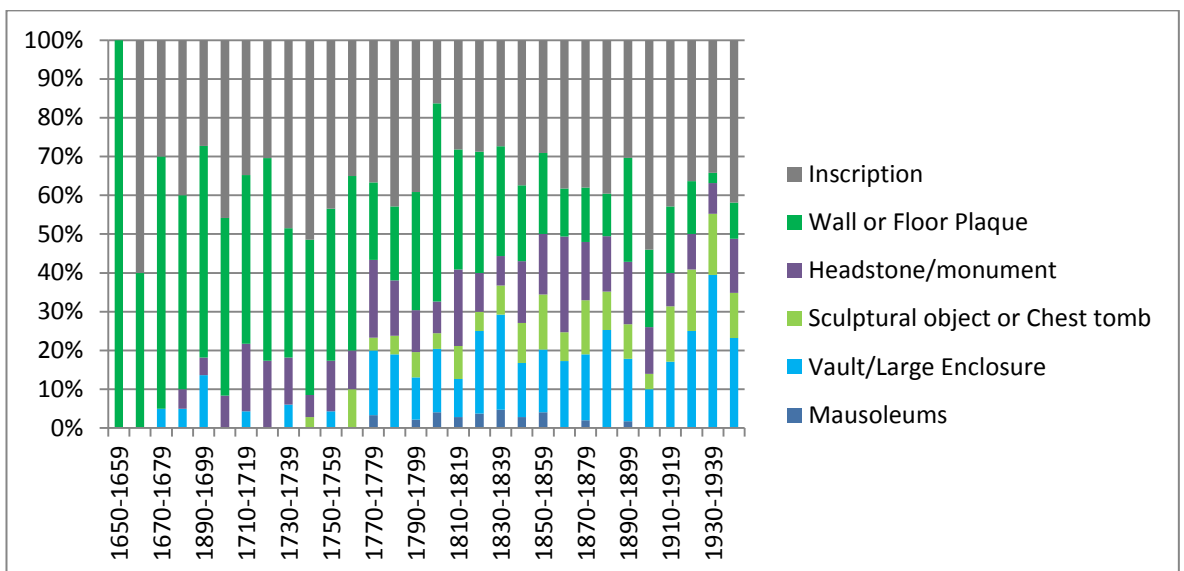
Figure 4.13 Proportions of commemorative styles in urban Barbados, 1650-1950.

Geographies of the Dead

Incorporating the geographicalal ties of deceased individuals and their relations in commemorative inscriptions provided further means to give context to the deceased and their family (**Figure 4.14**). There was a wide range of geographical references that appeared on monuments in Barbados, individually or in combination, including the place of birth, late residence, death, and burial of the deceased, locations associated with their family members (particularly the base or origins of the family in Britain), and particular properties or landholdings (especially plantations). Recording and advertising geographies of the dead reflect shifting relationships between the metropole and colony, identities and concepts of 'home', and social values placed on origins, property and plantations. In

general, geographicalal references were far less common than indicators of social relationships and status, with only 18.95% (n=486/2564) of commemorative events containing any geographicalal links (Figure 4.15). There are some temporal periods that have higher rates of geographicalal referencing; however, it is less skewed towards earlier periods of commemoration, as in the case of social relationships and status. Most notably, commemorative events show the highest rate of geographicalal referencing between 1790 and 1879 (25.97%, n=316/1217), peaking between 1840 and 1849 (35.54%, n=59/166).

Figure 4.14 George Elliott Clarke's plaque in St. George's church, indicating his links with Stephen Plantation and place of death in Sussex, England.
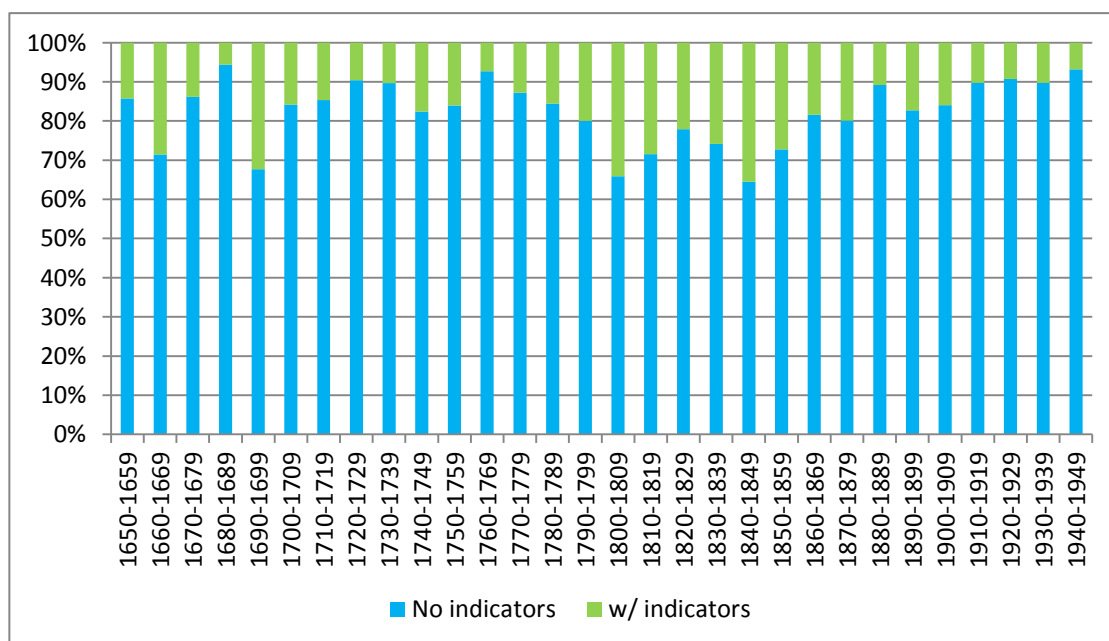
Figure 4.15 Proportion of commemorative events with and without indicators of geographical ties in Barbados, 1650-1950.

The type of geographical reference shifts throughout the period of study (Figure 4.16). Until 1790, the majority of geographical references were to the deceased individual's place of birth and late residence, making up 80.95% (n=85/105) of geographical references during this period. Although place of death and burial are evident to a degree, it is not until 1790 that they have a more consistent presence. It can be argued that migration rates and patterns of settlement influenced these shifts. In the first century and a half, most of the commemorated population of Barbados would have been born in Britain before emigrating to Barbados, making it quite common to indicate a birthplace and a place of residence on monuments. As individuals became more established in Barbados, it became more common for those who called Barbados home to die elsewhere but be commemorated on the island, with references to places of death and burial abroad. Britain dominates place of birth references until 1750 (n=23/37, 62.2%), when Barbados (n=47/117, 40.2%) and Britain (n=56/117, 47.8%) even out, before Barbados eclipses all other locations between 1850 and 1950 (n=48/92, 52.2%; Britain: 30/92, 32.6%). Places of late residence, initially almost entirely Barbadian, become increasingly diverse in the second half of the eighteenth century. References to particular properties or plantations does not emerge until the 1740s, and does not become common until 1860, noted on almost a quarter of inscriptions between 1860 and 1950 (n=34/141). Despite the emphasis on the plantation economy and the importance of property holdings to wealth and status, the timing of references seems to suggest that references to property were part of later efforts to solidify Barbados as home as tenure became more assured and plantations became more established, while confronting the tensions of post-emancipation Barbados by negotiating social and geographical rights and position.
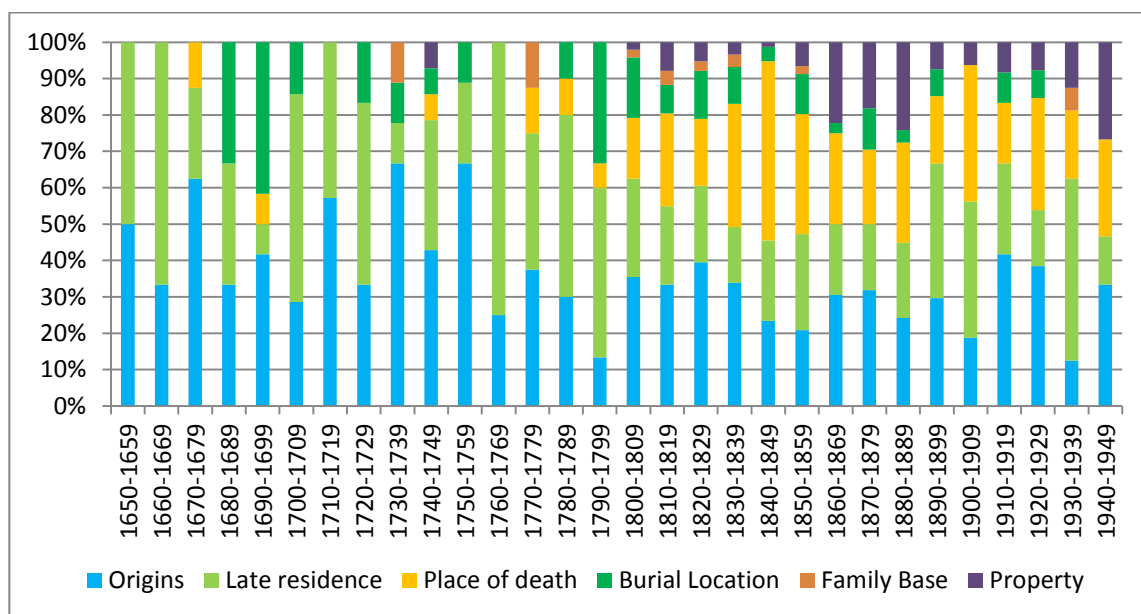
Figure 4.16 Proportion of types of geographical references in commemorative events.

These transformations in the types of geographical references are accompanied by changes in the distribution of global links of the inhabitants of Barbados (Figure 4.17). Between the period of 1650 and 1749, only four countries were referenced in commemorative events; 60.71% (n=51/84) referenced Barbados, primarily as a late residence, and 28.57% (n=24/84) referenced Britain, almost exclusively as a place of birth. Between 1750 and 1849, commemorative events referenced 17 different countries, including the USA, Canada, France, Germany, India, Antigua, Bermuda, Mauritius, and Jamaica. Whilst the majority of references still maintain links between Barbados (55.7%, n=166/298) and Britain (27.18%, n=81/298), the categories of reference become more diverse, with almost equal places of birth from Britain and Barbados, a higher number of individuals who claimed late residence in Britain, and the beginnings of individuals dying and being buried in Britain but commemorated in Barbados. These trends are maintained in the period between 1850 and 1950, with the referencing of 20 different countries, including South Africa, Sierra Leone, and the Gold Coast in Africa. This reflects the influx of individuals of African descent being buried in Anglican churchyards following amelioration efforts and emancipation, when previously enslaved individuals had greater freedoms to be baptised and participate in religious communities previously dominated by the island's white residents (see Chapter 7). The rates of commemorating links in Barbados and Britain remain consistent, with 56.63% of references indicating Barbados (n=141/249), and 26.91% references to the United Kingdom (n=67/249), and again with more equal distributions of place of birth, late residence and place of death/burial on either side of the Atlantic.

Creating Individuals and Identity in Death

To a lesser degree than family relationships, status, and geographical ties, commemorative inscriptions also contained other personal details relaying the life and death of the individual commemorated, contributing to more detailed and personal memorials and memories. This included cause of death, character, and life histories. While monuments occasionally recorded a collective cause of death, for instance commemorating those who died in particular disasters or ships' sinking, the majority were associated with particular individuals and the context of their passing (Figure 4.18,Figure 4.19). The majority of references were to death related to disease, particularly cholera and yellow fever, in addition to smallpox, dysentery, and general health problems caused by the island's climate. Military deaths and accidents, especially drowning, were also referenced, whilst death in childbirth and as a result of environmental conditions (i.e. storms) were only occasionally commemorated. References to cause of death was overall, however,

1650-1749

1750-1849
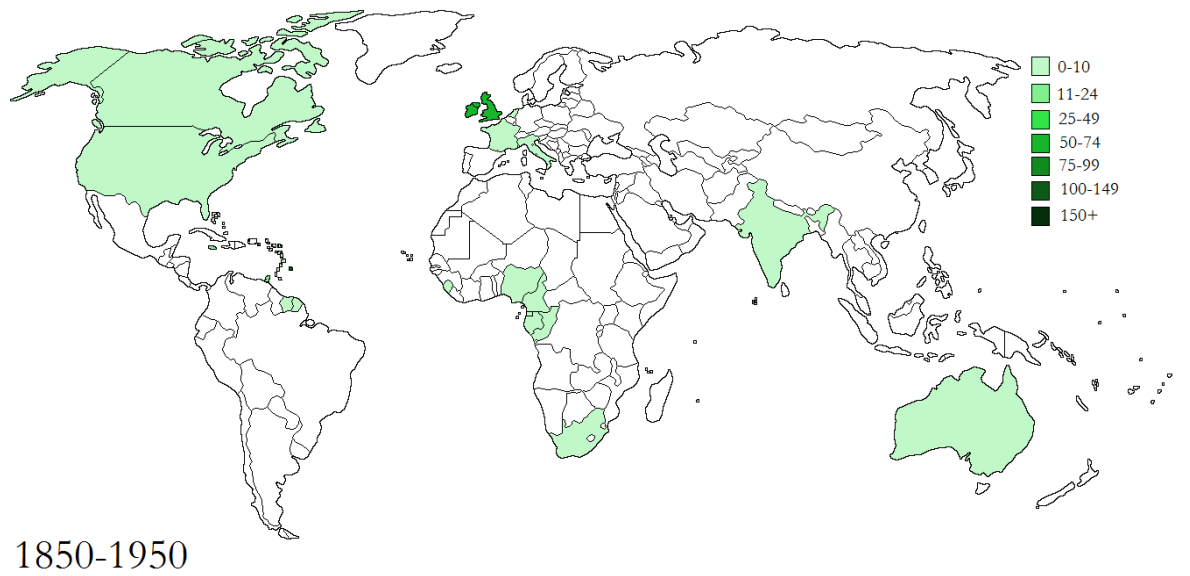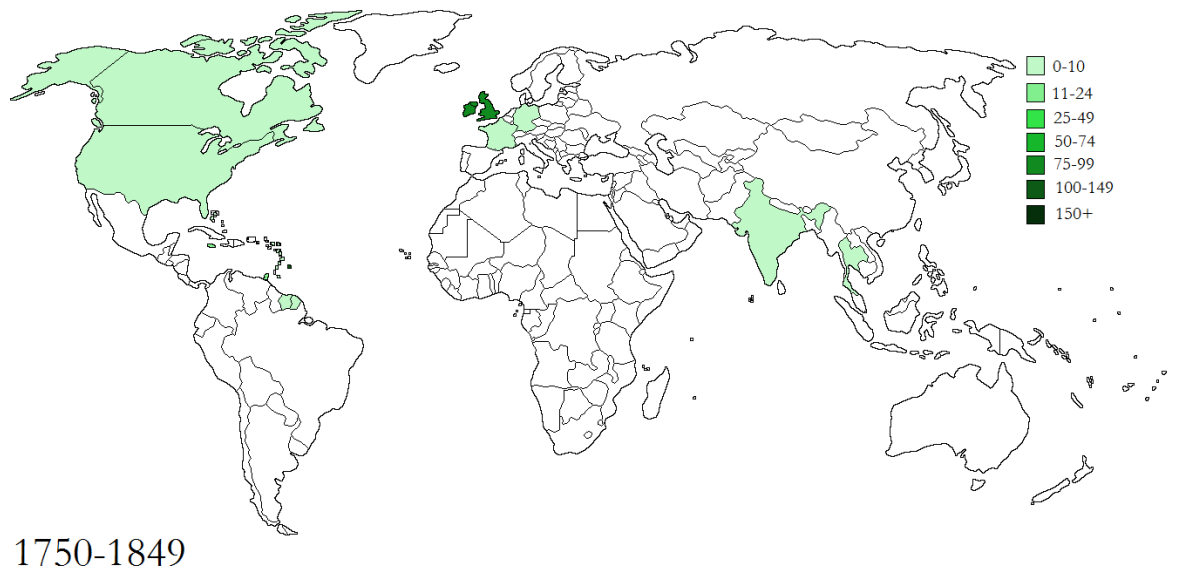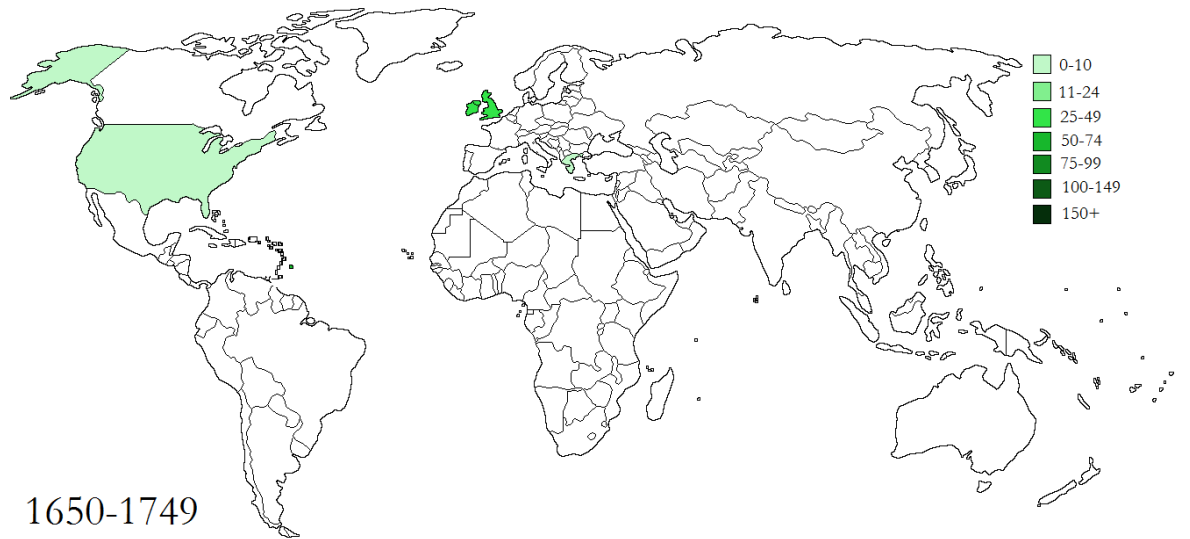
1850-1950

Figure 4.17 Maps of the geographical ties commemorated on monuments in Barbados, 1650-1950.

Figure 4.18 Mid-nineteenth century vault with small cement 'Cholera' plaque in Christ Church Parish churchyard.

Figure 4.19 Monument commemorating Susannah Trotman, "who departed this life in childbirth" in 1852 at the age of 37 (St. George).

relatively infrequent, and occurs exclusively between 1770 and 1920 (Figure 4.20). The peak in disease-related deaths commemorated in the middle of the nineteenth century corresponds with a number of minor outbreaks of dysentery, yellow fever, whooping cough, smallpox and measles during the 1840s and most significantly the widespread cholera outbreak in 1854, that killed more than 20, 000 people (Beckles 2006: 142). While these events had a significant impact on the population and their experience of death on the island, it was certainly not the first time that Barbados was devastated by high rates of disease. The first epidemic recorded for Barbados was in 1647; at the time it was called "Barbados distemper" but is now known as Yellow Fever, a virus transmitted by

mosquitoes. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw regular outbreaks of fevers and ill-health to the extent that meteorological observations of the island often characterized the health concerns of particular months of the year, with, "slow nervous fevers, catarrhs, &c.," in March and April, "putrid, bilious and depuratory fevers" in June, dysentery and whooping cough more frequent and sometimes epidemic in July, August and September, and dysentery and catarrhal fevers in November (Hillary and Young in Schomburgk 1848: 28-29). Similarly, there were a number of environmental disasters early in Barbadian history, including hurricanes in 1652, 1667, 1673, and 1722 for which deaths and a high level of destruction are recorded. Deaths in childbirth were also extremely high in colonies, due to the isolation of households that made it difficult for women to get assistance during difficult births. It is likely that the temporal limitation of references to cause of death to this short period of 150 years corresponds with a general peak in commemorative detail inscribed on monuments, particularly related to individual identities and experiences, however it was nonetheless considered important to include in inscriptions.
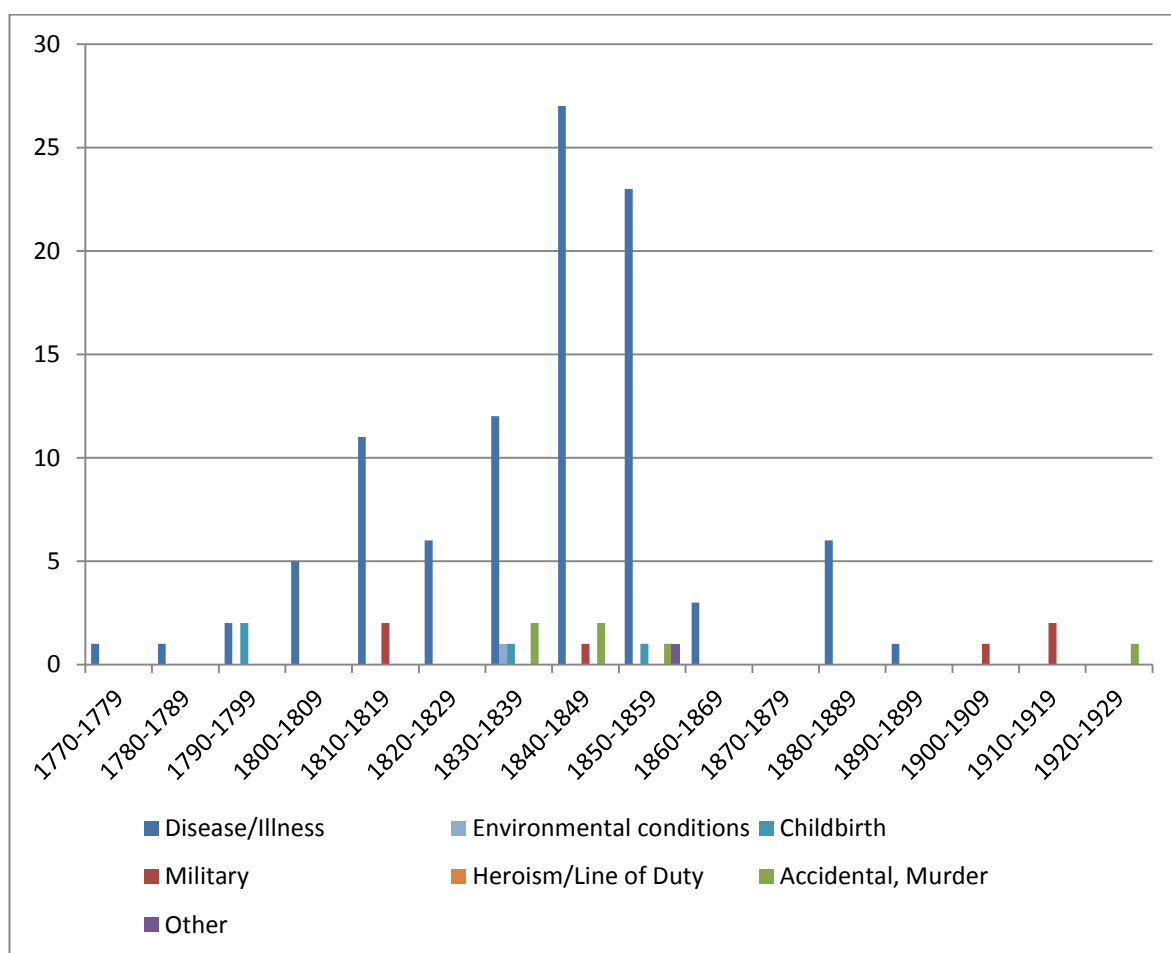
Figure 4.20 References to cause of death in commemorative inscriptions in Barbados, 1770-1930.

Ranging from generic statements to personalised messages, the most 'individual' elements of commemorative inscriptions include details about the character or life history of the deceased (Figure 4.21, Figure 4.22). This consisted of their role in the family, their honourable virtues or personality traits, biographical details (for instance, important events like date of marriage and occupational service), and political, religious, and masonic affiliations. Inscriptions also highlighted the sense of loss associated with that particular death for the living community. In some cases these references were formulaic, influenced by stone masons and commissioning catalogues as well as popular verses. However, for the most part, they demonstrate a great deal of diversity and more likely represent the choices of the person commissioning the monument and what they were hoping to memorialize about particular individuals. In contrast to references to family and geography, these additional descriptions give a sense of the individual, their personality and the memories of surviving family members and friends. There is a level of idealism, following the proverbial phrase, *De mortuis nihil nisi bonum*, or "Of the dead, nothing unless good", however this does not interfere with the premise of interpreting commemoration as means of creating and negotiating memory. Moreover, it can give the sense of what aspects of individual identity were particularly valued in different periods, including virtues, achievements, and even the public display of grief and emotion.

Figure 4.21 Monument commemorating Henry Higginson Haynes (d. 1863), his "frankness of character, a lively temper and a generous disposition", and the context for his short, transatlantic life in Barbados and Britain (St. John's Parish Church).

Figure 4.22 Monument commemorating Alexander Irvine (d. 1743), a gentleman and, "The Founder of Free Masonry in Barbados…" (St. Michael's Cathedral).

Personal traits and life histories were present in the inscriptions of 17.40% (n=446/2562) commemorative events (Figure 4.23). With a small peak in 1710-1729, these commemorative themes did not become more common until after 1760, particularly between 1780 and 1820 (26.52%, n=83/313). More importantly, there were substantial changes in the distribution of the types of additional personal information commemorated (FigureFigure 4.24). The commemoration of their role in their family (i.e. 'loving mother', 'only son') increases considerably throughout this period, particularly between 1790 and 1950. Family roles are present on only 5.14% (n=29/564) of commemorative events between 1650 and 1789, rising slightly to 13.96% of commemorative events between 1790 and 1950; they are also the dominant form of additional personal information inscribed on monuments after 1840, making up 70.5% (n=194/275) of additional details commemorated between 1840 and 1950. The commemoration of religion is most evident after 1730, whereas the indication of loss and bereavement peaks between 1770 and 1870. The commemoration of political and masonic affiliations were never that prevalent; this was likely influenced at least in part by the constantly shifting political landscape of Barbados (and Britain more generally). The long-term, public record of political affiliations on monuments could have harmed the reputation of family members, or even endanger their lives, if tides changed. It was therefore safer and more relevant to social standing to commemorate general political service or simply their virtues, making up 48.50% (n-195/402) of additional references in commemorative events between 1740 and 1930.
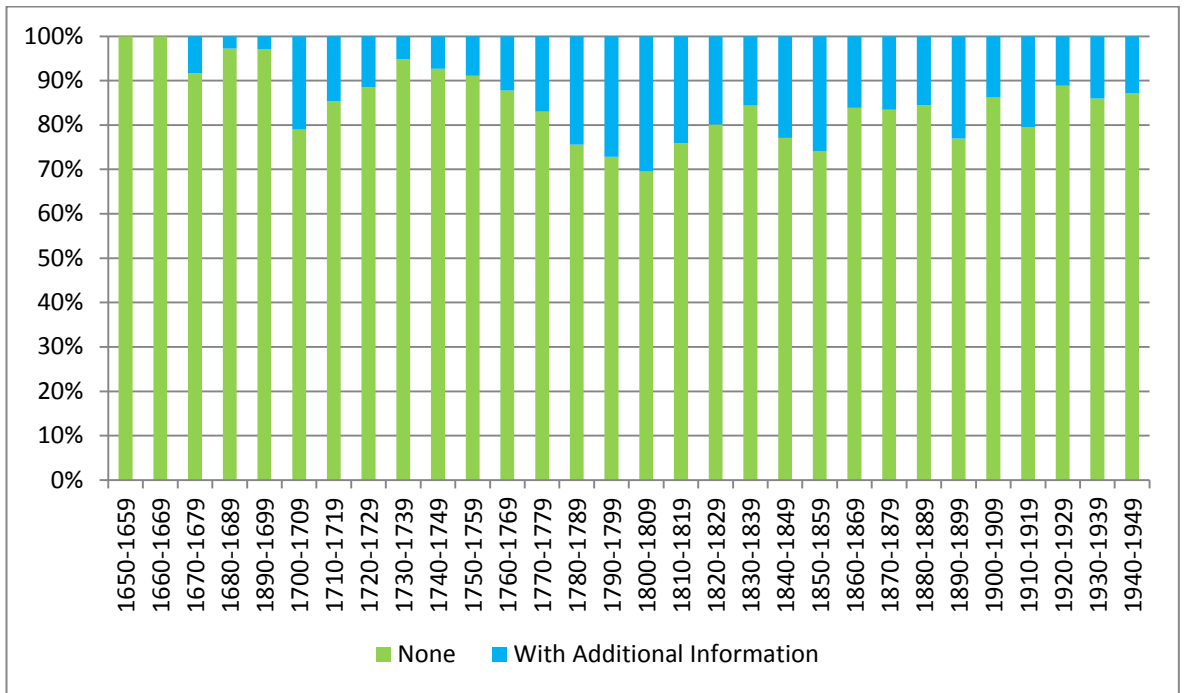
Figure 4.23 Proportion of commemorative inscriptions that give additional information on the identity and life of the deceased in Barbados, 1650-1950.
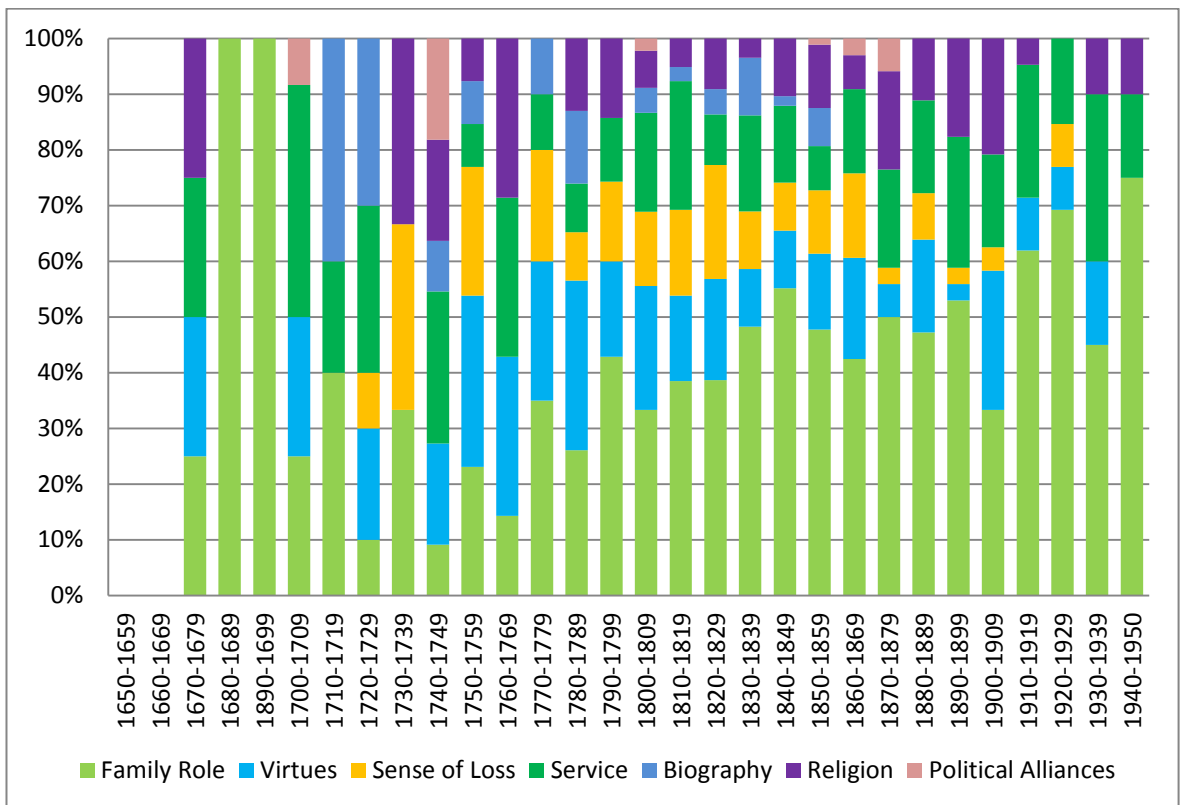
Figure 4.24 Proportion of different themes in the additional information incorporated into commemorative inscriptions in Barbados, 1650-1950.

Trends in Monument Use and Reuse

One of the benefits of dividing monuments into commemorative events is that it makes it possible to explore the life histories of monuments as sequences of commemorative behaviour. Each commemorative event represents either the choice to commission a new monument, or to add plaques or inscriptions to existing monuments (Figure 4.25). For the period as a whole, 42.10% of commemorative events reused existing monuments, dominated by the addition of inscriptions to existing monuments. It was not common to add plaques or monuments to existing structures until after the mid-nineteenth century, most commonly seen in the adding of small slant-face or upright ledgers to large covered plots belonging to families. Delayed commemoration of individuals on monuments erected after their death became less prevalent, particularly after the mid-nineteenth century, as monuments became more accessible on the island with local masons making it easier and more affordable; for many, this reduced the necessity to wait long periods of time before commemorating their dead (see below). The general commemoration of a family group as a whole, rather than a series of individual commemorative events, although not common, was most apparent in the nineteenth century. Finally, the living also occasionally appropriated existing monuments and vaults for their own use, particularly if the family was no longer living in Barbados, or replaced old monuments if they became too damaged or weathered. It is difficult to ascertain how common this practice was, however anecdotal references and comparison of records by Lawrence-Archer, Oliver, and Cook suggest that it was not so rare as to raise significant questions or objections amongst communities. Patterns in monument use and reuse highlight pragmatic and meaningful practice that not only negotiated and advertised social identities, but also provided important focal points for memory production.
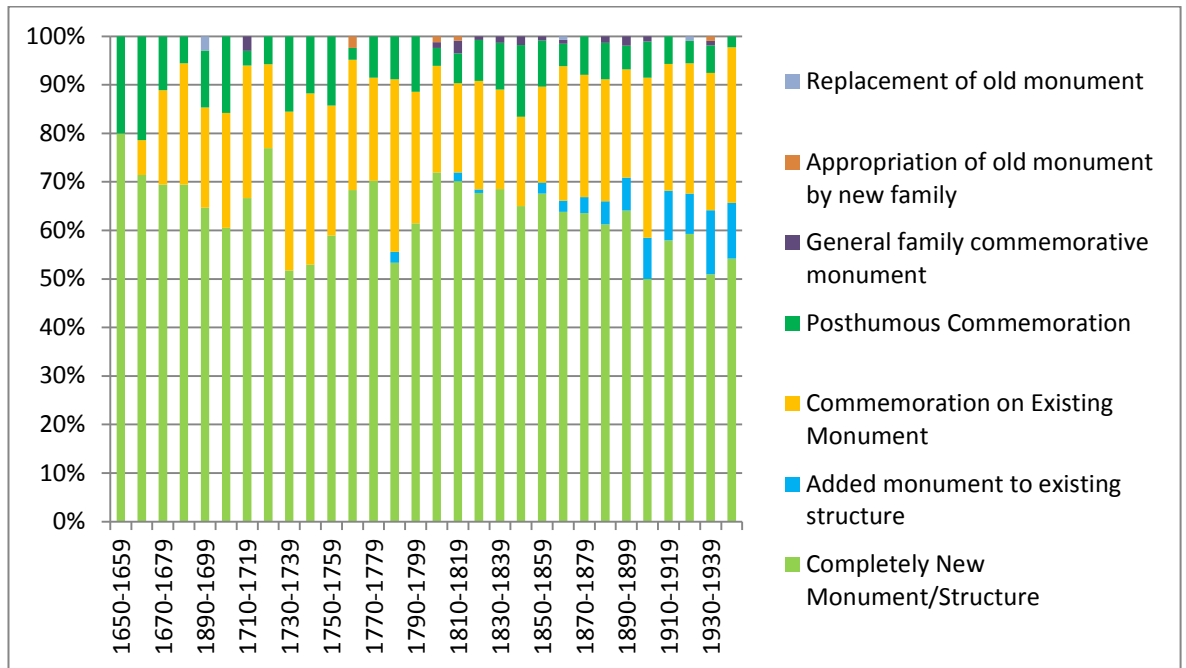
Figure 4.25 Proportion of commemorative events eliciting the commissioning, reuse, and modification of monuments in Barbados, 1650-1950.

The length of time elapsed between death and commemoration, or between the initial placement of a monument and later additions, reveals important differences in the choices and motivations for commemoration (Figure 4.26). In some circumstances, extensive periods of time could elapse between the death of an individual and their commemoration. This may have been the result of a lack of resources to invest in a monument immediately, or emotional or social pressures that discouraged commemoration. There were clear choices to delay commemoration until the death of another family member in 239 cases, particularly for spouses. It was also common for children to be grouped together on monuments erected after their deaths. Gender did play a role in these decisions; in instances where delayed commemoration occurred for spouses, the vast majority were wives who died prior to their husbands (n=36/42, 85.7%). However, if these cases are removed, delays are much more even for females (n=101/199, 50.8%) and males (n=98/199, 49.2). It can therefore be argued that women, whose position in society was most commonly directly linked to male relatives, were not necessarily more likely to be commemorated with a delay, pointing to other situational, economic, and emotional influences in delaying commemoration. Finally, important individuals were commemorated exceptionally long after death either to replace commemoration that had been lost, to adjust social memory or to fill the void that a living individual saw in the commemorative record. This is best illustrated by a monument erected in 1976 to commemorate one of the first settlers in Barbados, William Arnold, alongside his

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descendants (Figure 4.27). Although it is difficult to ascertain the exact motives to commemorate individuals like Arnold long after death, broader trends in heritage in the late twentieth and early twenty-first century have resulted in a resurgence of interest in the colonial era and genealogical connections to local history. On the other hand, monuments could be in use for long periods, through the gradual additions of inscriptions over time. The addition of commemorated individuals to existing monuments was both pragmatic, in saving money, but also deliberate in creating connections between the deceased, grouping them together materially to replicate social networks and create unified places of social memory. Whilst most monuments were only actively used for less than fifty years, some were used for more than a hundred years and at least four generations of families. These varied uses and temporalities of commemoration highlight how actively monuments are used in the construction and negotiation of memory and identity, and the production of family and community traditions (see Chapters 6 and 7 for more detailed discussion of motivations to commemorate and the development of traditions of practice).
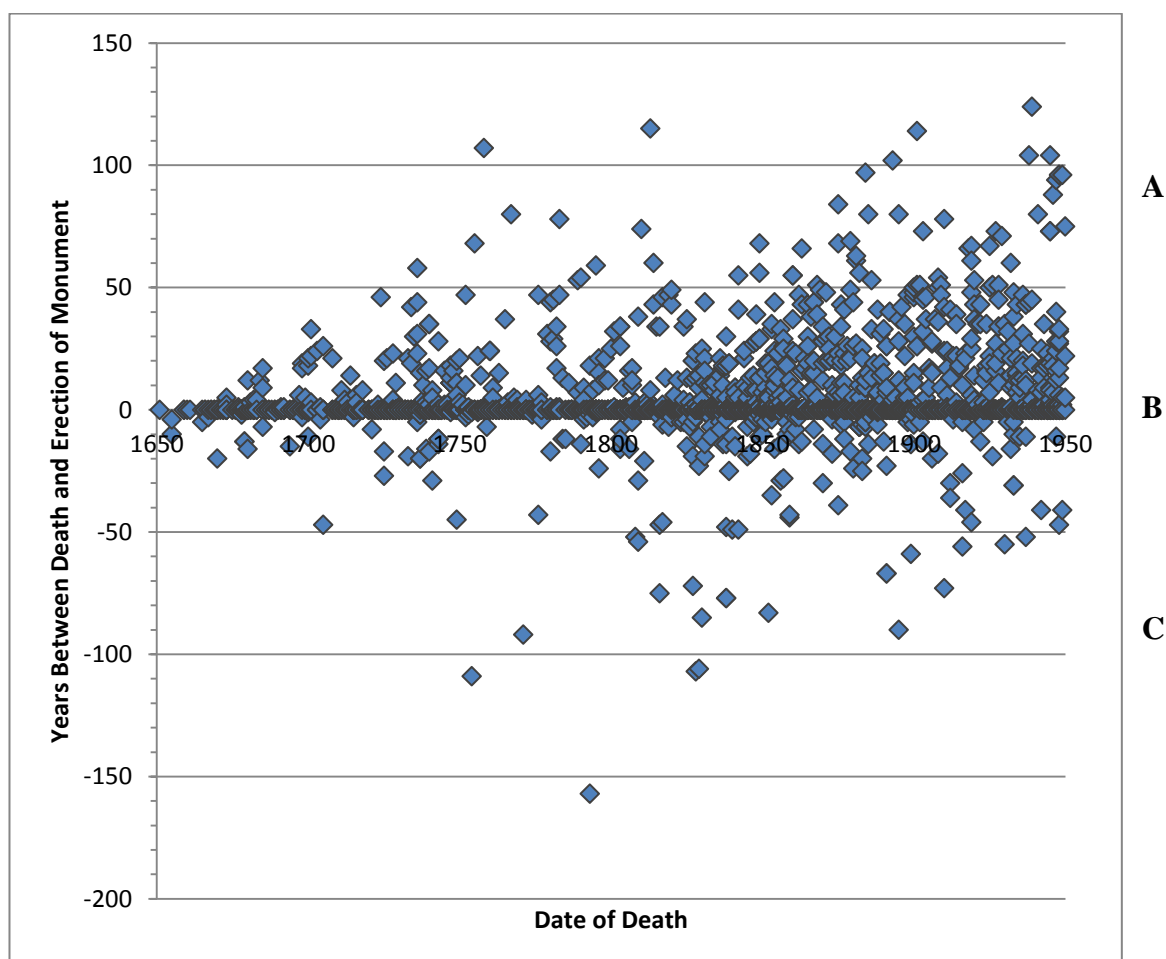
Figure 4.26 Temporal distribution of time elapsed between the death of an individual and commemoration, where A) the individual was added to an existing monument; b) a monument was commissioned and erected at the time of their death; and c) the deceased died before the monument was erected (delayed commemoration).

Figure 4.27 Monument erected more than 300 years after the death of William Arnold, in conjunction with much later descendants (All Saints Church).

DISCUSSION: TRENDS IN BAJAN COMMEMORATION

This survey of commemorative material culture highlights a number of important trends in the experiences, structure and strategies of the colonial population of Barbados. Unsurprisingly, the first one hundred to one hundred and fifty years reflect that the commemorated community was dominated by a Europe to New World migration. Inscriptions contain frequent references to birthplaces in Britain and residences in Barbados, and very few references to places beyond these realms. This is also a period in which references to family relationships fluctuate, with higher rates between 1650 and 1680, during which individuals would have been establishing themselves (and notably a smaller sample size), and lower rates between 1680 and 1720, a period that was marked by epidemics and environmental disasters, along with a major shift in the population as small planters were pushed out by large plantation owners. After the 1720s, rates of family connections began to rise again, along with the diversity of family relationships commemorated. Commemorative practices were often sporadic and unpredictable, reflecting a range of commemorative strategies, in addition to ever-changing economic means. Despite fluctuations, there are clear signs that individuals were investing in commemoration, including representations of family networks, status, geographical connections, heraldry, large mausolea and other high impact monuments. These investments would suggest that, in contrast to accounts that the British and their descendants could not conceive of Barbados as home but rather a temporary location in which to establish wealth, there was at least a section of the colonial population that was

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committing to establishing their island identities, long-term places of memory, and their position within the community (see Chapters 5 and 6).

After 1750, the commemorative monuments of families such as the Alleynes suggest a changing view of Barbados as a home, as a place of origin, and as an anchor for family memory and lineage. There is much greater diversity in the geographical connections of those commemorated in Barbados, and references are far less dominated by the traditional British birthplace, Bajan residence narrative. There is an increase in the number of individuals commemorated as having been born in Barbados, and also an increase in the number individuals who died elsewhere but were commemorated on this island. Although there would have been a high level of transiency in the first century, with high migration from Barbados due to the lack of land and high level of economic risk, the practice of commemorating people in Barbados who lived and died elsewhere highlights a shifting sense of where home and family is, and where best to commemorate the dead. This is consistent with continuing high levels of referencing family relationships, particularly of other individuals on the island, rather than high status family relationships in Britain. The commemoration of individual links to particular properties does not emerge until after 1740, and does not become common until after 1840. Given that this coincides with the increase in other elements that reflect Barbados becoming home rather than temporary residence, it may suggest the consolidation of ties to particular places on the island, as well as the decrease in the speed at which plantations changed hands in the earliest phase of colonial history, allowing families to establish longer-term memories and histories tied to their homes. The shift may also be associated with the tensions that were emerging in the nineteenth century surrounding abolition, as a means to materialize particular rights to places and property ownership (see Chapter 7). The shifting strategies of who was commemorated and in what ways reveals the transformation of connections and values that defined the middle colonial period.

The second half of the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century witnessed another major shift in both society and in the processes of commemoration. There was a decrease in family relationships commemorated on monuments, though spatial groupings of families was quite evident in the high frequencies of vaults and family plots, in some ways mimicking earlier mausolea. References to status, individual identity, and geographical references also decreased during this period. Although high impact monuments were still being used, there was a decrease in the use of inscriptions and stylistic investment that communicate family relationships and identity of the deceased. As the African/African-descendant population of Barbados came to dominate the Anglican

Church community, the character and strategies of commemoration were again modified, in some ways referencing the monuments of the past, but in other ways being manipulated to produce new fashions and traditions more in line with the resources and values of a new community. Overall, these trends do not suggest a lack of long-term connection to this colony. In contrast, commemorative practices demonstrate high investment in the communicative and competitive value of monuments and their inscriptions, using them to create and negotiate complex social relationships. While the broad trends that were traced in this chapter do suggest certain temporal and geographical developments on the island, highlighting a diversity of experiences and social strategies that influenced them, the long-term connection to Britain means that these patterns are undeniably influenced by British commemorative practices and social structures. A detailed consideration of regional British commemorative practices is, therefore, necessary to bring into focus the metropolitan and colonial stimuli for changing styles, materials, and approaches to funerary monuments in Barbados.

CHAPTER 5
TRANSATLANTIC COMMEMORATION: BRITISH CASE STUDIES

Born in Barbados in the late seventeenth century, the life of Thomazin Thornhill, like so many inhabitants of the island, traces transatlantic networks, highlighting the threads of marriages, education, migration, births, and deaths that tied this so-called 'Little England' to its namesake (Figure 5.28). The Thornhill family's initial transatlantic leap can be traced to the infancy of Barbados, when Sir Timothy Thornhill, of Olantigh, near Wye in Kent, was amongst the earliest planters to buy and clear land on the island. In 1661, Sir Timothy Thornhill was raised to baronet, along with six other gentlemen of the island, for remaining faithful to the King during the revolution. Although the baronetcy lapsed soon after, as his heirs died before him, the Thornhill family continued to prosper on the island, playing important roles in the politics, military and economy of Barbados. Church registers record at least 28 baptisms and 14 marriages between 1646 and 1815, forming the dots that can be connected to trace the family's expansion across the island (Figure 5.29). The Thornhills came to own plantations in seven of the eleven parishes, and most likely also owned property and did business in Bridgetown, St. Michaels. Major-General Timothy Thornhill, for instance, held more than 500 acres across the island, including 268 acres and 150 slaves in St. James' parish and another 170 acres and 150 slaves in St. Andrew's parish (Brandow 2001: 515). They also maintained property in England, primarily in Kent, including manors and large farms.

Daughter of Colonel Thomas and Philippa Thornhill, Thomazin was probably born in St. James, where there are records of her other siblings being baptised in the 1690s, and she passed the majority of her childhood in the parish. Her father was the youngest son of the above-named Major-General Timothy Thornhill. With the largest landholdings going to his eldest brother, Thomas made most of his wealth in his military and merchant careers. The Thornhills resided close to brother Timothy, who had inherited the family estate of Black Rock, and Thomazin benefitted from her family connections, even if her branch was

not the wealthiest amongst them. Like many women at the time, her prospects were heavily tied to marriage, through which many families tightened social relationships that they could trust and solidified newly formed communities. In the first decade of the eighteenth century, Thomazin married Wardall Andrews, Esquire, also of St. James parish, Barbados, who had recently inherited Russia Plantation (later known as Andrews Plantation; Figure 5.30). Similar to Thomazin, Wardall had been born in Barbados, to another of the early families of the island. Wardall's grandfather, Thomas Wardall, had a small holding of 107 acres and 68 slaves in St. James (Russia Plantation), and a storehouse in St. Michael's, which he passed to his only daughter, Lucretia (Wardall's mother), and her husband, George Andrews, in the 1680s. Wardall made at least one trip to England, attending University College Oxford in 1697, returning to Barbados soon after. Wardall and Thomazin's only son, William Andrews, was born at Russia Plantation in 1705 and lived with his parents until he attended Magdalen College Oxford in the 1720s. Wardall Andrews died in 1714; with his son under the age of 20 and still too young to inherit the family estate, the property soon passed somewhat contentiously to another relative (Jones 2007b: 104-105). Thomazin quickly remarried, as was common for many widows in the colonies who were dependent on spouses or male relatives for financial security and status.

Figure 5.28 Marble slab commemorating Thomazin Thornhill (d.1718) in St. Michael's Cathedral.

Figure 5.29 Spatial distribution of the Thornhill family in Barbados and Britain, 1646-1850.

Figure 5.30 The Black Rock (Thornhill family) and Andrews Plantations (Andrews family) in St. James' Parish, as recorded on a map dating to 1736.

Her second marriage was to William Savage, Esquire, who was born in Bloxworth, Dorset, son of William Savage Sr., and probably grew up at Bloxworth Manor House, which the family had owned since the sixteenth century. Although it is not clear what his connection was to Barbados, the Savages were connected to the Harbin family (Thomazin's maternal line), with both families living in Dorset and moving in the same circles (Rawlins 1983: 280). Thomazin died not long after the marriage and was buried in Bridgetown in 1718. Her monument in St. Michael's Cathedral captures her own transatlantic life. Heavily worn and laid flat in the passageway next to the cathedral,

adorned with a large family coat of arms, it records her life and death as, "daughter of Colonel Thomas Thornhill & Philippa his wife daughter of John Divles Esq, who was first married to Wardall Andrews Esq of this Island but afterward to William Savage Esq of Bloxworth in ye county of Dorset & then departed this life the 27th day of March 1718." With one husband hailing from Barbados, and the other from Dorset, England, Thomazin's short life tied together people and places on both sides of the Atlantic.

The *British* Atlantic and Multi-Sited Research

This connection shifts attention from Barbados, which was the focus of the previous chapter, to the realities of the transatlantic nature of lives in the colonial period. Whilst the Atlantic passage was arduous and time-consuming, historians have increasingly underlined the fact that this did not actually impede connections, communication and movement for most Europeans and European descendants (Amussen 2007). Many children born in the colonies were sent back to Britain for several years for their education, socialization, and apprenticeships. Marriages further connected families and individuals in both directions. Business transactions, property holdings, political affiliations, and military duties also spanned the Atlantic Ocean. Our understanding of colonial Barbados cannot, therefore, be constructed in isolation but rather must reflect connections to Britain both in methods and interpretation. And yet, the systematic study of colony and metropole is rarely undertaken, possibly discouraged by the difficulties of obtaining comparable datasets. It is much more common to compare different colonies to explore collective experiences and unique historical contingencies and contexts (see for instance the comparison of Barbados and Jamaica in Amussen 2007, Barbados, Jamaica and Guyana in De Barros 2014, the Leeward Islands and Jamaica in Dunn 1972, and Barbados and North Carolina in Jones 2007). However, whilst comparison illuminates some of the commonalities and differences in relationships with the metropole, the processes and context of those interactions remain focussed on the colony, rather than viewing the connections of Empire as multi-directional.

With this in mind, this chapter will analyse commemorative patterns of Britain and Barbados in tandem. Not only did early colonial families order monuments from British tradespeople and pattern books, but customs in the colonies continued to be influenced by metropolitan fashions even as local tradespeople and products became increasingly accessible in the eighteenth century. Moreover, experiences of the transatlantic world were not isolated to those that moved abroad. Just as monuments in Barbados refer to geographical connections with Britain, so to do monument inscriptions in Britain record transatlantic networks and biographies. For instance, a monument in St. John's Church, Liverpool was inscribed with:

Sacred to the memory of Lieut George SIMPSON of His Majesty's 49th Regt. Of Foot (son of Tho's & Ann SIMPSON **of Richmond, in the county of York**,) who departed this life on Tuesday the 10th day of July 1792. On his passage **from the Island of Barbados, on board the Susannah of Liverpool**, and was **interred here** on Sunday the 15th day of the same month in the 29th year of his age. (emphasis added)

Other inscriptions in Liverpool, dating between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries, contain references to Jamaica, Canada, the United States, and even as far as Peru and Singapore. The New World was creeping into the lives of individuals who remained based in Britain; the changing wealth and circumstances of families in ways that had long been relatively inflexible, not to mention the influx of new products, and the growing reliance on slavery and implications for conceptions of race transformed the material, social, economic and political landscapes of Britain (cf. Amussen 2007). These transformations are, in turn, reflected and negotiated in the commemorative practices and strategies of British communities and families.

Commemorative patterns of Britain and its colonies cannot, therefore, be understood as wholly separate practices, influenced by ongoing social connections and communicated fashions. Despite these connections, commemorative traditions are not universal, even in counties in Britain. Differences in commemorative patterns on both sides of the Atlantic reveal important transformations in the experiences and strategies of families, leading to a more nuanced history of empire. A comparison of the trends outlined in the previous chapter to similar datasets amassed from Liverpool, Lancashire, Cambridge, and Cambridgeshire will be used to demonstrate that different strategies and meanings associated with commemoration existed as a result of variations in social relationships, family positions and structures, and experiences of colonialism. It will further suggest that the most dramatic shifts in commemorative strategies are visible in Barbados throughout this period, followed by the urban port of Liverpool, and its rural hinterlands in Lancashire, which reflects the level of social flux of early colonial history. Using commemorative traditions as a proxy for the experiences and choices of families in Britain and abroad, it is possible to explore the impact of colonial expansion on approaches to death and memory from the seventeenth to twentieth centuries.

TRACING TRENDS IN BRITISH COMMEMORATION

This chapter is by no means a comprehensive examination of commemoration in Britain during this period (see Bell 1994, Mytum 2004 for more general discussions). The

size of the country and its population, not to mention extensive variations in the available records, makes this beyond the scope of this thesis. Rather, the selection of two regions with divergent colonial experiences, and urban and rural parishes within them, seeks to construct comparable datasets to those of Barbados to examine the similarities and differences in commemorative practices. This will demonstrate the potential for multi-sited, transatlantic studies but also begin to reconstruct the spectrum of British experiences during this period. Urban parishes in Liverpool and rural parishes in surrounding Lancashire were used as an example of a port town and region that was intensively affected by colonialism and early globalization. This area was prevalent in references to geographical connections in Barbadian commemoration, as a place of origin but also as a region that individuals returned to regularly. Liverpool and Lancashire (particularly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries) were defined by high levels of transiency, a wide breadth of connections to places both within and beyond Britain, the circulation and recirculation of New World wealth and products, and relatively high mortality rates (cf. Martins 2004: 67, Walton 1987: 225-230). On the other hand, Cambridge, and rural parishes in surrounding Cambridgeshire, was shaped by more indirect colonial influence. Although not untouched by any stretch of the imagination, the lower frequency of families directly involved in colonialism and emigration meant that these communities were more peripheral and insulated from the transiency and transformation that was occurring elsewhere, and were defined by more stable and traditional agricultural communities (Martins 2004: 120-121, see also Horn 1984, Howkins 1991). It was only minimally referenced in Barbadian commemoration, typically in connection with Cambridge University. Although there was still high mobility, the distance of movement of families and family members tended to be more limited, giving kin groups a higher level of stability (Day 2014). By examining the commemorative strategies of families based in these regions, the impact of colonialism on British experiences of empire in relation to their Caribbean counterparts reveal both the connections and dislocation of metropolitan and colonial communities.

Liverpool and Lancashire

Along with Bristol and London, Liverpool was one of the primary British ports for the Atlantic world and was heavily invested in the colonial endeavour, through ship building, slave trading, the importing of goods (including cotton, sugar, and tobacco) (Figure 5.31), the production and export of goods to the colonies (including pottery and cloth), and financing many colonial operations. In fact, it was during the colonial period that Liverpool was transformed from a small seaport in the seventeenth century to

dominate the British slave trade by the middle of the eighteenth century (Clemens 1976, Morgan 2007). Lucrative tobacco imports expanded from over 500 tons per year in the 1690s to nearly 4,500 tons per year by the 1770s; sugar imports developed even faster, rising from 35 tons per year in the 1660s to 5000 tons per year in the 1740s (Walton 1987: 68-69). With this rise in imports came the establishment of shipyards and sugar refineries, and pottery, glass, and metal manufacturers in the eighteenth century in the port and its hinterlands. However, the role of Liverpool and Lancashire extends beyond an economic one; they also became battlegrounds for abolition and other sociopolitical debates, and they drew together huge numbers of people looking for work, reordering social relations in the process (Elder 2007). They were hubs of communication for an ever-widening world, through which even less mobile British people gained new understandings, not to mention access to new products. Alongside the shift from faltering agricultural economies to the development of Lancashire-based textile industries, mercantile exploits provided opportunities for social mobility, with the regular representation of 'rags-to-riches' in eighteenth and nineteenth-century narratives highlighting the impact of economic growth on society (Walton 1987: 67, 70-71).
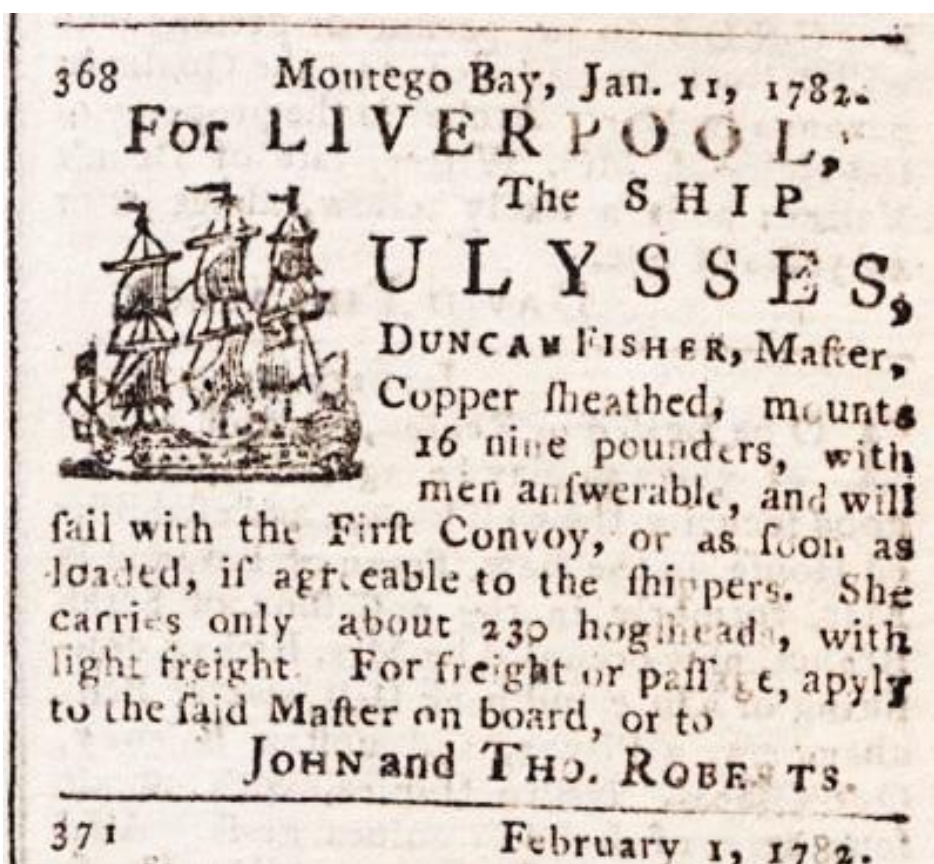
Figure 5.31 Notice in *The Cornwall Chronicle* of Jamaica, in 1782, advertising shipping opportunities on the Ulysses, bound for Liverpool (BBC Library Service).

On the religious front, the Church of England faced a long-term struggle for influence over a strong Roman Catholic presence, particularly in the west, which gave the region a reputation for religious extremism and conflict even in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Walton 1987: 36-37). Moreover, the wealth that was funneled into Liverpool as the port town grew in maritime influence soon separated it from the surrounding rural parishes, stimulating church building to serve a cosmopolitan society, particularly in the centre of town. Rural Lancashire faced a shortage of churches and inadequate numbers of trained clergy, particularly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with most parishes much larger than in the rest of England. A boom in church and chapel building, as well as church-run schools, partially motivated by competition with Nonconformist denominations and the fear of losing influence, decreased the isolation of communities in the nineteenth century and increased the impact that the church had on the lives of the working class (Walton 1987: 37, 245-246).

The transformation of Liverpool and Lancashire during this period makes this region a prime location to explore the transformation of commemoration in connection to colonialism and the influence of the British Empire. Bound up in wider social, economic and political transformations, commemorative monuments were a medium to display newly acquired wealth, remember family members that had died and been buried in faraway places, and negotiate social relationships in newly formed communities. Three churches and one cemetery were selected in the urban centre of Liverpool,[2] and one church and one cemetery from rural Lancashire, to give relatively comparable temporal ranges and sample sizes (Figure 5.32). This included 1,967 monuments from St. John's (n=212), St. Peter's (n=107), and St. Nicholas's (n=173) Churches, and Anfield Cemetery (n=435) in Liverpool, and in Lancashire, St. Michael's Parish Church (n=240) in Whittington, and the Anglican sections of Accrington Municipal Cemetery (n=800) in Accrington. The 3,553 commemorative events included in this sample ranged from 1630 to 1950, including primary and secondary commemoration (Figure 5.33), inside and outside of the churches.

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[2] These sites were located in primarily middle class neighbourhoods that formed during the period of economic growth in Liverpool, with the exception of St. John's Church (served a lower class neighbourhood) and the municipal cemeteries (served a wide community). Together, the social make-up of the commemorated population is comparable to the Barbados sample.
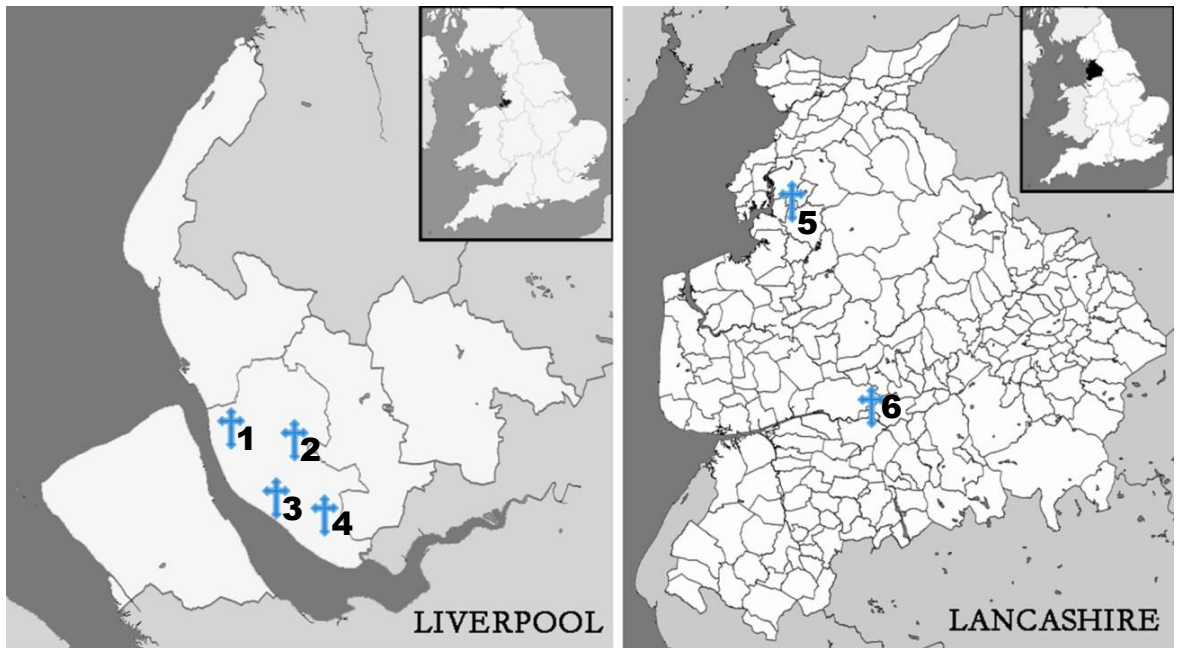
Figure 5.32 Maps of sites in Liverpool: 1) Anfield Cemetery; 2) St. John's; 3) St. Peter's; 4) St. Nicholas's; and Lancashire: 5) St. Michael's, Whittington; and 6) Accrington Municipal Cemetery.
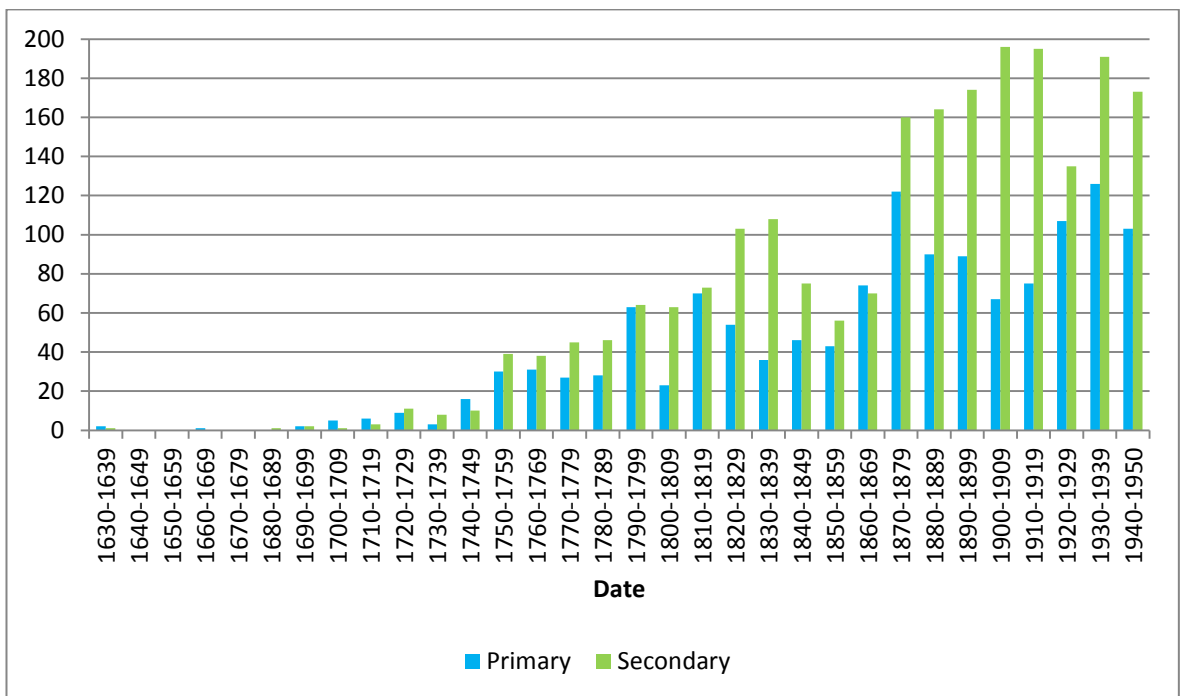
Figure 5.33 Commemorative events in Liverpool and Lancashire, including primary (n=1348) and secondary (n=2205) commemoration.

Cambridge and Cambridgeshire

Cambridgeshire stands in stark contrast to the history of Liverpool. With a university that attracted individuals from within and beyond Britain, Cambridge was the most cosmopolitan area, however even here, the young academics remained largely detached from the local community, attending different churches and living in different neighbourhoods and colleges (Pounds 2004). The rest of the county was defined by an

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agricultural economy into the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and remained relatively sheltered from the colonial developments that faced port towns and their environs (Horn 1984, Howkins 1991). The majority of the rural populations in Cambridgeshire were agricultural labourers, though peat and coprolite digging were also common employments. Most Cambridgeshire farms were engaged in grain production, typically undertaken by tenant farmers or resident farming families, while villages dotted throughout the landscape attracted skilled craftspeople and trades. Whilst there was a relatively high level of mobility at this time, with families circulating through the southern counties, they typically maintained close proximity to other family members, settling in neighbouring parishes as much as possible (Games 2009: 35-36, Watson 1975). Census and church records reflect relative family stability during this period, with multi-generational links to particular parishes and even particular houses or properties.

The relationship between communities and the Church also developed a different character than in Liverpool and Lancashire. Parishes formed around more traditional nucleated communities that included their church, and was surrounded by agricultural land, woodland and wasteland (Pounds 2004: 21). The connection to the University of Cambridge shaped religious practice, with churches developed to both serve religious congregations and provide the setting for academic debates and teaching. It therefore also served as a centre for religious reforms, with parishes being frequented by Reformation philosophers. Cambridge's St. Mary the Great and St. Michael experienced the benefits of wealthy congregations, in contrast to many of the rural, agriculture-based parishes like Comberton, Hinxton, Harston, and Great Eversden (Pounds 2004). Cambridge and also the rural parishes to some degree were susceptible to the waning church community, forcing many unifications of congregations and the demolition or conversion of buildings in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

Four churches and cemeteries in Cambridge, and five churches in southern Cambridgeshire were selected (Figure 5.34). This included 1,228 monuments from St. Mary the Great (n=59), St. Edward (n=48), and St. Michael (n=42) churches, and the corresponding church sections in Mill Road Cemetery (n=153) in Cambridge, as well as St. Mary and St. John (n=154) in Hinxton, All Saints (n=146) in Harston, St. Mary (n=333) in Bourn, St. Mary (n=186) in Comberton, and St. Mary (n=107) in Great Eversden. The 2,041 commemorative events ranged from 1698 to 1950 (Figure 5.35). Due to the records available, this sample includes primarily external monuments (with the exception of internal monuments at St. Mary the Great in Cambridge).

COMMEMORATIVE COMMUNITIES

As in Barbados, the commemorated individuals in Liverpool/Lancashire and Cambridge/Cambridgeshire are only a fraction of the total buried population, influenced by sociocultural decisions, economics and preservation. Understanding these commemorative communities demographically assists in understanding who was being memorialized and why. In particular, different relationships to monuments, and value associated with memory and mourning, can result in temporal and geographical fluctuations in the rates of commemoration for particular social groups (Cannon 1989, Cannon and Cook 2015); monuments are therefore records of the types of choices and values that the living had in relation to the dead, providing the opportunity to compare and connect transatlantic commemorative practice. The commemorated population in Barbados was defined by a relatively low rate of women in comparison to men (with women making up 37% of the commemorated population between 1650-1950, see Chapter 4 Table 4.1). In contrast, Liverpool and Lancashire showed higher rates of women being commemorated, fluctuating between 40-58% of the commemorated population (Figure 5.36). The commemorated population of Cambridge and Cambridgeshire

CAMBRIDGE:
1) St. Mary the Great
2) St. Edward
3) St. Michael Churches
4) Mill Road Cemetery

HINXTON:
5) St. Mary and St. John

HARSTON:
6) All Saints

BOURN:
7) St. Mary

COMBERTON
8) St. Mary

GREAT EVERSDEN:
9) St. Mary
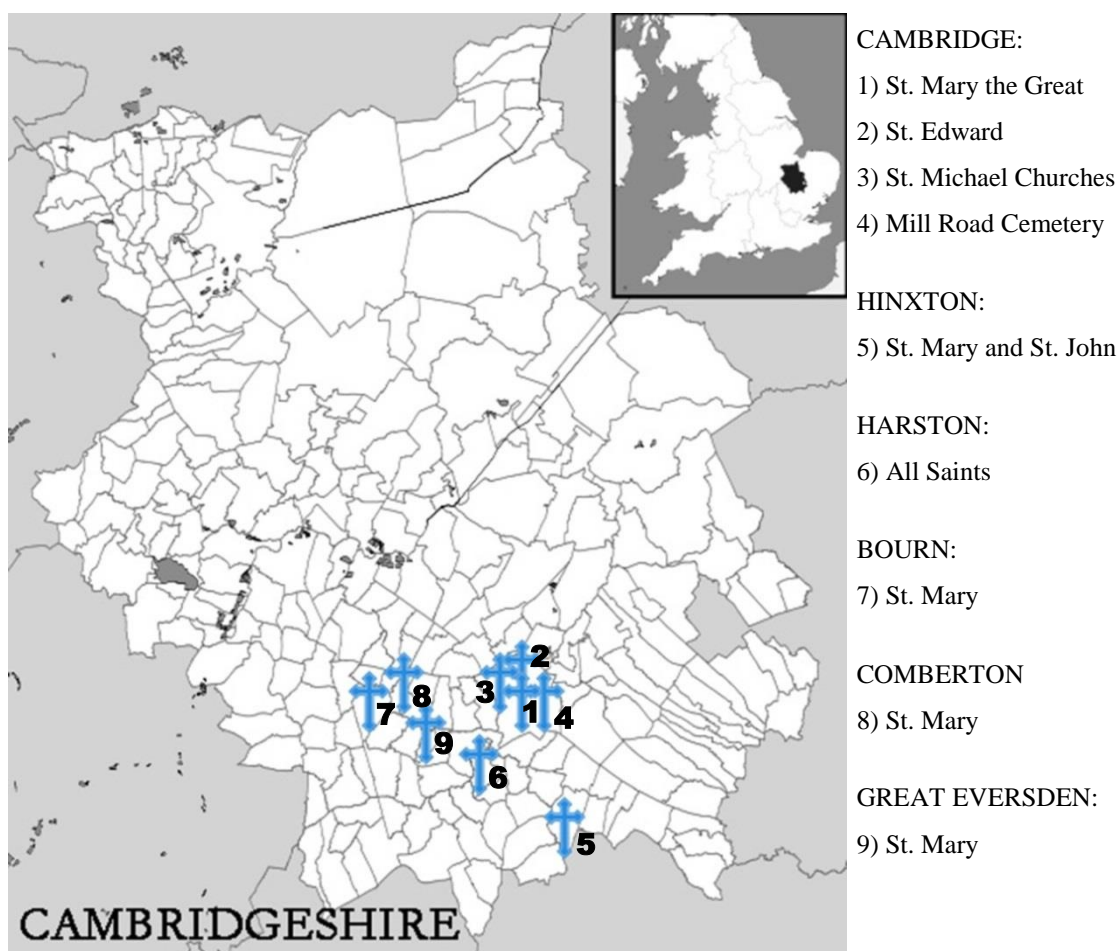
Figure 5.34 Map of church locations from Cambridge and Cambridgeshire.
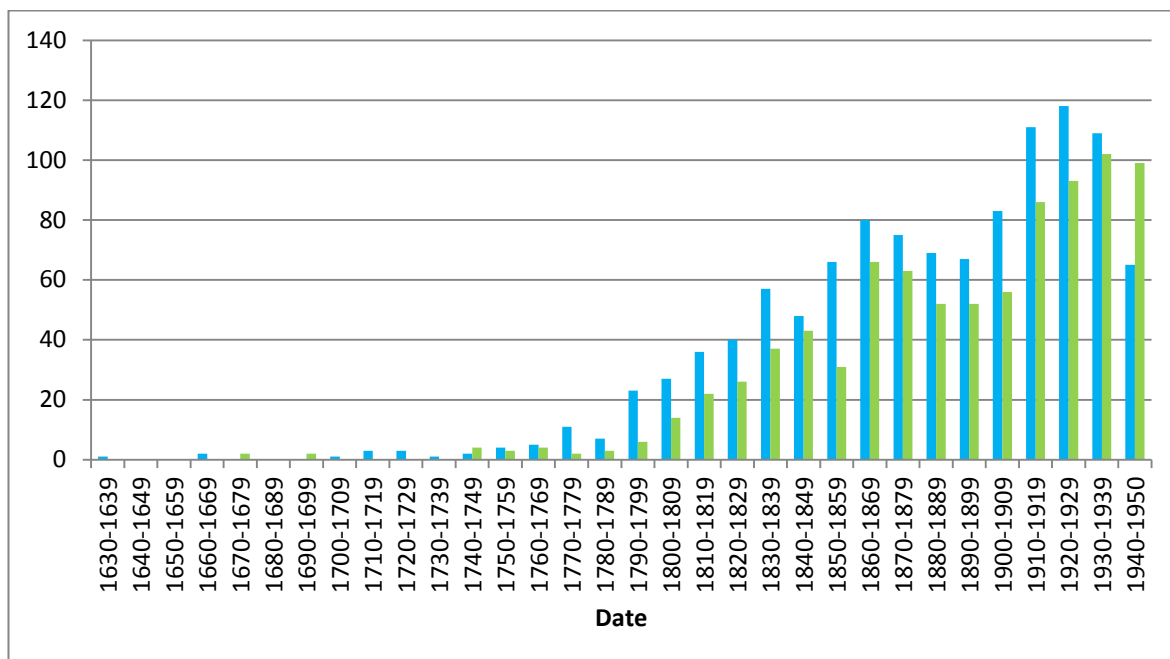
Figure 5.35 Commemorative events in Cambridge and Cambridgeshire, including primary (n=1114; blue) and secondary (n=868; green) commemoration.

fluctuates between 30-42% women before rising to 42-55% in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Figure 5.37), attaining levels more comparable with Liverpool and Lancashire.

Whilst commemoration in all regions was dominated by adults, there were fluctuations in the rates of commemoration for infants and children. In Barbados, infants made up only 11-14% of individuals commemorated between 1725 and 1825, and as low as 2.6% of individuals commemorated before and after this period (see Table 2 in Chapter 4). Liverpool and Lancashire saw higher rates of commemoration for infants, reaching as high as 18.4% of commemorated individuals in Liverpool 1750-1799 (Figure 5.38 **Frequency of age groups commemorated in Liverpool and Lancashire.**). It dropped as low as 2.3-2.6% in the twentieth century, but this was a period in which infant mortality had dropped dramatically and infants made up a much smaller percentage of the burial population on a whole (for more detailed discussion of relationship between infant mortality and commemoration see Cannon and Cook 2015). Cambridge had quite low rates of infants commemorated, with a peak of 7.6% of individuals in the second half of the nineteenth century (Figure 5.39 **Frequency of age groups commemorated in Cambridge and Cambridgeshire.**). Rural Cambridgeshire on the other hand reached levels that were more comparable with Barbados, with a peak in the second half of the nineteenth century of 12.5%, before falling at roughly the same rate.
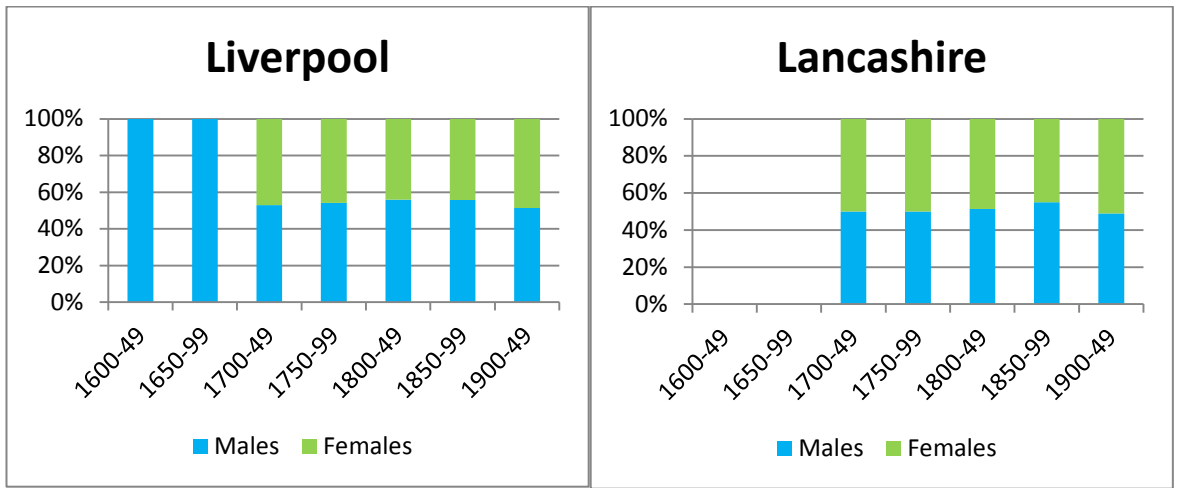
Figure 5.36 Frequency of males and females commemorated in Liverpool and Lancashire.
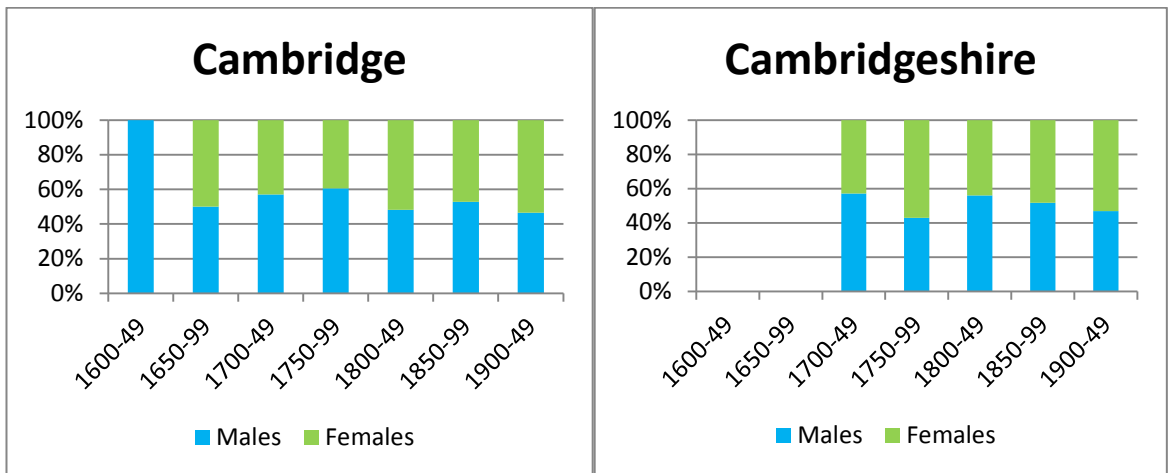
Figure 5.37 Frequency of males and females commemorated in Cambridge and Cambridgeshire.
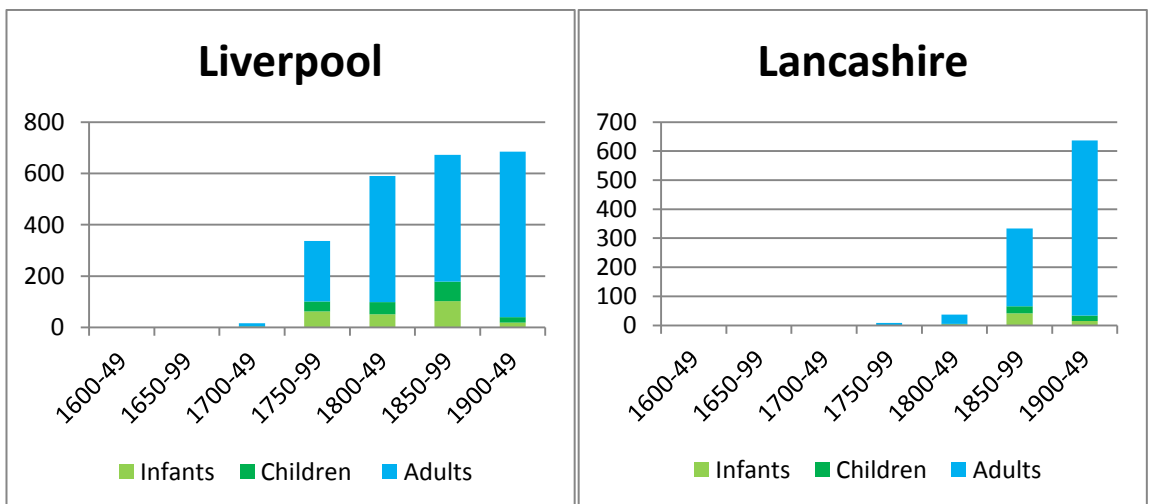
Figure 5.38 Frequency of age groups commemorated in Liverpool and Lancashire.

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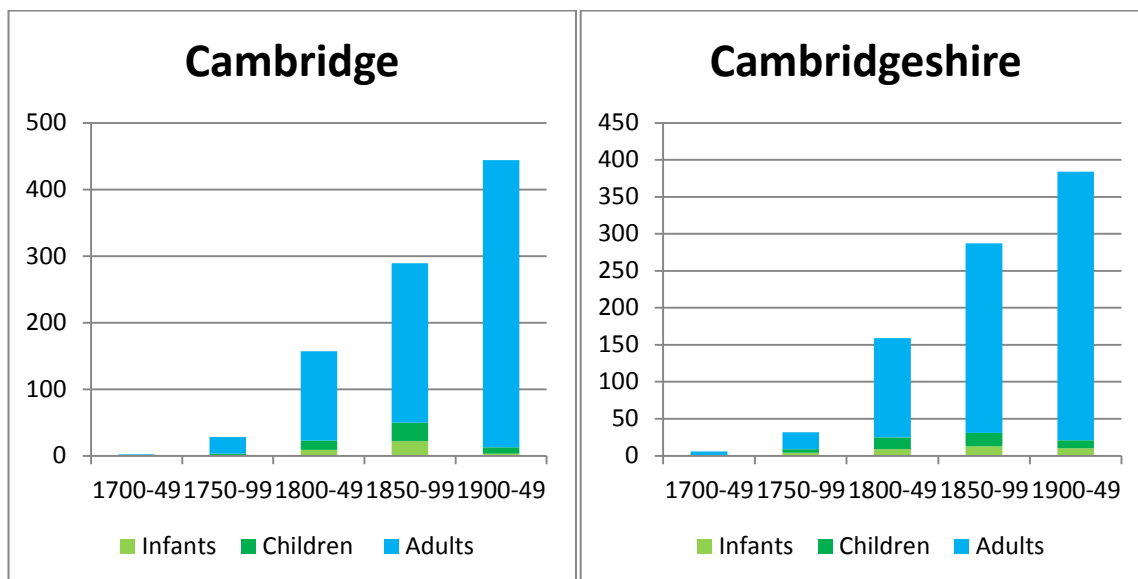
Figure 5.39 Frequency of age groups commemorated in Cambridge and Cambridgeshire.

Even a brief demographic survey of commemoration in these different regions reveals that there are distinct variations in the communities represented by funerary monuments during this period. Barbados was dominated by the commemoration of adult men, though women and infants saw increased commemoration between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Liverpool and Lancashire had the highest rates of women, in addition to higher rates of commemoration for infants. Cambridge and Cambridgeshire fell in the middle, with slightly higher rates of women but in many cases lower rates of infants represented. It is unlikely that these demographic patterns in commemoration are mere reflections of the burial population, but rather that they reflect the choices and values of the living community in memorializing the dead, informed by divergent experiences and understandings. In particular, the different family structures, strategies and economic means of families in Liverpool may have influenced the higher proportions of women and children commemorated, while the economic restraints of Cambridgeshire, particularly during periods of depression in the nineteenth century (Cannon and Cook 2015: 408-410), may have reduced the proportion of the population that received commemoration. The geographies, family structures and identities, and trends in monument usage reveal the diverse experiences that influenced family, community, memory, and mortality and their material expression in the commemoration of the dead, which will be discussed below.

Transatlantic Geographies and Commemoration

Monument inscriptions in Barbados, Liverpool and Lancashire, and Cambridge and Cambridgeshire underscore that none of these regions, no matter how peripheral or isolated, were entirely sheltered from early globalization. Barbados certainly had a range of geographical connections memorialized in commemorative inscriptions, including 742

references to 17 different countries, such as the USA, Canada, India, Germany, France, and other Caribbean islands. References to Barbados and Britain dominated the period of study, however both the frequency and diversity of geographical references increased over time, particularly in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. The variations in frequency and region referenced in inscriptions reflect the changing exposure to and involvement in British colonialism, including the expansion and maintenance of empire.

Commemoration in Liverpool and surrounding Lancashire had high rates of commemoration of geographical ties that extended beyond Britain (Figure 5.40). It is perhaps not a surprise that Liverpool, one of the dominant ports in Britain, had more than 300 references to places outside of Liverpool, 213 within Britain and 67 outside of Britain. These include the Caribbean (n=8/67, 11.9%), Jamaica and Barbados in particular, but also the United States (n=13/67, 19.4%), India (n=4/67, 6.0%), Chile (n=1/67, 1.5%), Argentina (n=1/67, 1.5%), South Africa (n=2/67, 3.0%), and Canada (n=1/67, 1.5%), to name a few. Some families demonstrate particular global mobility, for instance in Anfield Cemetery, Liverpool, the Bibby family monument is inscribed with:

> Sacred to the memory of Margaret Bibby, who died October 3rd 1890, aged 87 years. "I rest from my labour." This stone was erected in memory of my dear mother by her youngest son, William Bibby, of Castlemaine, **Victoria, Australia**. Also William Jervis, died February 20th 1871, aged 69 years. Also William Alfred Jervis, his son, pilot of this port, who was drowned in the **river Mersey**, in a collision between the SS Cherbourg and the barque Alice Davis, November 21st 1876, in his 43rd year. "Be ye also ready for you know not how soon the lord may call you. I rest in the deep."
> Also Vincent Jervis his son, who was drowned from the SS Abyssinia on his voyage home from **New York**, November 9th, 1873, aged 50 years. "My grave is in the deep sea."
> In loving memory of above William Bibby, died May 3rd 1900, aged 63 years. Son of Margaret Bibby, and founder and manager of the RAUE gold mines, died in **Singapore** and buried with his wife and son in **Singapore Cemetery**. A life well spent.
> Also Ellen Bibby, born 22nd July 1835, died 27th March 1927.
> (emphasis added) (Liverpool Cemeteries n.d.)

William Bibby, who initially erected the above monument to his mother in 1890 before being commemorated upon his own death in 1900, clearly maintained strong connections

to Liverpool throughout his life, despite global pursuits. Born in Lancaster in 1837 and having spent his childhood in Liverpool, he left Britain at the age of 21 to complete the long journey to Australia. Described as a '"dour" adventurer' (The Straits Times 1900), William managed mines across Australia, before taking on mines in Singapore and Kuala Lampur, where he died following an accident and illness. In fact, William is commemorated on at least three monuments, including the above from Liverpool, but also on a monument in Singapore, and another in Castlemaine, Australia, that was only recently erected in 2012 by the current generation of the Bibby family, on the grave of William's youngest child who died in Australia before the family moved to Singapore (Werrett 2012). Other monuments in Liverpool highlight similarly global families, from individual forays into the outside world, as for instance Captain William Torbett, commemorated in 1758 in St. Peter's churchyard, who was killed in military service in Jamaica, to family migration, such as Samuel Barret, commemorated in 1754, whose father, Richard Barrett Esquire, of St. James, Jamaica laid the foundations to the family's wealth that would be accrued through sugar plantations.

Lancashire, although not as directly involved in global ventures as Liverpool, nonetheless saw a high level of mobility, as individuals were drawn to the port and beyond for employment. With 209 geographical references in the commemorative inscriptions from Lancashire, 24 were beyond Britain, including Jamaica (n=1/24, 4.2%), Brazil (n=1/24, 4.2%), the USA (n=2/24, 8.3%), India (n=1/24, 4.2%), Canada (n=1/24, 4.2%), and France (n=11/24, 45.8%). In the nineteenth century, the Herdman family, of St. Michael's Church, Whittington, commemorated five individuals all dying in different places, including Pilling, Newton, and Lancaster in Lancashire, Leeds, Yorkshire, and as far abroad as Jamaica (Figure 5.41). Many other families mirrored the Herdmans in referencing multiple British cities, and occasionally locations further afield, as places of birth, residence and burial in commemorative inscriptions, particularly in the nineteenth century.
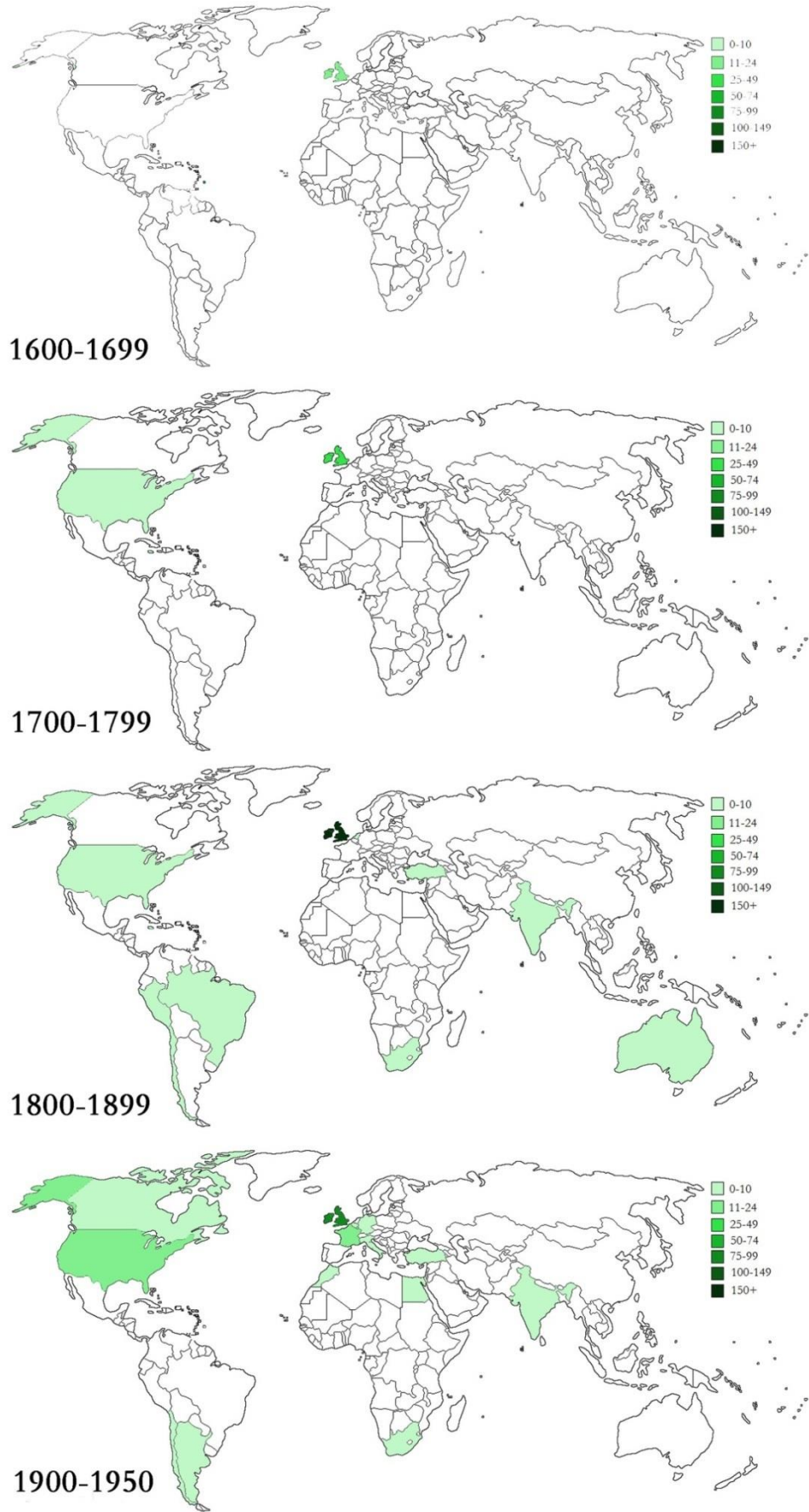
Figure 5.40 Maps of the geographical ties commemorated in Liverpool and Lancashire.

Sacred to the memory of John Herdman
of Newton who died at Pilling June 2nd
1859 aged 78 years.
Also of Margaret wife of the above who
died at Newton November 16th 1843
aged 57 years.
Of George who died at Jamaica
February 20th 1839 aged 26 years.
Of Hannah who died at Lancaster
August 30th 1831 aged 42 years.
Of Margaret who died at Leeds August
27th 1852

Figure 5.41 Herman family monument, in St. Michael's churchyard, Whittington (Photo: Lancashire Family History & Heraldry Society 2007).

Cambridge and Cambridgeshire, on the other hand, demonstrate a much more limited range of geographical references (Figure 5.42). In more than a thousand commemorative events in Cambridge, there were only 55 references to geographical locations, 14 of which were in Cambridge, 29 within Britain, and 12 outside of Britain. This included Australia (n=1/12, 8.3%), South Africa (n=1/12, 8.3%) and Sierra Leone (n=1/12, 8.3%), as well as France (n=7/12, 58.3%) and Germany (n=1/12, 8.3%). For instance, the Hayward-Hunt family commemorate on a stone cross in the St. Edward section of Mill Road Cemetery, "two sons, John H. Hunt died in West Africa 26 March 1915 aged 34 and William J. Hunt who was killed in action in France 13 Nov 1916 aged 31" (Figure 5.43). This inscription binds together two of the most frequent circumstances for references outside of Britain, one in economic employment and the other in military action during the First World War.

The rural parishes in Cambridgeshire had almost double the geographical references in commemorative inscriptions, with 109 locations cited in 979 commemorative events. Again, this only included 13 outside of Britain, including India (n=1/13, 7.7%), South Africa (n=2/13, 15.4%), and France (n=6/13, 46.2%), with 73 references to places within Cambridgeshire and 23 references to other places in Britain. The Long family, commemorated on two monuments in All Saints churchyard (Harston) between the 1850s and 1860s, was a large farming family whose commemorative record reflects the nature of their global experiences. Two of their sons died in Africa, with a headstone in Harston inscribed to the memory of, "Harry Allan Long, Born February 28 1844, Died Kimberley South Africa, April 15 1883, Robert Long, Born August 10 1840, Died at Richmond Natal, S. Africa, July 27 1868." The brothers migrated to Natal, South Africa in the 1860s with relatives, to engage in farming, possibly seeking more land or opportunities than Cambridgeshire had to offer. Other monuments referencing geographical connections

included deaths in France during the First World War, as well as references to other parts of Britain, including Norfolk and London.
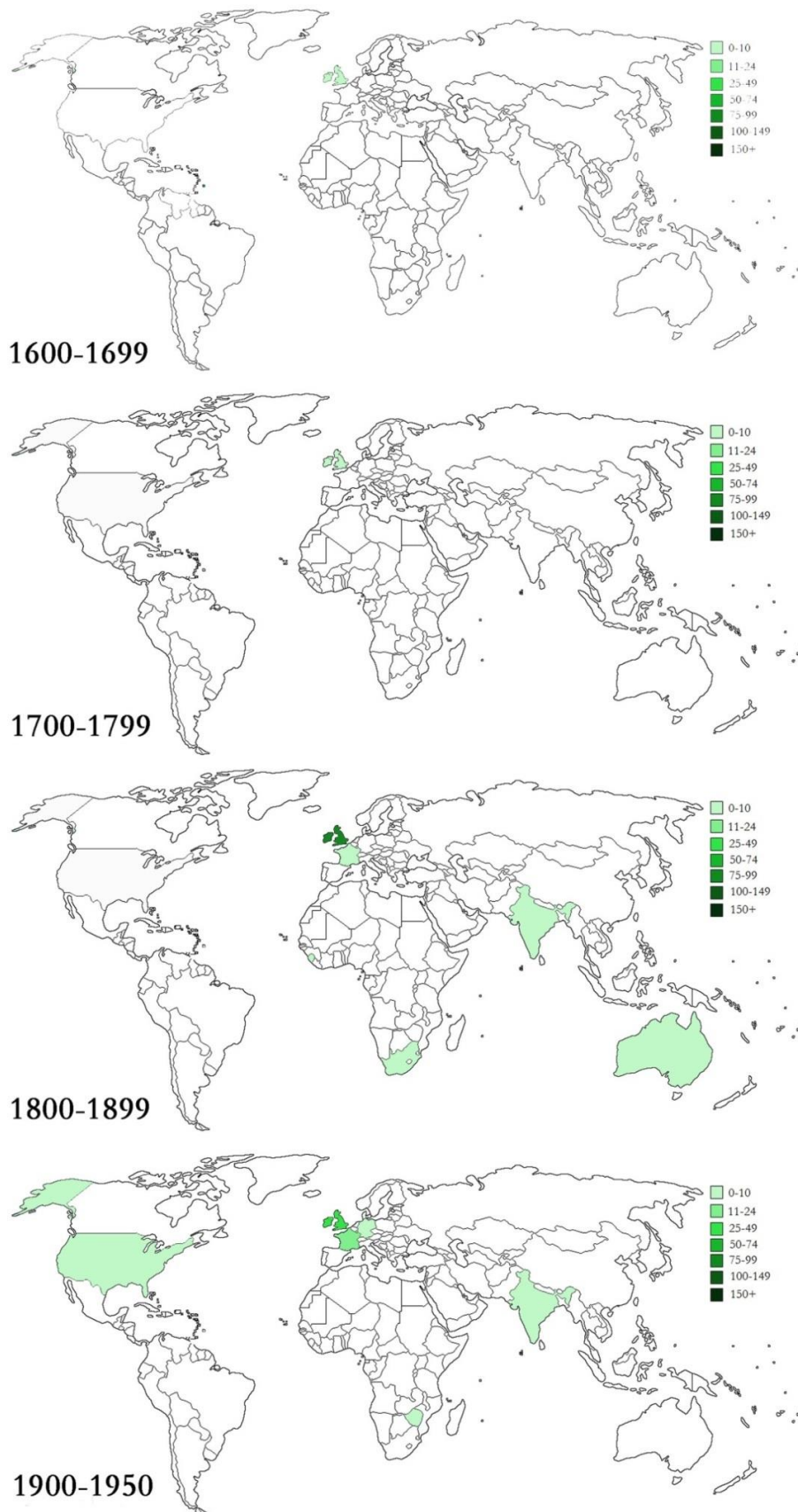
Figure 5.42 Maps of the geographical ties commemorated in Cambridge/Cambridgeshire.

Figure 5.43 Hayward-Hunt family monuments (St. Edward's, Mill Road Cemetery).

A temporal comparison of the rates at which geographical connections were commemorated, in addition to the frequency and the diversity of these connections, between Barbados, Liverpool, Lancashire, Cambridge, and Cambridgeshire highlights the impact that migration and growing family dispersal had on commemorative practice. Unsurprisingly, Barbados has the highest diversity of geographical references in commemorative inscriptions, with 19 different countries referenced in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Figure 5.44). As a community that was created through migration, forced or voluntary, and one in which a great deal of risk and insecurity encouraged constant movement of individuals and families, a large geographical network was created early on. In contrast, the British samples showed much more gradual growth of geographical networks. Liverpool, and Lancashire showed growth particularly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which corresponds with the growing dominance of the port town, providing more opportunities for families to become involved in larger global networks, but also drawing individuals from across Britain. Cambridge and Cambridgeshire show much more limited diversity in the commemoration of geographical networks, with references to countries outside of Britain emerging only in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, limited to large British colonies, and in the twentieth century dominated by deaths in the First World War. Although involvement in the First World War represents substantial changes to communities and connections to the wider world, when these cases are excluded, there is much more limited evidence of global movement in the

commemorative record. The range of geographical references demonstrates the impact that colonial experiences had on commemorative practice in each region; in Barbados, and eventually Liverpool, this diversity was a part of daily life, with neighbours from many different backgrounds and places, boats in port from a range of countries, bringing languages, products and customs from around the world into their own backyards. This exposure and integration into widening geographical networks placed more consciousness on places of birth and residence, whilst also increasing the likelihood of family members dying and being buried abroad, influencing mourning and the construction of social memory. At the same time, geography was never neutral but rather held social and political significance; some families in Britain may have obscured connections to colonies. For instance, the Lascelles did not highlight that their wealth originated in colonies to avoid the stigma attached to colonial wealth (Smith 2006:5-6). In contrast, places like Cambridgeshire had a much narrower experience of globalization; the increasing availability of sugar, tea and coffee in the rural countryside was not necessarily combined with widening global movements of families or family members, limiting the impact on the communities commemorated in these parishes.
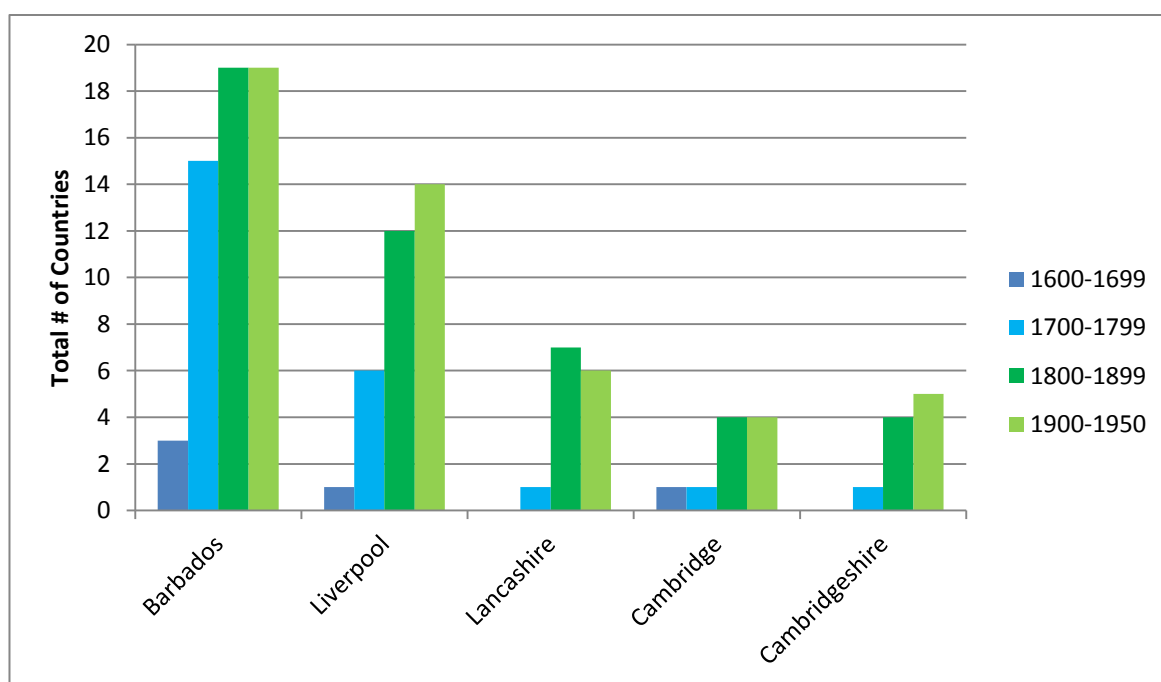
Figure 5.44 Number of countries referenced in commemorative events in Barbados, Liverpool, Lancashire, Cambridge and Cambridgeshire between 1600 and 1950.

This difference in geographical experience, and the impact that it had on choices in commemorative inscriptions is evident in the proportion of monuments with and without geographical references (Table 5.3), and the proportion of geographical references of British and non-British locations (Table 5.4). In seventeenth-century Barbados, 42.4%

(n=14/33) of geographical references appearing on monuments connected individuals to Britain, primarily as a place of birth, whilst 57.6% (n=19) referenced Barbados, primarily as a place of late residence. By the eighteenth century, there was a growing divide with only 30.7% (n=42/137) of geographical references being British, and 64.9% (n=95/137) referencing Barbados, with both locations cited as places of birth, residence, death and burial. There was only a slight decline in British location references in the nineteenth and twentieth century, and an increase in the number and diversity of references to locations beyond Britain and Barbados. In the nineteenth century, when there was the highest rate of diversity in geographical references, there is also the highest frequency of commemorative events that included geographical connections (24%, n=336/1399). In Liverpool/Lancashire during the eighteenth century, 10.3% (n=50/484) of commemorative events included geographical information and 17.9% (n=10/56) of these referenced places that were outside of Britain. This corresponds with its transformation into a dominant, international port (in contrast to the seventeenth century in which all geographical references were within Britain). By the nineteenth century, 17.8% (n=298/1672) of commemorative events included geographical information, and the diversity of countries cited had also increased. Like Barbados, this was followed by a decline to 9.3% (n=126/1358) of commemorative events in the twentieth century, despite ever increasing diversity. This decline is possibly associated with both the post-Victorian decline in elaborate commemorative monuments, which included the simplification of monument inscriptions, but also the increasing normativity of global connections. Cambridgeshire maintained a much lower proportion of commemorative events with geographical information throughout the period of study (only 3.8%, n=3/78 of monuments from 1700 to1799, peaking at 10.2%, n=99/971) of monuments 1800-1899). Moreover, very few of these references were ever based outside of Britain until the twentieth century, when 31.3% (n=5/16) of geographical references were in other countries, primarily in relation to the First World War.

Table 5.3 Proportion of commemorative events with geographical references in Barbados, Liverpool/Lancashire, and Cambridge/Cambridgeshire.

| | 1600-1699 | | | 1700-1799 | | | 1800-1899 | | | 1900-1950 | | |
	#w/	w/out	%w/	#w/	w/out	%w/	#w/	w/out	%w/	#w/	w/out	%w/
Barbados	23	105	18.0	73	436	14.3	336	1063	24.0	54	475	10.2
Liverpool/ Lancashire	3	9	25	50	434	10.3	298	1374	17.8	126	1232	9.3
Cambridge/ Cambridgeshire	1	6	14.3	3	75	3.8	99	872	10.2	47	875	5.4

Table 5.4 Proportion of geographical references to Britain (Br) and abroad in commemorative events in Barbados, Liverpool/Lancashire, and Cambridge/Cambridgeshire.

	1600-1699			1700-1799			1800-1899			1900-1950		
	# of refs	% Br	%non-Br	# of refs	% Br	%non-Br	# of refs	% Br	%non-Br	# of refs	% Br	%non-Br
Barbados	33	42.4	57.6	137	30.7	69.3	500	29.8	70.2	72	27.8	72.2
Liverpool/ Lancashire	6	100	0	56	82.1	17.9	310	92.3	7.7	140	60.0	40.0
Cambridge/ Cambridgeshire	3	100	0	7	100	0	104	93.3	6.7	16	68.8	31.3

These trends clearly result from the different experiences of colonial expansion and globalization in a colony, a port town (and hinterlands), and a more rural region. Barbados had a higher rate of diversity in references throughout the study period, in addition to higher proportions of commemorative events with geographical references, and higher proportions that extended outside of Britain. For Liverpool/Lancashire, similar patterns did not arise until the port town expanded to become a centre for colonial projects. In the middle of the eighteenth century, geographical referencing on monuments highlights the increasingly global nature of families. In contrast, the more sheltered experience of Cambridgeshire families shows a much more limited experience of mobility, primarily focussed on movement within Britain. There was a decrease in geographical information in commemorative inscriptions in the twentieth century, but also a shift in experiences. In many ways, these results are to be expected based on the histories of these regions; however this analysis was necessary to confirm and establish the level of stability of these communities, the connections between the metropole and colonies, and the impact that this would have had on the experiences, strategies, and memories of families on either side of the Atlantic. Overall, it is evident that as families both in Britain and in British colonies dealt with ever-changing geographical networks and broadened family distribution, experiences of death and choices in commemoration also shifted.

Transatlantic Family Identity

Given the spectrum of experiences of geographical diversity and mobility evident in the previous section, regional variations in approaches to memory and commemoration as representations of identity and social structure can be used as a means of exploring the impact of British colonial developments from the seventeenth to twentieth centuries. In particular, the analysis of recorded social relationships, status and other facets of identity in commemorative inscriptions reveal important similarities and differences when compared

to Barbadian practices. Overall, the communication of family identity on monuments in British samples took largely the same form as those in Barbados. The direct referencing of family identity and commemoration as self-representation provides the opportunity to explore the choices and strategies behind these investments more directly. In Barbados, the commemoration of family relationships, status and other aspects of a deceased individual's character or identity varied temporally, at least in part as a result of the social value that such a material form of communication and memory could hold (see Chapter 4). Comparing these patterns with those in Britain highlights the impact of colonialism and the character of community on commemorative practice.

The British samples fell into a similar spectrum as the frequency of geographical references, with Cambridge and Cambridgeshire demonstrating the most limited rate of commemorated family relationships, and Lancashire falling in the middle (Figure 5.45). Despite the fact that cities, particularly port towns, were seen to have less traditional family structures than rural parishes, Liverpool demonstrated the highest rate of family relationships indicated in commemorative events. This evidence suggests that commemorative monuments were integrated into processes of solidifying shifting family structures, by advertising and negotiating family identity in unstable communities. In particular, the majority of Liverpool commemorative events included at least one social relationship (n=1646/2486, 66.2%). The proportion of commemorative events with and without social relationships fluctuates throughout this period, however 50-80% demonstrated extra investment in commemorating family relationships. Until the 1870s, the majority of these references were to parent/offspring relationships, but this was overtaken by spousal relationships in the twentieth century. Liverpool also showed the greatest diversity in the types of family relationship commemorated, particularly in the late eighteenth and the nineteenth century (with 8.8% of relationships being siblings, grandparents, and other family members). At a slightly lower frequency, 58.2% (n=623/1070) of commemorative events in Lancashire included social relationships. Although the temporal distribution of the Lancashire sample is more limited, family references appear slightly more stable across the period of study, with potentially higher rates of social relationships commemorated in the eighteenth century. There was also lower diversity in the types of relationships commemorated (5.5% of relationships falling outside the nuclear family), with spouse and parent/offspring relationships dominating before the 1870s, after which spousal relationships overtake all others in commemorative inscriptions.

In Cambridgeshire, the overall proportion of commemorative events with social relationships drops to 44.4% (n=432/972). The diversity of social relationships commemorated was extremely low, with only 3.9% of relationships other than parent,
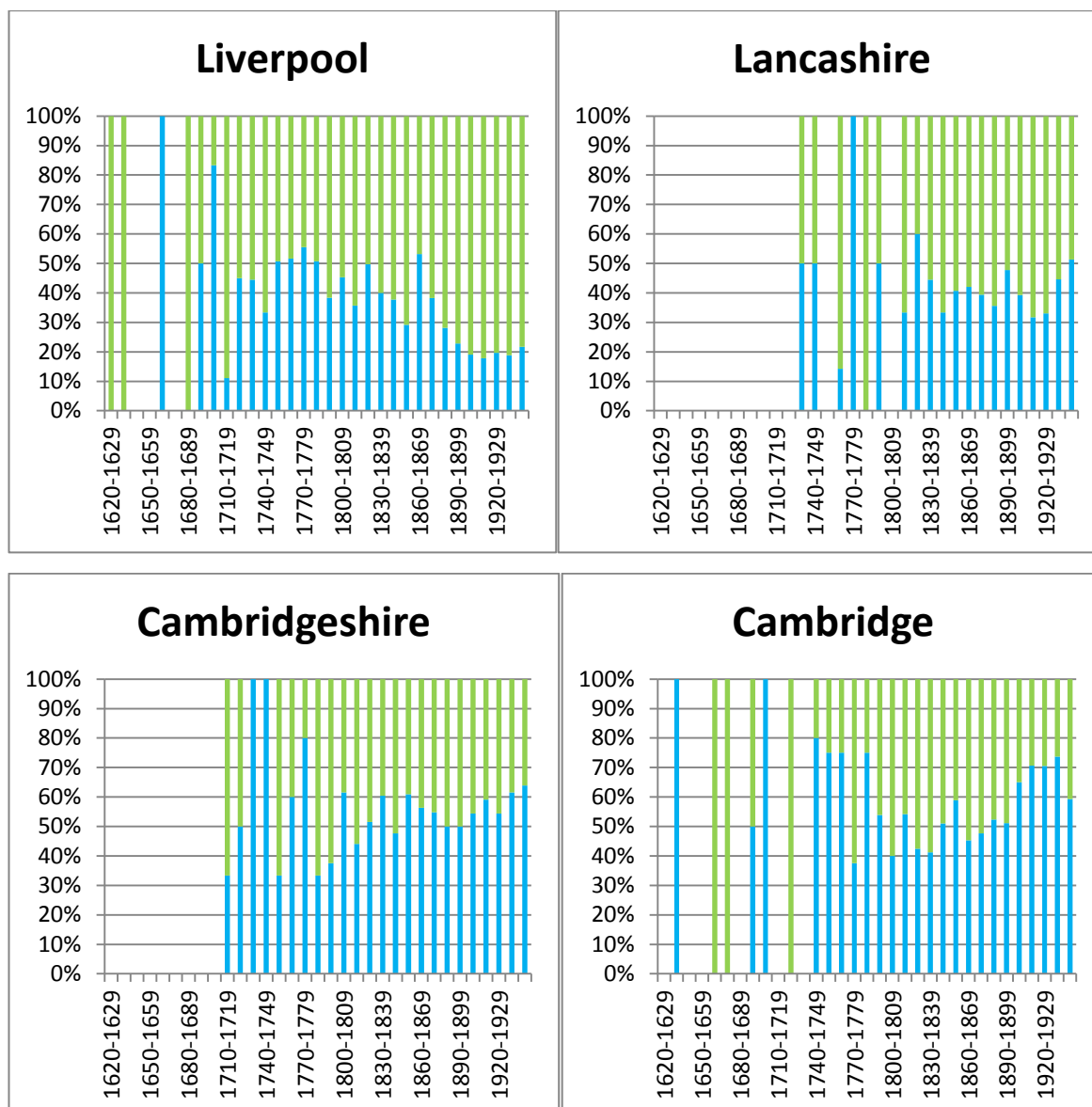
Figure 5.45 Proportion of commemorative events with (green) and without (blue) social relationships in Liverpool, Lancashire, Cambridgeshire and Cambridge.

child or spouse. Cambridge falls marginally lower in the proportion of commemorative events with social relationships (41.2%, n=416/1010). However, the diversity of relationships referenced was closer to Lancashire, with 5.3% of relationships being siblings, grandparents/grandchildren, and other family members. Both Cambridge and Cambridgeshire were dominated by spousal relationships, particularly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with parent/child relationships secondary. In comparison, the commemorative patterns of Barbados are much less stable. Fluctuating from 52.1% (n=161/309) between 1630 and 1739 to only 22.9% (n=214/932) between 1870 and 1950,

the lowest rates of any of the regions of study. The high rate of social relationships also corresponds to a period in which there was the greatest social flux in Barbadian communities. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were defined by a shift in the commemorated community following emancipation; the newly emancipated population replicated earlier styles of commemoration, but inscriptions included less detail, likely the combination of lower economic means and also different values and strategies (Chapter 7).

In Britain, the investment in commemorating the status of individuals took a similar format to commemorative inscriptions in Barbados, with titles or occupations following the names of the deceased, or their family relations. Although there are other means of displaying status, particularly in the erection of elaborate monuments, the lack of comparable data on monument style across all the datasets did not allow for this type of analysis. Nonetheless, text-based references to status are the most explicit approach and demonstrate important differences in commemorative practice and values. Notably, the rates at which status was commemorated were far lower in Britain than in Barbados, where 36% of commemorative events included at least one indicator of status, and as much as 52% of commemorative events between 1630 and 1819. Of the British samples, Liverpool had the highest proportions of commemorative events with indicators of status with 11.7% (n=290/2486) referencing titles or occupations (Figure 5.46). However, this proportion is as high as 20.5% (n=239/1166) between 1620 and 1860. These were primarily references to the deceased individual's status or occupation (n=188/277, 67.9%); between 25-40% of commemorative events used relatives' status and there were never references to non-relatives as indicators of status. Lancashire had even fewer references to status, with only 6.8% (n=73/1070) of commemorative events fitting this category. This increases to 9.3% (n=50/539) during the peak period between 1830 and 1919. With 76.2% of these referring to the deceased individual's status, reliance on the status of relatives was much more limited and was almost exclusively used for children under the age of 18, who would not yet have accrued their own status through wealth or employment. Cambridgeshire follows with 5.5% (n=53/972) of commemorative events including references to status or occupation, increasing as high as 7.7% (n=26/337) between 1810 and 1879. Cambridgeshire did have slightly higher rates of reference to family members' status, with 36.5% (n=19/52), though again, this was typically in the case of younger individuals. Finally, Cambridge had only 4.9% (n=49/1010) of commemorative events including status indicators. Between 1750 and 1879, this proportion increases to 7.7% (31/401). The vast majority of these were references to the deceased individual's own status (74.5%). The proportion of references to status on commemorative events in these regions suggests that

the use of status references in commemorative contexts holds most value where the status or position of an individual (or their family) is not already common knowledge, that is, in transient colonial and port communities.
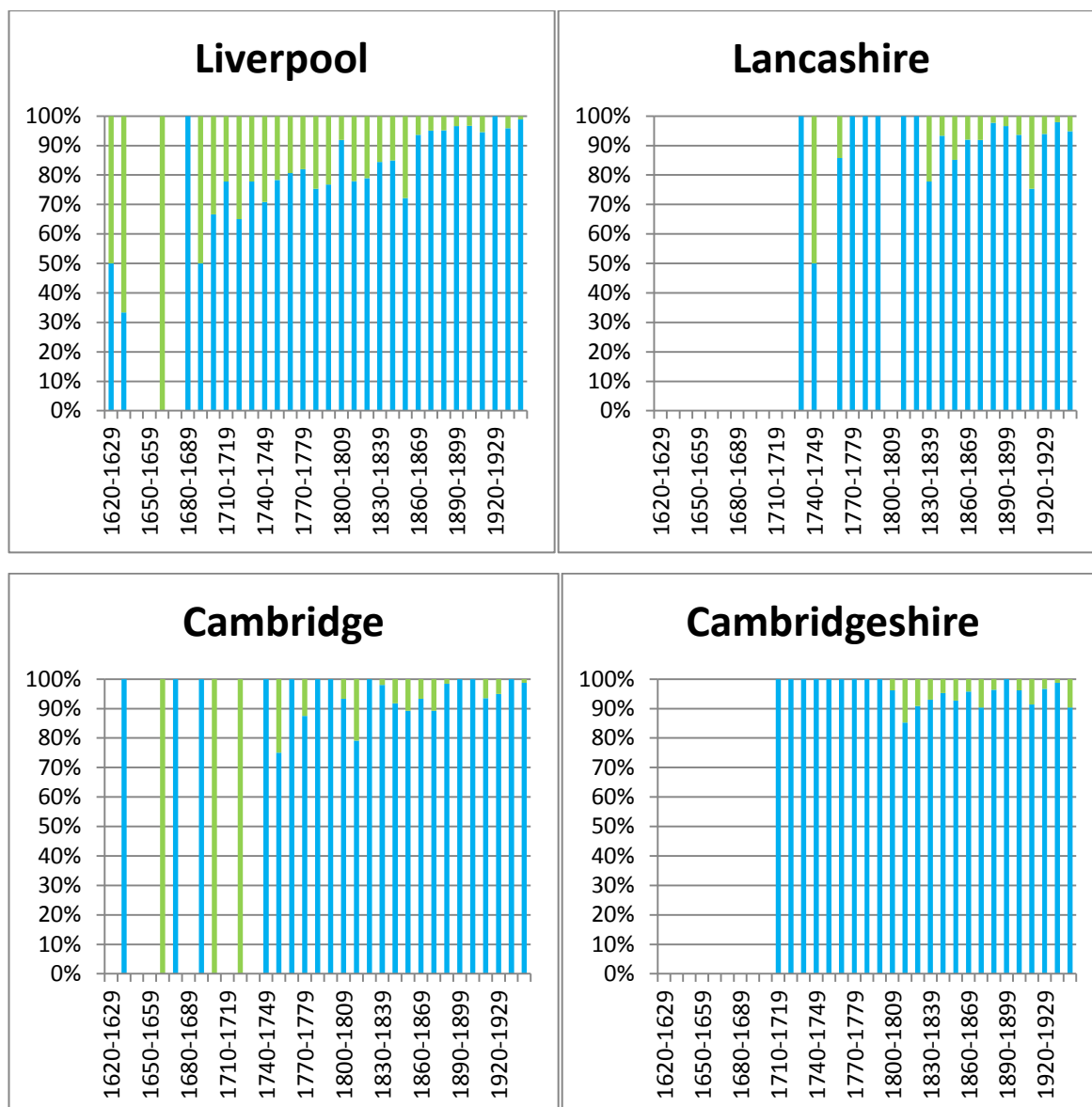
Figure 5.46 Proportion of commemorative events with (green) and without (blue) indicators of status in Liverpool, Lancashire, Cambridge, and Cambridgeshire.

Finally, additional details about character or identity, such as family role[3], virtues, religious nature, political alliances, etc., were also invested in to varying degrees in these different communities (Figure 5.47). Liverpool had the highest proportions of commemorative events with additional identity information (n=502/2486, 20.2%). The majority of these included details about the deceased individual's role in their family and religion, though their virtues and service were also common themes. This proportion drops

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[3] Family roles are here defined as general references to an individual being a mother, father, etc. without indicating specific relationships to other individuals.

much lower in Lancashire, with only 8.9% (n=95/1070) of commemorative events containing additional details, primarily family roles and service. Cambridge had similarly low levels of additional detail in commemorative events, with only 7.3% (n=74/1010) containing indicators of identity, dominated by references to family role (n=57/75, 76%). Finally, Cambridgeshire included 11.8% of commemorative events with extra details. The Barbados sample fell between Liverpool and the other locations of study in the Britain, with 16.8% (n=495/2941) of commemorative events displaying additional character information, predominantly family roles, virtues, and service, with much lower rates of reference to religion. Political affiliations and masonic references were also more frequent.
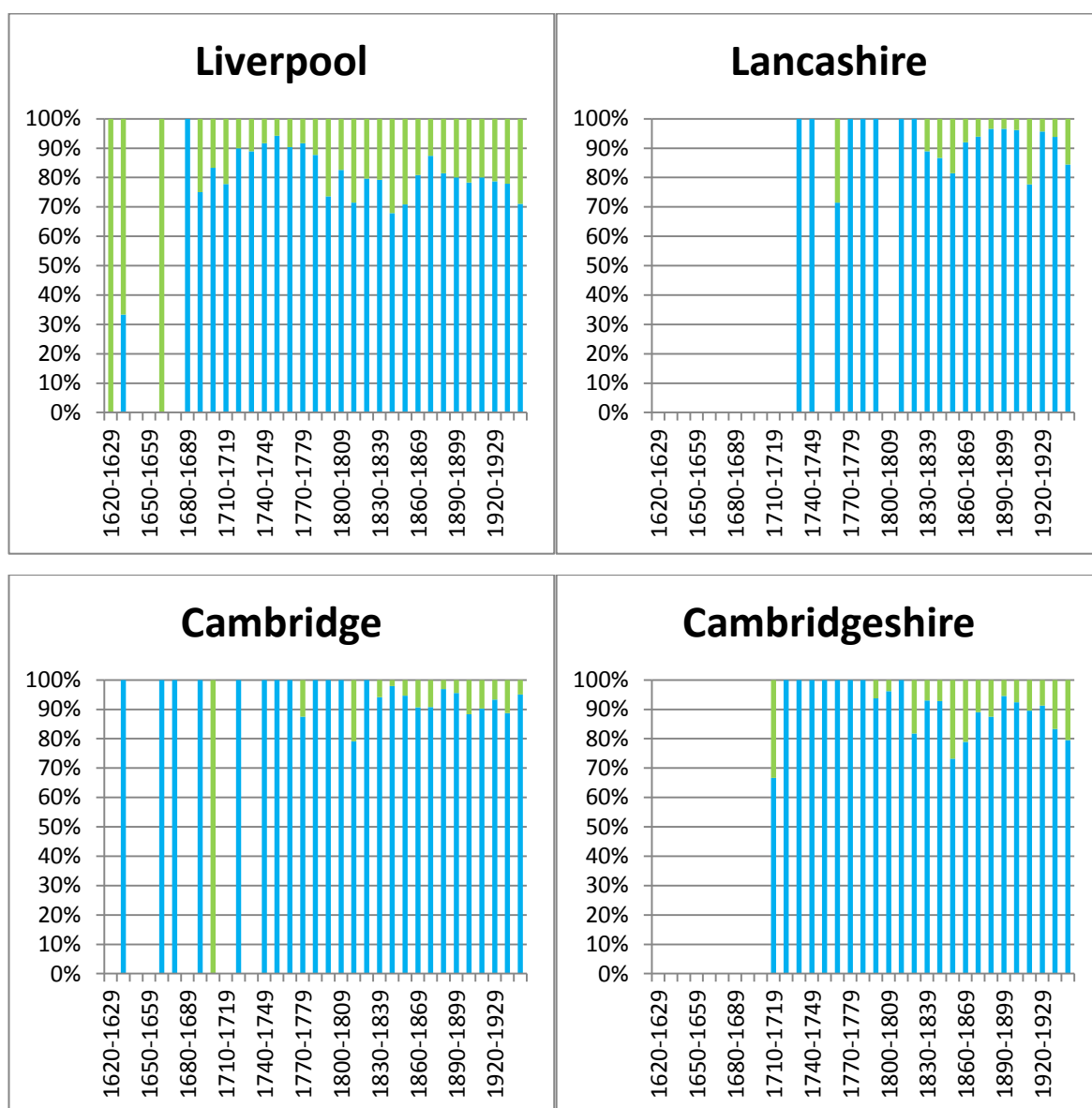
Figure 5.47 Proportion of commemorative events with (green) and without (blue) details about identity in Liverpool, Lancashire, Cambridge, and Cambridgeshire.

Overall, these patterns in additional investment and effort in the communicative value of commemoration suggests that it is heavily tied to community stability and

mobility, intimately connected to colonialism and experiences of empire. In the small parishes of Cambridgeshire, even with some movement in and out of communities, one's status or occupation would come to be known reasonably quickly. Direct referencing of family relations, status indicators or other information about the character of the deceased was less necessary, as the individual would already be slotted into that social network in living memory, and monuments therefore played a different role. In communities like Liverpool, and surrounding hinterlands, families relied more heavily on these additional references to assist in explicitly communicating the status and relationships of the deceased and their living relatives, creating a more permanent indicator of their position in the midst of their transiency or in some cases assisting in the achievement or negotiation of status. At the other extreme, where new communities were constantly being created and transformed in Barbados, monuments served as a place where the position of the deceased, their family relationships, and their virtues, in addition to that of any living family members, could be solidified. In more stable communities, briefly referencing family relations would be enough to place them within that community, including their position or status, and their reputation and character. In colonial communities like Barbados, the use of family names alone would not communicate as much information, and thus there is greater investment in communicating a wider range of information about the deceased and their family.

Transatlantic Monument Usage

Patterns in monument use also reveal the strategies and social value of inscriptions and monuments in communicating, creating and transferring memory. The comparison of how long monuments were kept in use, the propensity to erect new monuments or add to existing monuments, and the length of time between death and commemoration in Britain and Barbados highlights the ways in which family commemorative practice was influenced by experiences of geographical mobility, community stability, economic means, and social expectations. The use and reuse of monuments punctuated family sequences of commemoration, and the choices behind location and type of commemoration had long-term emotional, economic and social implications. The reuse of monuments may have been economically-motivated, but it could also be infused with social meaning, connecting individuals and family heritage, conveying socio-political information, and materializing identity and position. The choice to erect a new monument could be motivated by a desire to break with the past and reinvent identities, but it could also be motivated by a lack of space on old monuments, the desire to follow current fashions, or an interest to draw attention to a particular individual. Interpreting monument use and reuse, then, draws on a complicated web of strategies, practicalities, and materialities. In Barbados, 57.3%

(n=1676/2927) commemorative events involved the placement of a new monument, while 6.7% of commemorative events added monuments to existing structures (n=197/2927) and 35.7% (n=1046/2927) added inscriptions to existing monuments. Of the monuments erected, 65.3% would only ever commemorate a single individual. The majority of commemorative sequences longer than a single event only represented two individuals, but they could represent as many as 17 individuals, typically occurring over a period of 0 to 20 years after death, but could be as much as 349 at the most extreme. Monuments were usually in use for less than 40 years, but could also be used for up to 124 years. Overall, monuments in Barbados had reasonably short sequences of commemoration, with high proportions of new monuments and single-individual monuments. At the same time, the length of time elapsing between death and commemoration suggests that that these short sequences were not wholly the product of mobility and temporary stays in Barbados; memory and intention to commemorate the dead remained over long periods of time, perhaps restrained by economic concerns and social pressures.

Liverpool, in contrast, had the highest rates of continuous use of monuments. Only 35.0% (n=883/2520) of commemorative events involved erecting a new monument (Figure 5.48). Commemoration on existing monuments was far more common, with 54.1% (n=1363/2520) of commemorative events being added to existing monuments at the time of death and 10.4% (n=263/2520) being delayed until the death of another individual being commemorated. Higher proportions of secondary commemoration also resulted in longer sequences of commemoration (Figure 5.49) and longer periods of use for monuments. Only 27.7% (n=238/858) of monuments were used to commemorate a single individual, and nearly half of monuments were used for three or more individuals (n=414/858, 48.3%). The longest sequences of commemoration were 11 commemorative events long, for as many as 15 individuals. Some monuments were in use for more than a hundred years, and 17.1% (n=216) of commemorative events took place more than 40 years after the initial placement of the monument (typically representing three or more generations of the same family). Although only about 6.5% (n=149/2459) of individuals had delayed commemoration, 14.8% (n=22/149) of belated commemoration was more than 40 years after death and was occasionally delayed by a hundred years. Despite the transient nature of Liverpool as a growing port town, the commemorative sequence shows considerable stability in family traditions of memorialisation and monument use. This may have been influenced by economic constraints and the ability to invest in new monuments for each death; however, it is clear that the grouping of related individuals on a single monument was also preferred in some cases. Many families had long commemorative sequences, both

on single monuments and over multiple monuments, and long periods of use demonstrating that, despite family mobility, places of memory remained stable, returning to the same churchyards and cemeteries for multiple generations for commemoration, if not burial.
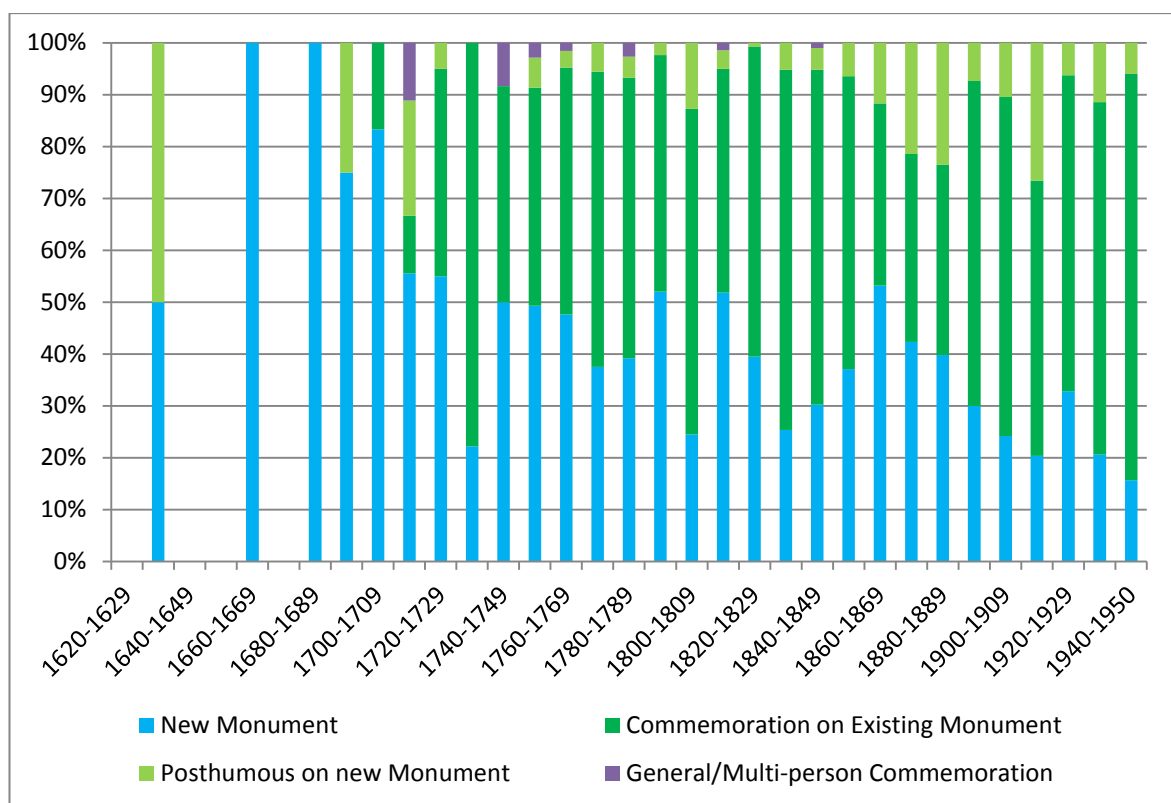
Figure 5.48 Temporal distribution of the type of commemoration in Liverpool.
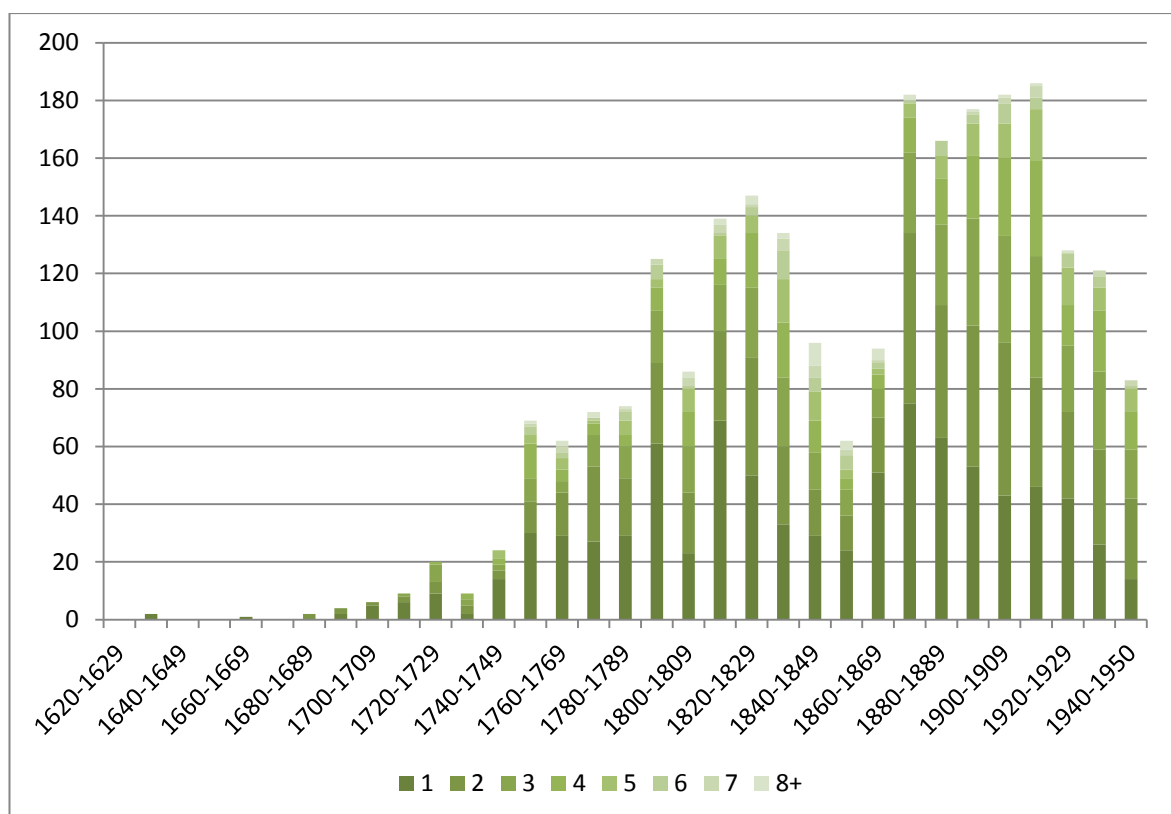
Figure 5.49 Temporal distribution of length of commemorative sequences in Liverpool.

In Lancashire, 42.1% (n=455/1082) of commemorative events involved the placement of a new monument, in contrast to 57.6% (n=623/1082) of commemorative events being added to existing monuments (Figure 5.50). Only 32.7% (194/482) of monuments commemorate a single individual, and 31.7% of monuments commemorate three or more individuals (n=145/456) (Figure 5.51). Monuments included up to 10 commemorative events, and as many as five generations of a family. Although a limited number of monuments were in use for more than 100 years, only 4.3% (n=38/889) were in use for more than 40 years, indicative of a much shorter period of use than in Liverpool. There were higher levels of belated commemoration of individuals, with 15.7% (n=166/1055) of commemorative events demonstrating delays between death and formal commemoration. Nevertheless, this was never more than 50 years after death, and in 78.3% (n=130/166) of cases, commemoration took place less than 20 years after death. Overall, these rural parishes that were well-connected to and influenced by Liverpool showed lower rates of monument reuse, with shorter commemorative sequences and shorter periods of use. Although there was a slightly higher rate of delayed commemoration, the period of delay was shorter, and may have resulted from the lower economic stability and prosperity of small rural parishes. Although families still showed some stability in creating sequences of commemoration on individual or groups of monuments, these tended to be slightly shorter than family sequences in Liverpool.
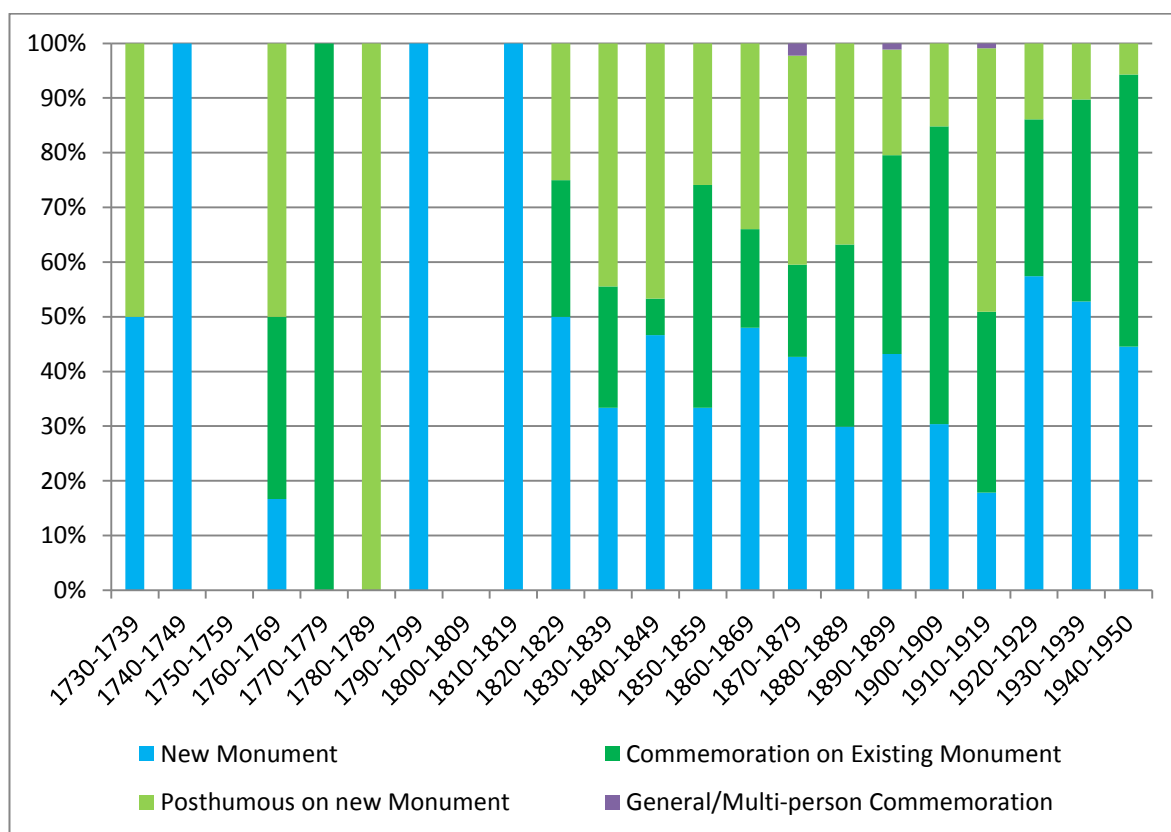
Figure 5.50 Temporal distribution of the type of commemoration in Lancashire.
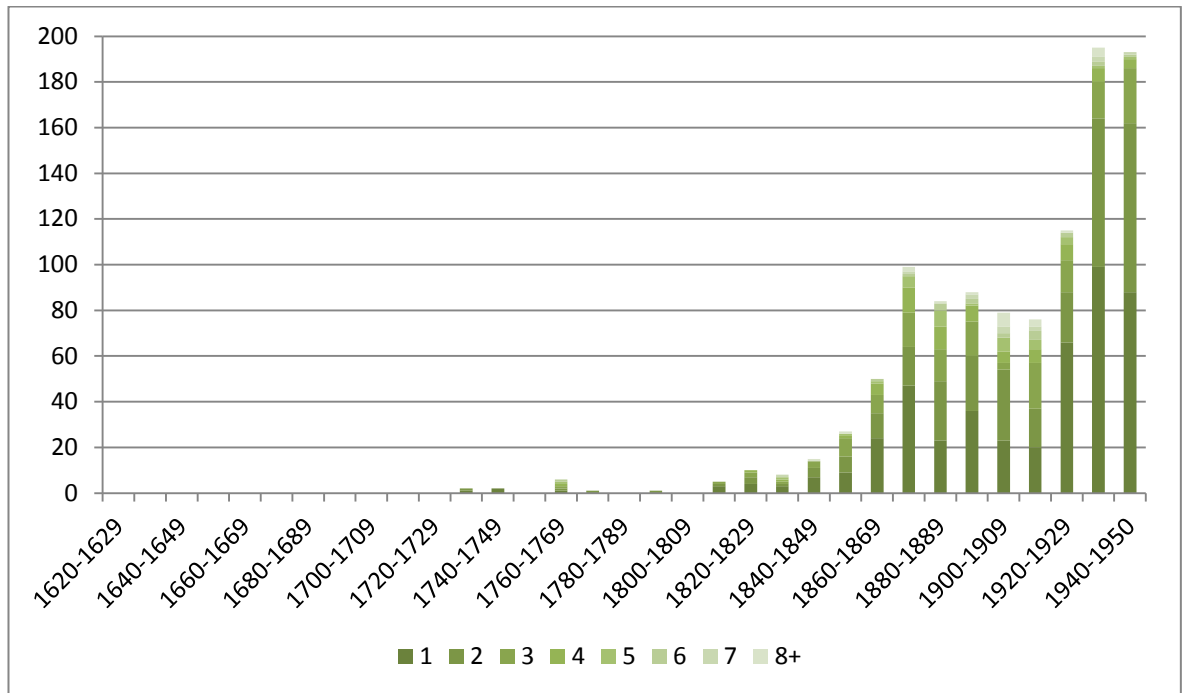
Figure 5.51 Temporal distribution of length of commemorative sequences in Lancashire.

In contrast, Cambridge commemoration includes much higher proportions of single-individual monuments, and shorter sequences of commemoration. The placement of new monuments (n=482/1054, 45.7%) in comparison to reuse of existing monuments (n=571/1054, 54.2%) is relatively proportionate to the Lancashire sample (Figure 5.52). The long-term reuse of monuments, however, was slightly lower; 40.2% (n=193/482) of monuments commemorated only a single individual, whilst roughly a quarter of monuments commemorated three or more individuals (n=124/482, 25.7%) (Figure 5.53). The longest commemorative sequences were 9 events long, with as many as 11 individuals represented, and as many as three generations. These sequences could be more than a hundred years long, however only 5.3% (n=48/905) were longer than 40 years. Commemoration could be delayed for more than fifty years, however 68.0% (n=70/103) of delayed commemoration took place within twenty years of death. Overall, commemorative patterns of use and reuse in Cambridge have a number of similarities with Lancashire, though with slightly longer periods of use. As a university town, Cambridge had a high level of geographical mobility with regards to its residents, as students and scholars were coming and going on a regular basis. Well-represented amongst the commemorated population, the university community influenced the commemorative patterns of Cambridge during this period. Evidence relating to geographical connections and mobility previously examined in this chapter suggested that Lancashire and Cambridge may have had similar levels of movement and community stability, though it may have had higher levels of wealth. Patterns of monument use and reuse reinforce these observations.
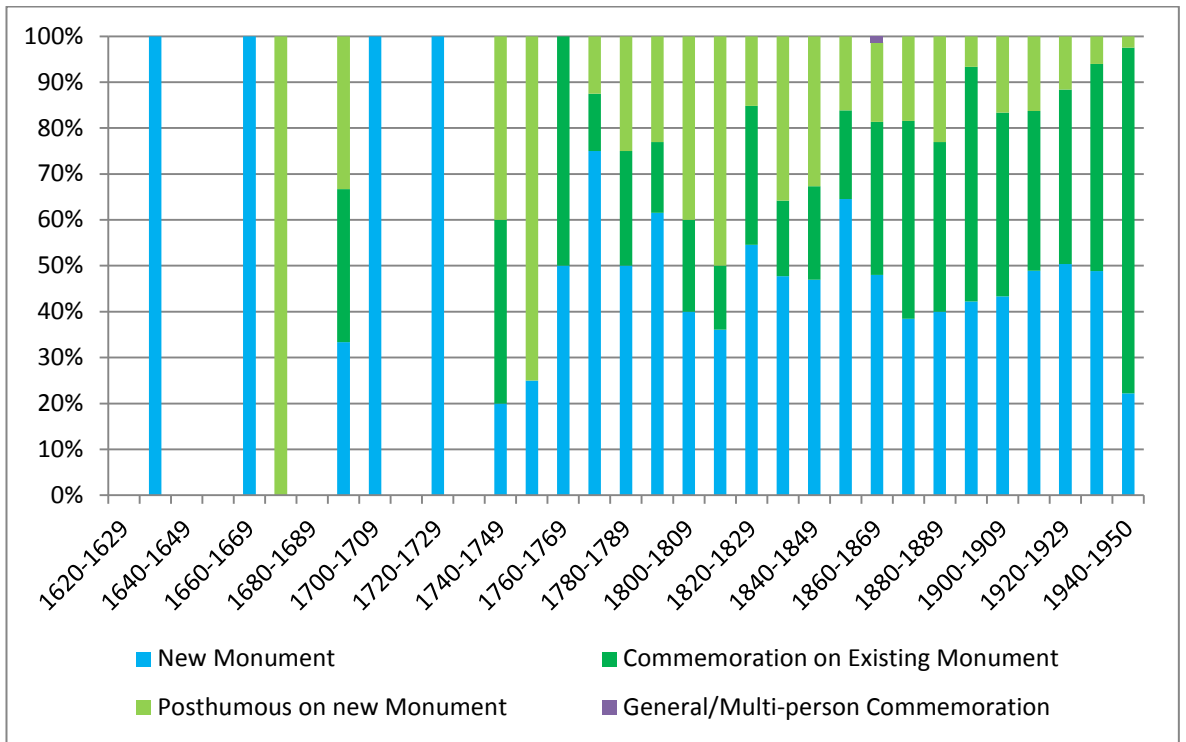
Figure 5.52 Temporal distribution of the type of commemoration in Cambridge.
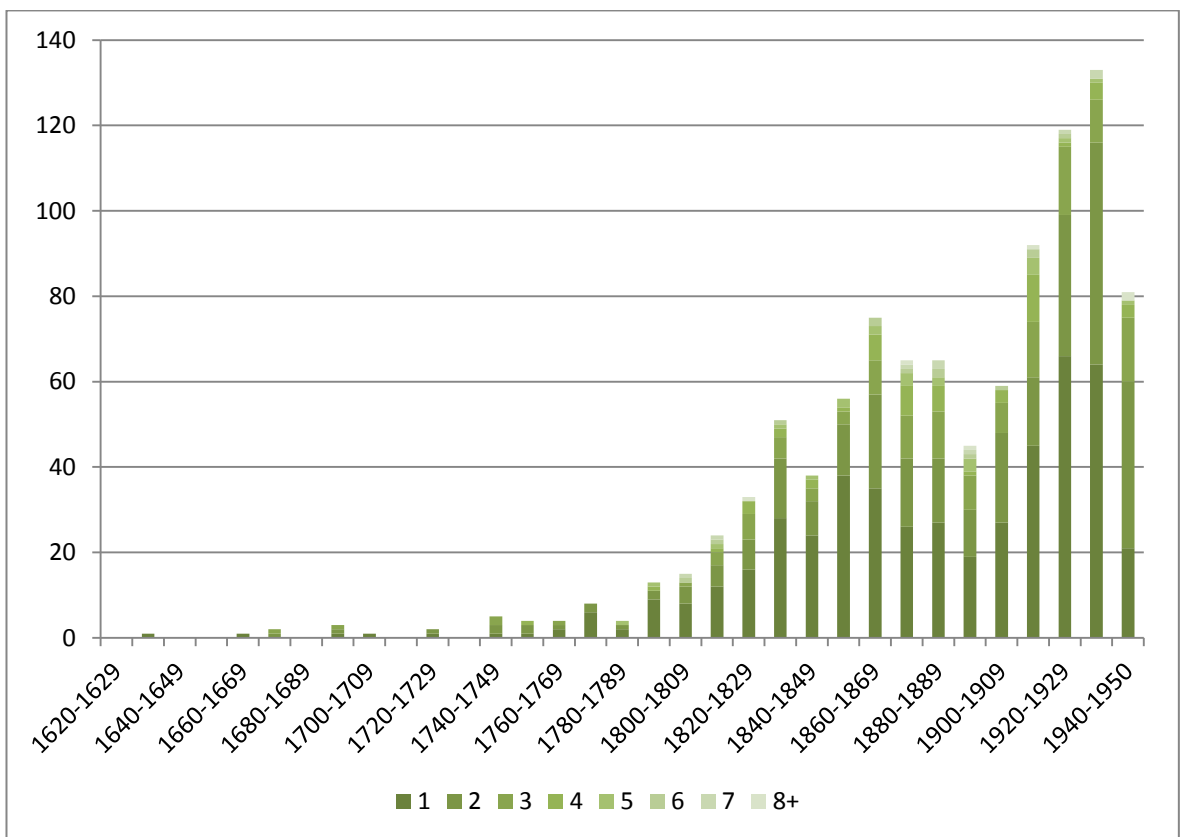
Figure 5.53 Temporal distribution of length of commemorative sequences in Cambridge.

Finally, Cambridgeshire showed the lowest rates of monument reuse and the shortest sequences of use. In particular, 63.3% (n=635/1036) of commemorative events resulted in the placement of a new monument, whereas only 38.1% (n=395/1036) of

commemorative events were added to existing monuments (Figure 5.54). Cambridgeshire monuments also had the shortest sequences of commemoration, with 57.1% (n=361/632) of monuments commemorating only a single individual, and only 7.1% of monuments commemorating more than three individuals (Figure 5.55). The longest sequence was 9 commemorative events; however, this was on the only monument that extended beyond 5 individuals and the only monument to have more than three generations of the same family represented. Although monuments could be in use for more than a hundred years, only 1.9% (n=17/893) of monuments were used for more than 40 years. Similarly, commemoration could be delayed for more than 70 years, however, 81.0% (n=64/79) of delayed commemoration took place within 20 years of death. Cambridgeshire shows dramatically lower rates of monument reuse, in addition to shorter sequences of commemoration than any of the other regions. Although Cambridgeshire parishes still saw families moving regularly, it was generally over much shorter distances and there was a higher level of family stability and traditions of residence than in rural Lancashire, or urban regions like Liverpool and Cambridge. These patterns may have been influenced by economic factors, including delaying commemoration and limiting the regularity with which families could commemorate their deceased members. There is nevertheless the sense that families in Cambridgeshire were less likely to create longstanding commemorative traditions and sequences of use, even when the economic means would have allowed it.
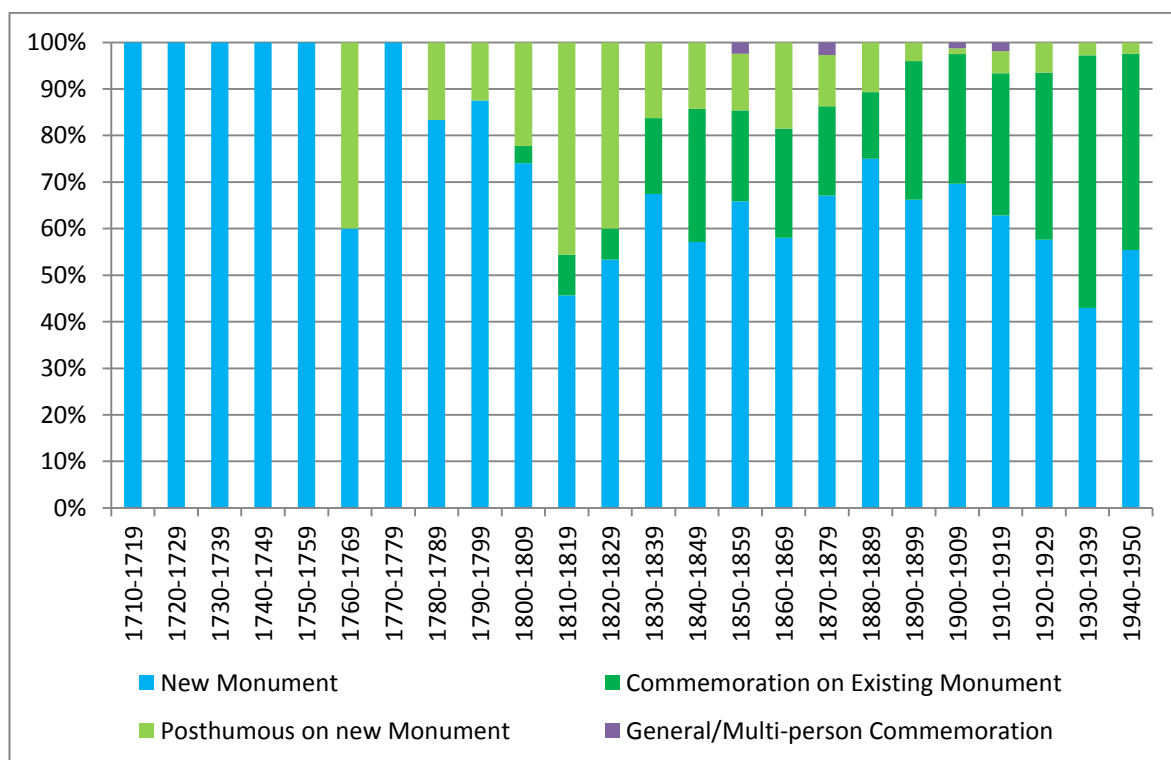
Figure 5.54 Temporal distribution of the type of commemoration in Cambridgeshire.
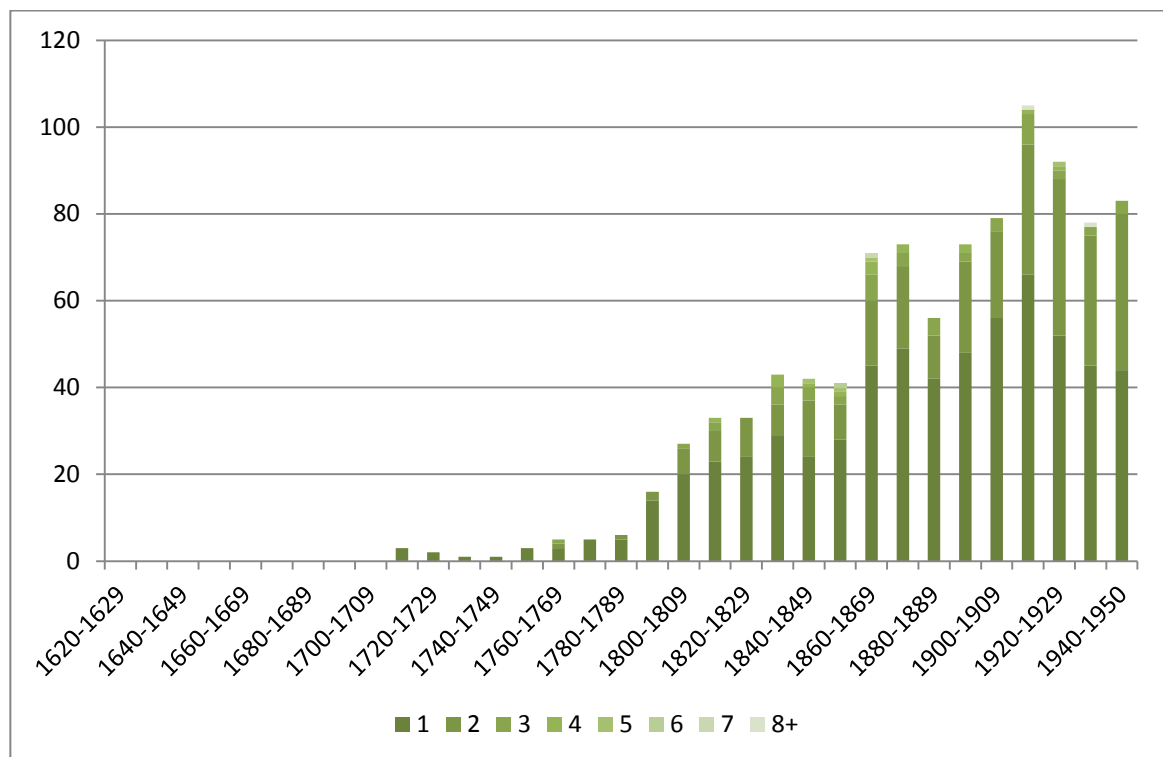
Figure 5.55 Temporal distribution of length of commemorative sequences in Cambridgeshire.

A TRANSATLANTIC VIEW OF COMMEMORATION

The lives, deaths and commemoration of individuals like Thomazin Thornhill are testament to the transatlantic nature of British experiences, and the profound changes that occurred between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries. Births, schooling and apprenticeships, marriages, and deaths could be used to maintain family connections along with the slow but nonetheless steady stream of communication between colonies and the metropole, and between families on either side of the Atlantic. A comparison of monuments in Barbados, Liverpool, Lancashire, Cambridge and Cambridgeshire was necessary to demonstrate that, despite these communities working with a similar repertoire of commemorative material culture and ongoing communication and movement between Britain and its colonies, there were very different practices of commemoration. These differences stem largely from divergent strategies and values that families held, based on their encounters with and understandings of place, society and memory. Diverse experiences influenced both conscious decisions and situational frameworks, such as accessibility and economic ability, directing the types of information included in commemorative inscriptions, in addition to patterns of monument use and reuse. These overarching trends in commemoration contribute to our understanding of the lived experiences of the families that erected these monuments, the impact of colonialism on

their day-to-day lives, and the ways that their approaches to memory and the dead was shaped and reshaped.

In the rural parishes of Cambridgeshire, colonies like Barbados were on the peripheries of a life that was defined by agriculture (Figure 5.56) (cf. Horn 1984, Howkins 1991). While gentrification, estate formation and enclosure, population shifts, and improvements in standards of living framed substantial changes for rural society, up until the twentieth century, most families still spent generations in the same county, if not the same parish (Games 2009: 35-36). As a result, small communities remained relatively stable, there was generally little room for social or geographical mobility, and the reputation and position of a family was generally common knowledge. Monuments in Cambridgeshire reflected and contributed to this way of life; while there was investment in elaborate or even ostentatious monuments (Cannon 1989), there was less emphasis on the level of detail communicated by inscriptions than in the other regions of study. These monuments had the most limited range of references to social relationships, status, geographical connections, and additional information on identity and character. Commemorative choices were undoubtedly influenced by the fact that there was less to be gained by advertising, the background of the family given that it was more likely to be common, community knowledge; aspirational commemoration may have occurred to some degree but the monumental record suggests a much more simplified textual representation of the dead. In small, stable communities, there was less value in adding additional information regarding the status, virtues and service of the deceased; the name alone would summon living memory and knowledge of that individual, or at the very least, their family relations. A monument's period of use tended to be shorter, and there were higher proportions of new monuments than reuse of existing monuments. Sequences and generations of use also tended to be shorter, with lower proportions of monuments commemorating multiple family members than in other regions. Overall, while investment in monuments was clearly relevant and meaningful in this community, with continued investment in elaborate monuments and high proportions of single-person monuments, their communicative value to individuals with no first-hand experience of the individual or their family was limited, reflecting the familiarity of the intended audience.

The city of Cambridge was more cosmopolitan than the rural parishes that surrounded it; with a prominent university at its core, the city attracted a much wider breadth of the British population, including some from distant colonies (Pounds 2004) (Figure 5.57). The commemorated community was a mixture of the student population, which was temporary and at this time often young, single men, and the more long-term

Figure 5.56 Farm labourers in Chatteris, Cambridgeshire, early 20th century (Cambridgeshire Community Archive Network n.d.).

Figure 5.57 Students at Christ's College, Cambridge, c. 1914 (Cambridge University n.d.).

population of Cambridge, involved in the university or in other professions and trades based in the city. Although there was therefore some flux in the community, there was also economic buoyancy of the area; regular investment in monuments reflects a level of stability. The commemorative patterns of Cambridge straddle the patterns seen in rural Cambridgeshire and those of Liverpool and Lancashire. There were slightly higher rates of investment in directly communicative detail in commemorative inscriptions, such as status, family relationships, and life histories that is owed at least in part to the greater value of this type of investment in transmitting memory to a less stable community. Monument reuse was also more common than in rural Cambridgeshire, with longer commemorative

sequences and more generations of the same family sharing a monument. There were less frequent delays in commemoration, influenced to some degree by the financial means of families. Nonetheless, erecting new monuments for the deceased was not necessarily a priority; higher levels of monument reuse suggest that there was some value associated with commemorating members of a family on a single monument, possibly as a reaction to greater levels of mobility experienced in the city of Cambridge.

The communities of rural Lancashire had yet a different way of life and experience of the colonial era, and therefore a different pattern of commemoration. Similar to Cambridgeshire in its reliance on agriculture, it later turned to an increasingly industrial economy, based largely in textile production and the processing of New World products (Walton 2003). Rural parishes in Lancashire were small, dependent on large numbers of labourers, and included many families that remained in the same region for generations (Figure 5.58). However, with its proximity to Liverpool, a primary portal to the colonial world, Lancashire residents were also involved in, and exposed to, higher levels of geographical mobility and social flux (Elder 2007). This integrated these rural parishes into an increasingly global world, but generally with less economic stability and strength than Liverpool. The commemorative strategies of Lancashire included higher investment in direct communication, including more extensive details in commemorative events, such as status, family and background. On the other hand, there were more single-individual monuments and less reuse, resulting in shorter sequences of commemoration. Higher rates of belated or delayed commemoration suggest that although families may not have been able to invest in commemoration immediately, a level of stability in the communities meant that commemoration held value for generations and was still meaningful decades after death. Overall, these patterns suggest that residents of these rural Lancashire parishes were reacting to slightly higher rates of geographical mobility and social flux, particularly in the late nineteenth century and twentieth century, and that families maintained connections to places of burial and memory for extended periods of time.

Of the four regions included in British sample, Liverpool was by far the most heavily exposed to and involved in colonial shifts. Growing from a small port town to dominate industries like ship building, shipping, and the slave trade, and accumulating the wealth that went along with this position, the city attracted an ever-changing community that sought opportunities both on British soil and abroad (Clemens 1976, Morgan 2007, Walton 1987: 68-96) (Figure 5.59). Commemoration in Liverpool placed a high level of emphasis on the communication of individual and family identity through frequent references to linneage, status and geographical connections. The economic means of this

cosmopolitan society is reflected in the elaborate and ornate monuments that were erected in this flourishing city. However, despite the high levels of instability and movement of people in Liverpool, and the wealth of many residents, there are long sequences of reuse of monuments, with multiple generations of families using monuments. There are frequent cases of individuals dying and being buried elsewhere, in Britain and abroad, and being commemorated on family monuments in Liverpool. In the face of increasingly dispersed communities and families, monuments were utilized for their social and emotional value, as stable places in which to remember and to transmit memory.

Figure 5.58 Lancashire school children, 1884 (National Archives n.d.).

Figure 5.59 A ferry in the busy port of Liverpool, 1890 (Streets of Liverpool n.d.).

Defined by the global experiences of its colonists, and their strategies and approaches to memory and the dead, monuments in Barbados demonstrate some similarities with the practices and patterns of Liverpool. With the highest levels of investment in the detail of commemorative inscriptions, the colony's monuments recorded and transmitted extensive information about the deceased. These inscriptions included detailed information about living family members, status and occupation, geographical origins, and lengthy descriptions of the individual's virtues and background. Although monuments were in use for long periods of time, suggesting that at least some of the population remained stable on the island, there were also high rates of new monuments erected and single-individual monuments, possibly a reflection of both wealth and temporary stays. Nonetheless, like Liverpool, the commemorative practices of islanders suggest heavy investment in establishing their identity and place in new and ever-changing communities. The systematic analysis of commemorative patterns in Barbados and in four very different regions of Britain has highlighted overarching trends and traditions that stemmed from similar fashions and repertoires of commemorative material culture, but also the diverse ways that people approached death and memory in very different social, political and economic environments. With the establishment of metropolitan practices, and the ways in which commemorative practices can be understood in relation to social transformations, the remaining chapters of this thesis will focus on contextualizing changes in Barbadian commemoration, during the initial period of colonisation, sugar production, and slavery, and following abolition and emancipation and the lead-up to independence.

CHAPTER 6

COMMEMORATION IN THE AGE OF SETTLEMENT AND SUGAR, 1630-1800

A small marble plaque set into the wall of St. James Parish Church in the second half of the eighteenth century commemorates three individuals whose remains lie elsewhere (Figure 6.60). Easily missed amongst larger and more ornate monuments that crowd the walls of the church, this memorial subtly hints at the diversity of experiences and choices for dealing with the dead and their memory in colonial Barbados. William Holder, his wife, Susannah Holder, and their grandson, William Holder, were all buried on their estate of Black Rock (now Holder's Plantation). A vault, recently destroyed by development (Wendy Kidd, pers. comm.), was erected there for the same three individuals, in addition to commemorating Elizabeth, wife of the younger William Holder:

Here lieth Interred
The Bodies of the Honourable
William Holder Esq
Who departed this Life
On the 11th August 1705
Aged 48 Years
And of Mrs. Susanna Holder
Wife to the late
William Holder
Who departed this Life
On the 12th March 1725
Aged 57 Years
Also the Body
Of William Holder Esq
Grand-son to the above
William Holder
who died 14th Aug 1752
Aged 31
Mrs. Elizabeth Holder

wife of the above
Will Holder
who died in England June 19th 1783
and was buried at Hinton
near Bath Somersetshire

The estate, formerly owned by the Thornhill family (see Chapter 5), was acquired by Hon. William Holder sometime between 1680 and his death in 1705, when it passed to his son and remained in the Holder family until about 1815, when it was sold (BMHS n.d.a). Throughout the Holders' ownership of Black Rock, the plantation was also used as the family burial ground.
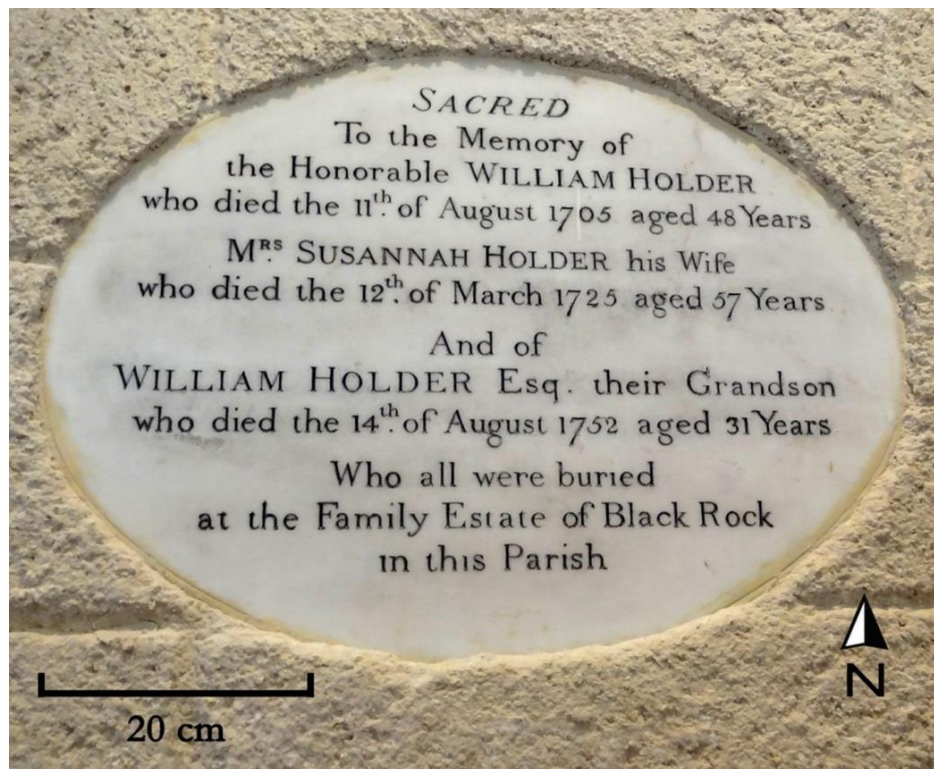
Figure 6.60 Monument in St. James Parish Church commemorating the Holder family.

The vault at Black Rock plantation was just one point in a wider network of commemoration; overall, the Holder family erected four monuments for six individuals, in two churches (St. James, 1752 and St. Philips, 1726) and on two plantations (Black Rock, 1705-1783, and Joe's River Plantation, 1771). This included the duplicated commemoration of William, Susannah, and their grandson William in a church and on a plantation in the same parish. Why were some family members buried on private property, whilst others were buried in the church? And why were three of these individuals commemorated with monuments both marking their graves on a plantation and on a wall of a church, and another individual buried in a churchyard in England, and commemorated on a plantation in Barbados? As in the cases of the Thornhills, Alleynes and Lascelles, as well

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as the trends in commemoration in Barbados more generally, the choices that the Holder family made in commemoration reflect their own social strategies and changing experiences of the colony. The role and value of monuments clearly extends beyond the function of grave markers, and the distribution of sites of burial and memory highlights the significance of space and place of memory. Their relationship to their plantation properties, their religious community and local community were actively expressed in private burials, public commemoration and colonial/metropolitan memory. As will be argued below, these monuments highlight the complexities of seventeenth and eighteenth century life in Barbados – the relationship between plantation and church, the geographical connections and global movements of families, conflicts in religious and social diversity and the nature of the bonds of empire, all of which influenced the values and motivations that defined choices to monumentalize the dead, which in turn can be used to explore the experiences of early British colonists and the ways that they negotiated new social, geographical, and political relationships.

Using the trends in commemoration in Barbados and Britain as a framework (outlined in Chapters 4 and 5), this chapter will consider the commemorative practices on the island between 1630[4] and 1800[5] in greater detail to explore the experiences, perceptions and actions of early settlers. Despite evidence for strong ties to Britain, sustained movement and communication, and efforts to transplant social institutions, the monumental record demonstrates a divide between Barbados and Britain. Small-scale case studies of Barbadian families will accompany more finely focussed analysis of commemoration to examine the ways in which memory material culture shaped and was shaped by early colonial life and death. This will contextualize the previously defined patterns in commemoration with the background, experiences and goals of the plantocracy. This chapter will also seek to draw conclusions about the lives and deaths of other social groups, who are less visible in the commemorative record. Finally, this discussion will explore the practice of burial on private property (as in the case of the abovementioned Holders), in the context of colonial commemoration. The ways in which early Barbadian families developed commemorative practices and family traditions chronicle the rapid social shifts in structures, communities, and identities, as the small island moved from fledgling colony to sugar giant.

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[4] Most of this discussion will focus on the period after 1650, as there are no examples of commemoration that can be confidently dated to earlier decades. Burial vaults were used in the 1630s and 1640s (BMHS 1910: 23), however the records are sparse and vague.

[5] Although Barbados underwent substantial changes in the nineteenth century, which had consequences for the commemorative record, this chapter and the next will have some temporal overlap in order to avoid artificial periodization. Where relevant, trends with longer temporal breadth will be discussed.

DEALING WITH THE DEAD IN A NEW WORLD

The early planters of Barbados were responsible for transforming the island in many ways; they cleared the forests that had defined the landscape for millennia and they introduced species of plants and animals to pre-existing ecosystems (Amussen 2007: 57, 73-76, Beinart and Hughes 2007: 36-38). They built ports and towns, and roads connecting them, creating networks of settlements and churches that brought together communities in this new colony (Alleyne 1978: 7-12). They also built their houses, from modest lean-tos in the woods to houses that increasingly reflected the wealth and aspirations of the communities with sweeping views of the plantation fields that provided for them (Gragg 2003: 178-179, Handler and Shelby 1973: 118, Waterman 1946). In death, as in life, settlers materially shaped the landscapes in which they dwelt, contributing to the growing collection of tablets, mausolea and vaults that defined the newly established churches and churchyards on the island. Little is known about burial and funeral practices on the island during initial settlement, particularly before church institutions were formally transplanted to the colony. However, early mortuary practices were certainly influenced by British traditions, and in the seventeenth century, the dead were the Church's domain; religion, funerals, and commemoration were therefore heavily interconnected. Later, the eighteenth century was witness to increasing diversification in funerary practice, and the freedom and opportunities to be buried outside of the Anglican Church and churchyard (King and Sayer 2011). Within Anglicanism, however, the overall format and process for funerals and burials remained relatively stable. Funerals incorporated a range of rituals and material culture, including the preparation of the body at home, with shrouds, coffin and garlands for the dead (Mahoney-Swales et al. 2011, Morris 2011), the procession to church, Christian rites, burial, and finally gatherings with food and drink at the house (see also Bushaway 1982, Cox 1998, Jupp and Gittings 1999, Litten 1991). Burials and commemoration were organized hierarchically, in both churches and churchyards, though internal commemoration dominated seventeenth century practices, with external monuments remaining relatively simple (Mytum 2004, Mytum and Chapman 2006, Harding 1998; Sayer 2011b). From the late seventeenth century, concerns about sanitation in crowded churchyards contributed to the preference for large burial vaults, which encouraged the intensification of external commemoration for those who could afford it (Litten 1991). Like many facets of British mortuary practice, commemoration reflected a multitude of overlapping facets of identity, including family, religion, community, gender, age, and individuality (Harding 1998, Sayer 2011b), as monuments provided the opportunity to express and negotiate social complexities both at home and abroad.

Within two years of the first settlers arriving in Barbados, six Anglican parishes were established (including Christ Church, St. Michael, St. James, St. Thomas, St. Peter and St. Lucy) and church construction was quickly undertaken (Campbell 1982: 11-12, 22-30). These efforts were rapidly expanded with population growth in the first two decades. Nevertheless, early burials were probably improvised and may have occurred on private properties more than consecrated ground (see discussions of improvised burials in settler communities Cawiezel 1979, Mackintosh 1922, Smart 2011: 42-43). By 1641, there were ten clergymen in Barbados, but they were serving nearly 10, 000 settlers and were greatly overstretched (Gragg 2000: 267). As increasing numbers of clergymen migrated to the island, religious functions did run more smoothly, with baptisms, marriages, and burials (and their recording) becoming increasingly organized. Inconsistency and the pressures of the large congregations continued to impact funerary practice, particularly in the laying out of church burial grounds, leading to cramped and intercut burials. Moreover, during the seventeenth century, and the eighteenth century in some parishes, the limited availability of clergy, mobility, and communications on the island often delayed funerals. When they did occur, these funerals would have involved preparation of the body in the home, a procession to the church or alternative place of burial, services led by a minister where possible, burial, followed by meals and liquor, as well as mourning clothes and jewellery worn for a period ranging from days to years (Gragg 2000b: 88, see also Fischer 1989: 328). Commemoration could have included a combination of public and private practices, including monuments or church memorial furniture, but also the distribution of memorial cards and the recording of deaths in family bibles and other private records (Figure 6.61). Memorialisation and proving of wills, where applicable, was also a long process, involving extremely slow communications with the metropole, so that the experience of death and mourning would have been a drawn out procedure and represented a significant investment. Nevertheless, even early settlers were concerned with commemoration, memory and the church. William Peade, for instance, dying on the island in 1653, drafted a will that, in addition to dealing with his soul and his children's care, left 500 pounds of sugar for "some ornament" for the parish church (Record Book 6/13 n.d., 20, see also Gragg 2000: 265). Most "ornaments" would have been ordered from Britain, principally from London, Bristol, and Liverpool, including church furnishings, windows, and more conventional commemorative monuments. In many cases, burial structures, such as vaults and mausolea would have been constructed by local masons, typically out of readily available materials like coral stone or brick, while elaborate tablets and sculptural elements, often in marble, were ordered from Britain to commemorate the dead. However,

by the eighteenth century, local stone masons like W.D. Bartlett, C. Rossi and Taggart were providing an alternative source for commemorative monuments on the island.[6] The resulting monumental record, therefore, combines British fashions with the realities of island religion, life, and death.

Figure 6.61 Deaths recorded in the nineteenth-century Waterman family bible (photo with the permission of BMHS). This was common practice in the seventeenth century as well.

ESTABLISHING IDENTITY IN COLONIAL COMMUNITIES

Settlers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were absorbed with both the transplantation and the transformation of British social institutions, in addition to establishing a plantation-based economy, and negotiating of the relationship between metropole and colony. Island society was dominated by the white plantocracy, as was the commemorated population in the Anglican churches and churchyards. The white population was legally and socially discouraged from baptising or giving religious education to slaves until the nineteenth century, which meant that they could not be buried on consecrated ground (Gerbner 2010, see also Beckles 1990: 120, Dunn 1972: 104-106, 249). This attitude changed during the abolition period, leading to a transformation of the

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[6] Based on the distribution of makers' names visible on monuments; records of these stone masons is fragmentary.

church congregation, not to mention the burial population (see Chapter 7). The majority of the individuals buried in churchyards prior to the nineteenth century and almost all of the individuals commemorated were therefore of British descent, whether originating in Britain or born on the island. The investment required to erect commemorative monuments, particularly those sourced from Britain, further limited the social group represented by commemoration during this period principally to the planter class, merchants, and the upper ranks of religious, medical, and military professions. However, the trends for this period (outlined in Chapter 4) highlighted significant oscillations between detailed commemorative inscriptions on elaborate monuments and more simplified memorial practices. Contextualizing these variations contributes to a more nuanced understanding of the diversity of experiences of the planter class, and the complex relationship between family, class, religion, geography, and memory.

Social Relationships and Status

The commemoration of social relationships played an important role in the inscriptions on monuments in Barbados throughout the period between 1650 and 1800. However, the proportion of commemorative events that reference social (and particularly family) relationships fluctuate temporally (Figure 6.62). There are lower rates of social relationships referenced on newly erected monuments, suggesting that there is greater use of social relationships to link individuals commemorated on the same monument (Figure 6.63); nonetheless, similar periods of rise and fall in social references in primary and secondary commemorative events demonstrate that there are external influences that are impacting the degree to which the living are investing in making social relationships explicit. The case studies of English communities and commemoration (Chapter 5) elucidated the connection between social stability and the value or relevance of the social contextualization of the deceased, and the patterns in Barbados suggest a similar link. However, in contrast to the British case studies, much more frequent transformations of the social community of the planter class stimulated regular shifts in commemorative practices. During the initial period of settlement, and the first three decades of commemoration, the majority of commemorative events include at least one social connection. This was a period in which sugar was being introduced, and early colonial families, still in the process of establishing themselves on the island, were accruing some wealth and stability (Gragg 2003: 166-181). However, with varied geographical and social backgrounds in Britain, it was necessary to construct and 'advertise' family identities in a range of contexts (Gragg 2003:152-3), including monuments in churches and churchyards. By the end of the seventeenth century, a community of planters was starting to take shape

(Dunn 1972: 57-58). At the same time, the referencing of social relationships rapidly declines between 1700-1709, before recovering and surpassing earlier rates between 1730-1739. This period is heavily tied to the sugar revolution, which contributed both to a new wave of settlers (and thus an influx of new members of the community), and to increased profits for the planter class, increasing means to invest in more elaborate commemoration, including detailed inscriptions. The accumulation of wealth also placed greater emphasis on inheritance and the ability to prove lineage and social relationships. Many of these families were either newly arrived or, more commonly, newly wealthy sugar merchants and planters, such as the Lascelles, Fortes, and Forsters, who all used extensive references to family at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Later, the economic means remained relatively stable (with some fluctuations relating to individual successes and global sugar prices), however, as the community also stabilized, there was a gradual decline in references to family that continues into the nineteenth century.
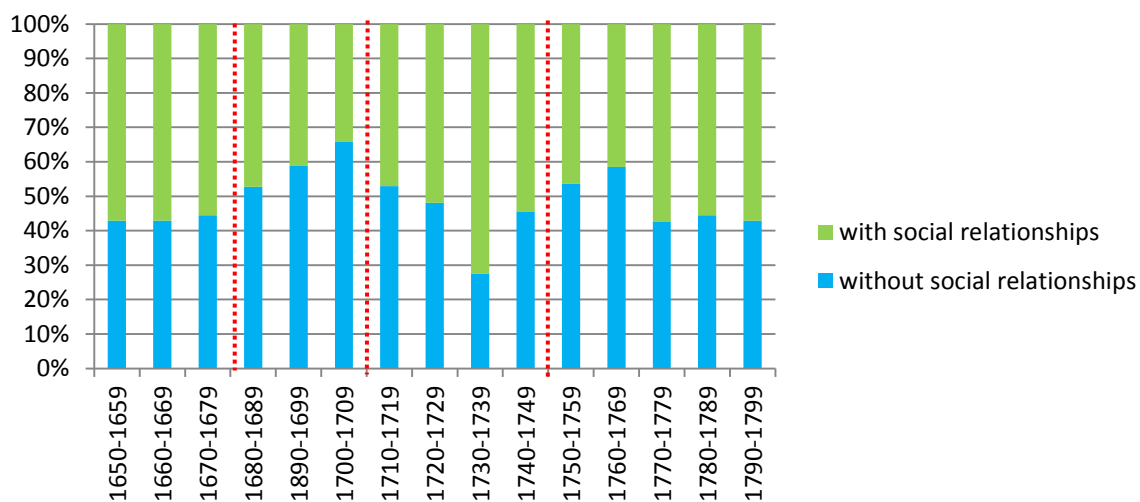
Figure 6.62 Proportion of commemorative events with and without social relationships, 1650-1799 (periods of change corresponding with text identified by red dotted lines).
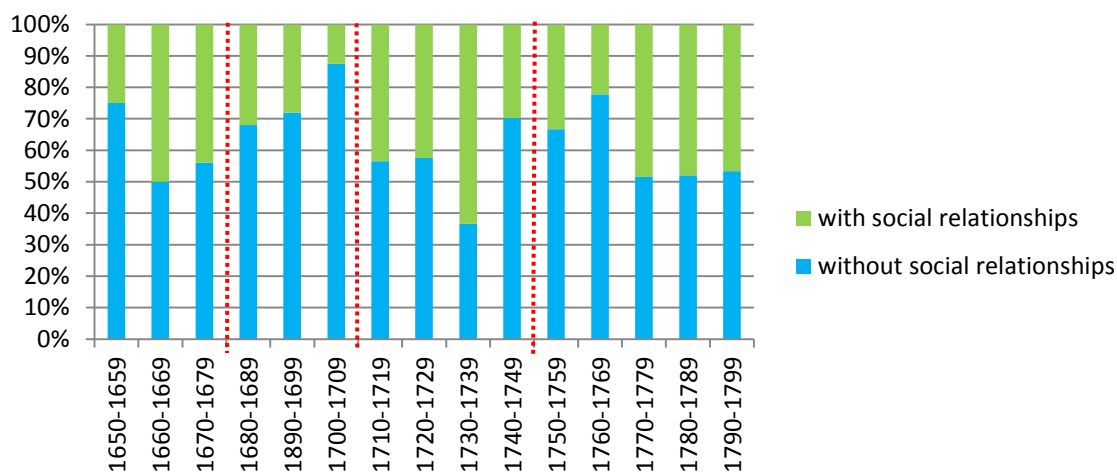
Figure 6.63 Proportion of primary commemorative events with and without social relationships, 1650-1799 (periods of change corresponding with text identified by red dotted lines).

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Given the strong family bonds that were formed in the face of the high stakes gamble of colonial endeavours, the significance of family relationships to commemoration is not unexpected. However, despite the diverse relationships that kin networks employed, including relations through marriage and distant cousins, the nuclear family was the most commonly represented during this period (93.10%, n=350/376 including references to parents, children, and/or spouses). When recorded, the majority of individuals responsible for erecting monuments were also part of the immediate family of the deceased. Only a fraction of commemorative events included references to friends, and there were no references to employers, which became more popular in later periods. Overall, despite the reliance on wider kin networks, the nuclear family remained the critical unit for commemoration, memory and identity. Nevertheless, it highlights the relevance, and indeed presence, of the family for early colonists. Early settlement is typically represented as largely the work of young, unmarried men, and whilst that may be the case at many levels of society, successful planters and merchants who were becoming rooted on the island often relocated their family or started families on the island and these relationships in turn proved critical to building trustworthy networks for business (Puckrein 1984: 190, Smith 2006). The prevalence of the nuclear family in commemorative contexts reflected the relevance of family structures and relationships to both identity and position within fledgling communities, in turn structuring new communities and relationships. Even those that did not have a family surrounding them in their new homes on the island were far from family-less, and monuments from this period do reflect communication and connection with family that remained in Britain or other colonies.

Social networks and familial relationships commemorated in inscriptions were further enhanced by material and visual references to family identity and connection. Heraldry was used for the most part between 1660 and 1729 (17.87% of monuments erected) and contributed to the communication of both family pedigree and associated status (see also Appendix I). The use of heraldry in commemorative iconography fell in Britain at a similar time period, so this temporal distribution is likely influenced at least in part by fashions and commemorative practice in Britain, and wider social changes (Finch 2000: 111, 163). Nevertheless, heraldry was another means of promoting family identity (whether genuine or aspirational), and in particular a family identity that had long-term status and lineage (with the connection to the gentry of Britain), with rank and adherence to social position considered critical to establishing orderly society in the colony (Gragg 2003: 152-154, see also Adamson 1996). Its prevalence during the settlement and establishment of the sugar economy highlights the role that pedigree played in establishing

a family's identity, membership and position in new communities through reference to the Old World. Direct references to status, including titles and occupations of the deceased or their relations, was also a common element of inscriptions (Figure 6.64). There is some correlation with the periods of peak referencing of family relationships and status, particularly between 1650 and 1680, and again between 1710 and 1740, followed by a relatively stable period in the second half of the eighteenth century before gradual decline in the nineteenth century. These references were reinforced by projecting a sense of status or wealth through material choices like style and decoration, with ornate internal monuments and elaborate, large-scale external structures particularly prevalent during this period (Figure 6.65). The use of imported materials could further give a look of luxury, creating the impression of status. The emphasis on status, in conjunction with family, highlights the strategies of commemoration in an era of fluctuating community stability and economic prosperity.
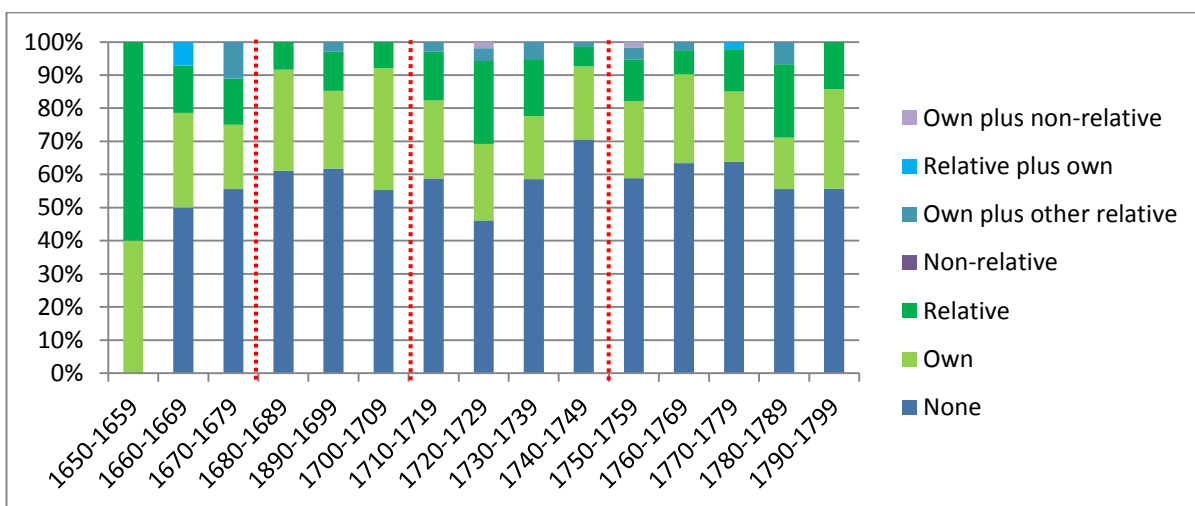
Figure 6.64 Proportion of commemorative events with references to status, 1650-1799 (periods of change corresponding with text identified by red dotted lines).

Figure 6.65 Examples of elaborate monuments. L: Henry Peers (1740), heraldry and three types of marble. R: James Prat (1738), large detailed mausoleum.

Geographies and Other Facets of Identity

References to geographical connections, including place of birth, residence, and death, reflect the processes and experiences of forging new social communities in the colonies. Although the peak period of references to geographical locations in inscriptions does occur in the eighteenth century (Figure 6.66), it is the change in the type of references and the locations themselves that best demonstrate the transformation of Barbadian families, their sense of place, and its relevance to identity and position. Only seven individuals in the first hundred years of commemoration in Barbados reference the island as a place of origin, but in the following hundred years, this number had increased sevenfold. In contrast, England was referenced by 74.2% (n=23/31) of individuals indicating a place of origin between 1650 and 1750, before falling to 47.8% (n=56/117) of individuals in the following hundred years. Very few references made connections to other places in Europe or the Americas between 1650 and 1800. While some individuals did hail from other colonies, most were still of British origins or descent and the small Jewish Portuguese population on the island remained largely isolated in the port towns, particularly Bridgetown, where their dead were buried in the synagogue's cemetery. The geographical connections recorded on monuments is unsurprising given the background of the white colonial population of Barbados at the time, as evident in the records of immigration and the individuals completing the Atlantic passage, in addition to parish records, particularly baptismal records. However, the referencing of these geographical connections in commemorative inscriptions does contribute to our understanding of the choices and motivations behind commemoration, and the changing social value of different types of commemorative inscriptions. The referencing of British origins, for instance, which formed a key part of inscriptions in the middle of the seventeenth century, actually increase in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, and again in the middle of the eighteenth century, when the island had higher proportions of individuals born locally. Moreover, the references become more generalized, from specific villages and parishes to simply noting Britain or England in general. This could indicate that the living were more likely to commemorate a British place of birth as this connection became less common. Investing in a record of being born in Britain, when all of your neighbours were likewise born in Britain, was less relevant. The increasing generalization of references could reflect the decreasing first-hand knowledge of Britain; naming particular villages or counties would have had less social value to communities whose knowledge and experience was more and more based in the Caribbean. The increasing reference to Barbados as a place of birth and of residence demonstrates a growing community that identified with being Bajan.

The British Barbadian identity, or "white creole culture", that developed on the island put the residents at odds with their counterparts in the metropole, who criticized their behaviour and practices (cf. Gragg 2003: 191, Hall 2002: 75, Lambert 2005: 37-39), and may have helped to consolidate the colonists' rootedness on the island. Elliott (1987: 9) has characterised this process as the 'tension of empire', where colonists are "trapped in a dilemma of discovering themselves to be at once the same, and yet not the same, as the country of their origin" (see also the process of negotiating geographies and identity in Sandiford 2000: 3, 6, 14). The commemoration of a 'British' or 'Barbadian' identity, or an identity that fell somewhere in between, as evident on monuments that reference both, undoubtedly played a role in negotiating creole identities and geographies for both the dead and their living relations.
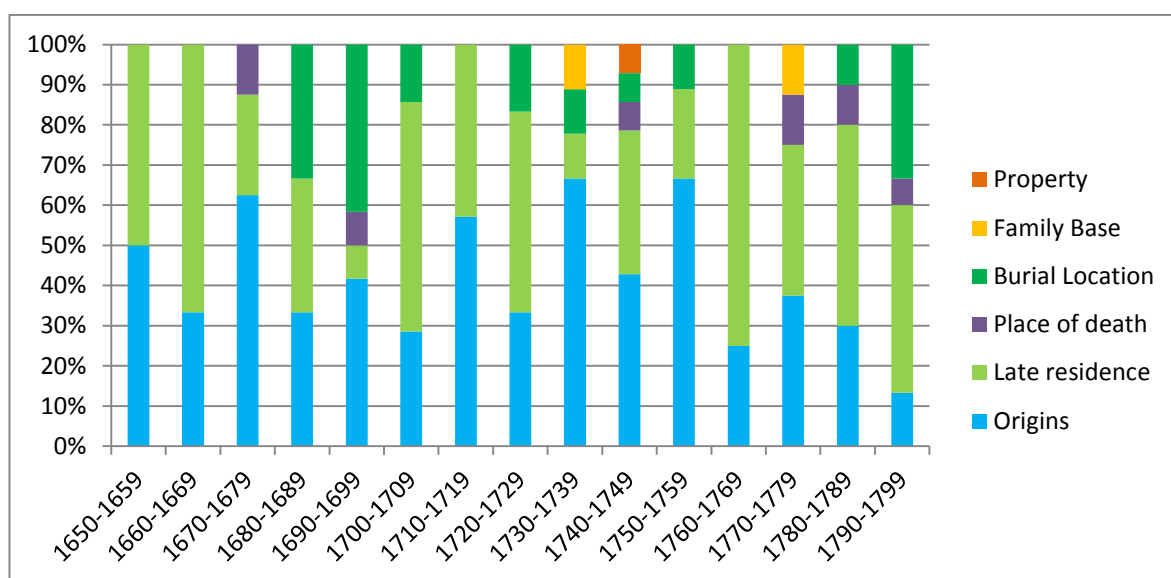
Figure 6.66 Proportion of commemorative events with geographical connections, 1650-1799.

Alongside shifting geographical and national identities, there is also a rise in individualism represented in commemorative inscriptions, shifting some of the direct focus from the collective family to its individual members, their achievements and experiences. The inclusion of other details regarding identity, including character, biographical information, and religious or political affiliations, becomes increasingly common between the seventeenth and eighteenth century (Figure 6.67, see also Chapter 4). In particular, there are no references to additional elements of identity prior to the 1670s, and 73.2% (n=109/149) of such references during this period occur after 1740. The deceased's role in their family or community, in addition to their virtues and religious piety were most common, though the significance of the loss is also increasingly referenced in the second half of the eighteenth century. Whilst elements such as social relationships and status were

used with more frequency and consistency from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards, the later emergence of references to more diverse elements of identity may occur as a means to solidify family and status-based reputation (see also Thomas 2009: 248-249). Mercy Alleyne (d.1774), for instance, was described in great detail as:

> a Partner, who by every endearment, sweetened the Joys, alleviated the Cares, & heightened the Pleasures of the nuptial State; to his inexpressible Sorrow, and Concern she was separated from him… Her descent from a face of worthy ancestry deriving her lineage… gave her that consequence among us, which is due to Birth & Rank.

Highlighting the interconnected nature of status, family, relationships, family roles, and virtues, and the extreme sense of loss, this commemorative monument is amongst the more eloquent examples. More commonly, identity was conveyed more succinctly, such as Mary Bryant of St. Thomas (d. 1756), who had, "an exemplary discharge of ye domestic virtues, with temper & with health, by diligence with prosperity" or Abel Foyer of St. John's (d.1797), "a most affectionate and much beloved husband." The rise in the amount of information communicated via monuments in Barbados in the eighteenth century suggests the changing value of investing in references to an individual's virtues or their commendable service was both relevant to the memories of the living, but also to the family's reputation within increasingly stable communities. The emphasis on piety and virtue was perhaps also a reaction to the increasing criticism of colonists as immoral, lacking in propriety, and ill mannered, not to mention sinking into "a hopeless moral torpor, eating, drinking, and fornicating themselves into an early grave" (Craton 1974: 205-6; see also Dunn 1972: 337, Gragg 2000a: 265-266, Handler 1967: 67).
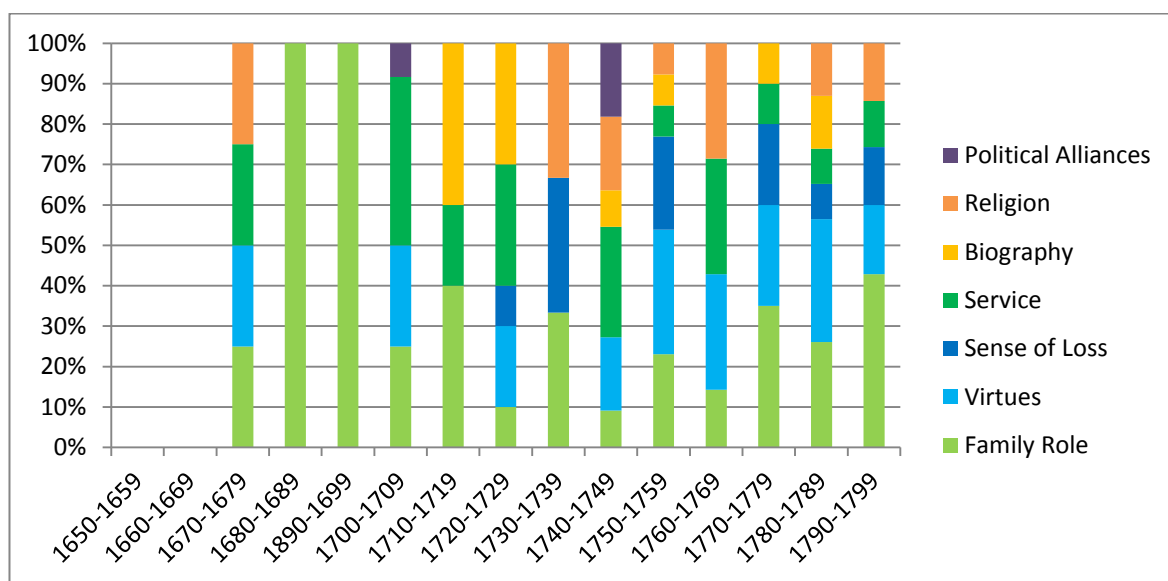
Figure 6.67 Proportion of commemorative events with references to identity, 1650-1799.

Commemorative inscriptions during the first hundred and fifty years of colonial history both reflect and contributed to the establishment and negotiation of identities. In unstable communities, monuments typically served as a means to materialize identities and geographies in the colonial world; as communities stabilized, inscriptions could serve other roles beyond simply establishing a material footing for one's family. The diversification of inscriptions, facilitated by the accumulation of wealth, but also increasing familiarity amongst community members, shifted the focus of memory practices from family and status to more individualized histories and experiences, while still attaching them to their kin groups, who remained the foundations of colonial lives. Monuments were opportunities to engage with the strains of early Bajan identity, the development of creole communities, and relationships with the metropole, whilst microhistories highlight the lived experiences of these tensions and contextualize the complex choices that created the inscriptions. It is more difficult to assess the ways in which these inscriptions were responded to during this period, beyond considering the ways that existing commemoration would have influenced later choices. Given the increasing investment in detailed inscription, and the importance placed on the communicative value of monuments, seen also in their prominent placement in churches and along pathways in the churchyard, these monuments were at the very least perceived to have an impact on the social position of families and the surviving relations of the dead. Throughout this period, practices and styles of commemoration, informed by British fashions and traditions, developed their own character and form to suit the needs and approaches of a colonial society that had been transformed by new world experiences.

THE TYPE AND PLACE OF COMMEMORATION

Beyond inscriptions and iconography, the process of commemoration in Barbados in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries included other decisions that embodied the unique colonial society and setting, such as the place for burial and commemoration, the form of commemoration, and the long-term use of monuments. Most commemorative events during this period involved the erection of entirely new monuments and structures, highlighting the high levels of transiency and social flux (Figure 6.68). As new families moved to Barbados, early commemoration necessitated new monuments to be erected. However, the continued use of monuments through adding inscriptions occurs from the 1660s onwards, building sequences of family commemoration as they established long-term places of memory on the island. The practice of commemorating an individual long after their death, usually on a monument that was commissioned on the event of another death, was also most common during this period, particularly between 1650 and 1709 and 1730 and 1769. This is evident, for instance, on a monument erected in St. Philip's Church

after the death of William Goodall (1690), commemorating his wife Jane who died 20 years previously, and their children who died in infancy even earlier:

Here lyeth interred ye body of William

Goodall of Hampshire in ye Kingdom of

England Esq', who departed this life ye 8th

Of November 1690 in ye 70th year of his age

And Jane his wife who dyed ye 19th of

September 1670 in ye 29th year of her age

And also their two daughters Millesaint

Ann who dyed in their infancy

This stone is laid by ther surviving

Daughters viz

Jane ye wife of Edward Wintour of London

Merch & Millesaint ye wife of Capt

David Ramsay of Barbados

In testimony of their duty to y' pious

memory of their deceased parents.

It is not clear when William Goodall emigrated from Hampshire to Barbados, but it was likely after 1660 based on records of early emigrants to the island. However, by 1680 he had acquired 250 acres, 9 servants, and 140 slaves in St. Philip's parish (Hotten 2001: 3). His surviving daughters were also well established by the late seventeenth century, with Jane married to a rising merchant in London and Millesaint's husband achieved the status of 'Honourable Colonel' by the early eighteenth century. Commemorating the daughters that died in infancy may have been something that William and Jane had hoped to do, but in any case, their daughters felt it their 'duty' to commemorate their parents, and infant sisters alongside them. The Goodall case, amongst others, sheds light on the practice of delayed commemoration. It very commonly involves spouses being commemorated together or children who died in infancy being commemorated on their parents' monument. Moreover, in many cases commemoration was delayed for individuals who died soon after their family relocated to Barbados and were still in the process of establishing themselves. It is likely that investment in material commemoration at these times was not possible or at the very least not the highest priority in the extremely risky economic climate for new plantations and businesses. Although sparse, records do suggest that the Goodall family was still establishing their plantation in the 1670s when Jane and her infant daughters died, but by the end of the century they were in a more prominent,

stable position, which may have encouraged commemoration at this time, despite a possible desire to do so earlier. Delayed commemoration reasserts that material commemoration was important even amongst those that were not always in the position to undertake it and that some families would hold onto the desire to commemorate their dead until such time as it was possible to invest in a monument, even if it was decades later. It is also likely that many families hoped to one day commemorate their dead and were never able to do so. This has implications for the ways that we understand and approach the uncommemorated burial population, as they are likely to be made up of a mixture of people who could not afford a memorial but desired it, as well as people that were not interested in this form of commemoration (see for instance restoration-oriented grieving Stroebe and Schut 1999: 197-199). Some may have used other means of commemoration through memorial cards, inscriptions in family bibles, and home-based memorials as important sites of memory and grieving aides, requiring substantially less investment, whilst others may have preferred the material absence of painful memories of the dead.
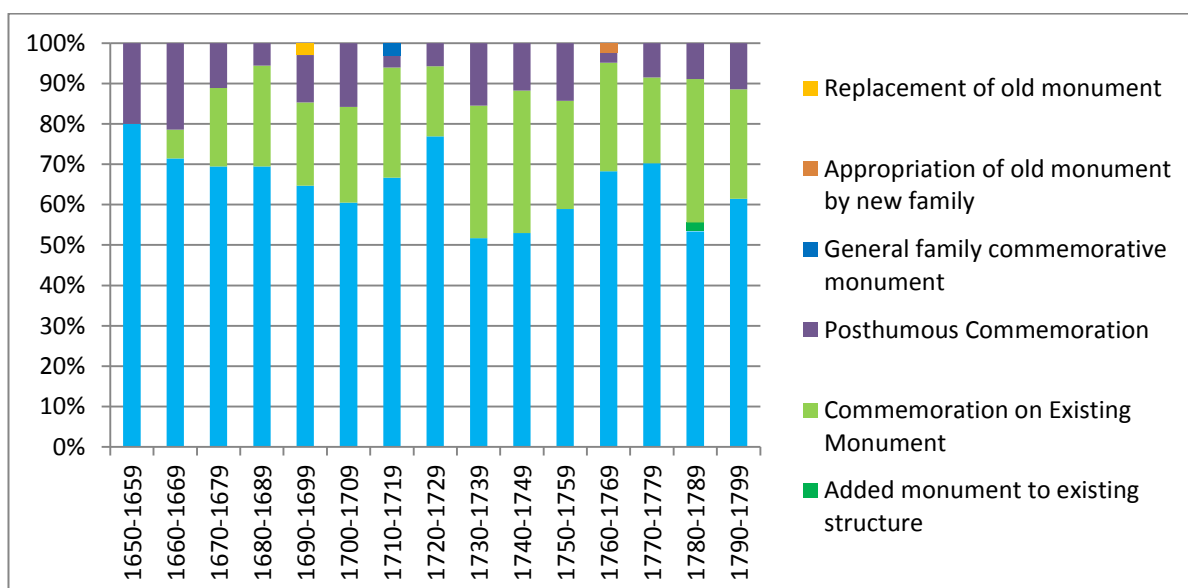
Figure 6.68 Proportion of types of commemoration, 1650-1799.

Rural and Urban Commemoration

The location for burial and commemoration, including which parish and which church, not to mention where in the church or churchyard, provided further opportunity for early colonists to express themselves. Prominent families would have had greater flexibility, often garnering prime locations within churches for both burial and commemoration, and choosing between the church nearest their plantations, or more conspicuous venues such as the cathedral in Bridgetown, with the permission of the Diocese. Nonetheless, the commemoration of individuals buried in other places, and the duplication of commemoration inside and outside of churches, or even in different

locations (as demonstrated by the Holders case study), highlights the level of flexibility families did have and the opportunity to choose and manipulate place of commemoration. The concentration of ostentatious commemoration in urban parish churches in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries has previously been interpreted as the difference between the commemoration of merchants and the plantocracy, with the greater wealth and opportunity for investment in commemoration concentrated in merchant societies based in the major port towns (Finneran 2013: 338). However, the context of commemoration in urban and rural churchyards suggests that the relationship between occupation, wealth, church and commemoration is blurred. The division between merchant-commemoration in urban churches and planter-commemoration in rural churches is problematic. Many planter families were closely allied, often through marriage, to merchant families as a means of building business relationships that were trustworthy. For instance, the Goodall monument commemorates a planter and his wife in their rural churchyard, but it was erected by their daughters who lived in urban Bridgetown and metropolitan London, one of whom was married to a merchant. Separating the commemorative choices and memory strategies of planters and merchants is impossible in these instances. Moreover, many planter families maintained urban properties from which to conduct business, in turn frequenting and maintaining relationships with both rural and urban churches, and thus facing the decision of whether to be buried and commemorated in rural or urban settings. The Holder family, whose commemorative practices opened this chapter, were commemorated both at St. James' Parish Church in Holetown, one of three major ports on the island, and on their rural plantation. Families which had strong links with rural parish churches demonstrated by histories of baptisms and marriages at their local church, had burials and memorials in St. Michael's Cathedral. Prominent urban churches had an added level of display and social value because of both the position and importance of those places on the island and the society that frequented them (cf. Hill 1984: 27), which would have been of value to merchants and planters alike. The complexity of the relationship between rural and urban residents of the island, the level of mobility within the island, and the connections between plantation and port were interconnected factors that shaped commemorative practices.

Wealth was, indeed, expressed in different ways in urban and rural churches but this was largely the result of the environment and the opportunities that it offered for commemoration, rather than divergent practices of merchants and planters. There is much greater diversity in the styles of commemoration visible in rural settings than in towns between 1650 and 1800 (Figure 6.69). Urban churches were dominated by wall and floor plaques, particularly inside and immediately surrounding the church, with fewer vaults,

headstones and other monument styles (33.7% of monuments, n=70/208). In contrast, there was a higher proportion of external monuments, and particularly headstones and large vaults in rural churchyards (51.9%, n=67/129). These patterns were facilitated by differences in the churches themselves, as urban churches were much larger than most rural churches owing to the size of their communities and the difference in finances. Church funds were collected from the inhabitants of each parish, and while clear records do not exist, they were likely tied to the overall profitability of each parish, which can be ascertained by the rents collected by the government (Campbell 1982: 27-29). For instance, in 1639, St. Michael's parish collected 23,720 pounds of tobacco or cotton in rent for public charges including the establishment and maintenance of churches, and St. James collected 23,640 pounds, in contrast to St. Lucy, which collected only 8,610 pounds, and St. Andrew, which collected 6,010 pounds (Bennett 1965). Although sugar greatly increased the wealth of rural parishes in the eighteenth century, further subdivision of the six parishes to create eleven to better serve the growing population of the island maintained many of the inequalities in wealth in rural and urban government, and churches. The large urban churches that were built on this inequality, particularly St. Michael's Cathedral in Bridgetown, could house a much higher number of internal monuments and attracted the upper classes to their congregations. At the same time, urban churchyards tended to be smaller and space was at a premium due to the size of the burial population, constraining the size and diversity of external monuments. While rural churches were smaller and thus there was more limited space and audience for the display of internal commemoration, their more extensive grounds meant that there were still many opportunities for investing in commemoration and displaying wealth and status via elaborate monuments for those who had the means and desire to do so. In some cases, older monuments were cleared to provide room for commemoration and the destruction of churches in hurricanes may have impacted monumental survival; however, rural and urban churches are unlikely to have been affected differentially. Overall, rural and urban practices diverge in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, particularly in the forms of commemoration that were employed, however, the use of commemoration for social negotiation is evident in both settings. Urban churches may have provided more opportunities for display, and perhaps even a more illustrious audience, but rural practices demonstrate high levels of investment in elaborate monuments with a greater diversity of forms being used to establish identities and communities in the sugar-rich hinterlands of the island. The connection between commemoration and social competition (cf. Cannon 1989) is evident in both contexts, but the setting, resources and community shaped the ways that families engaged in display.
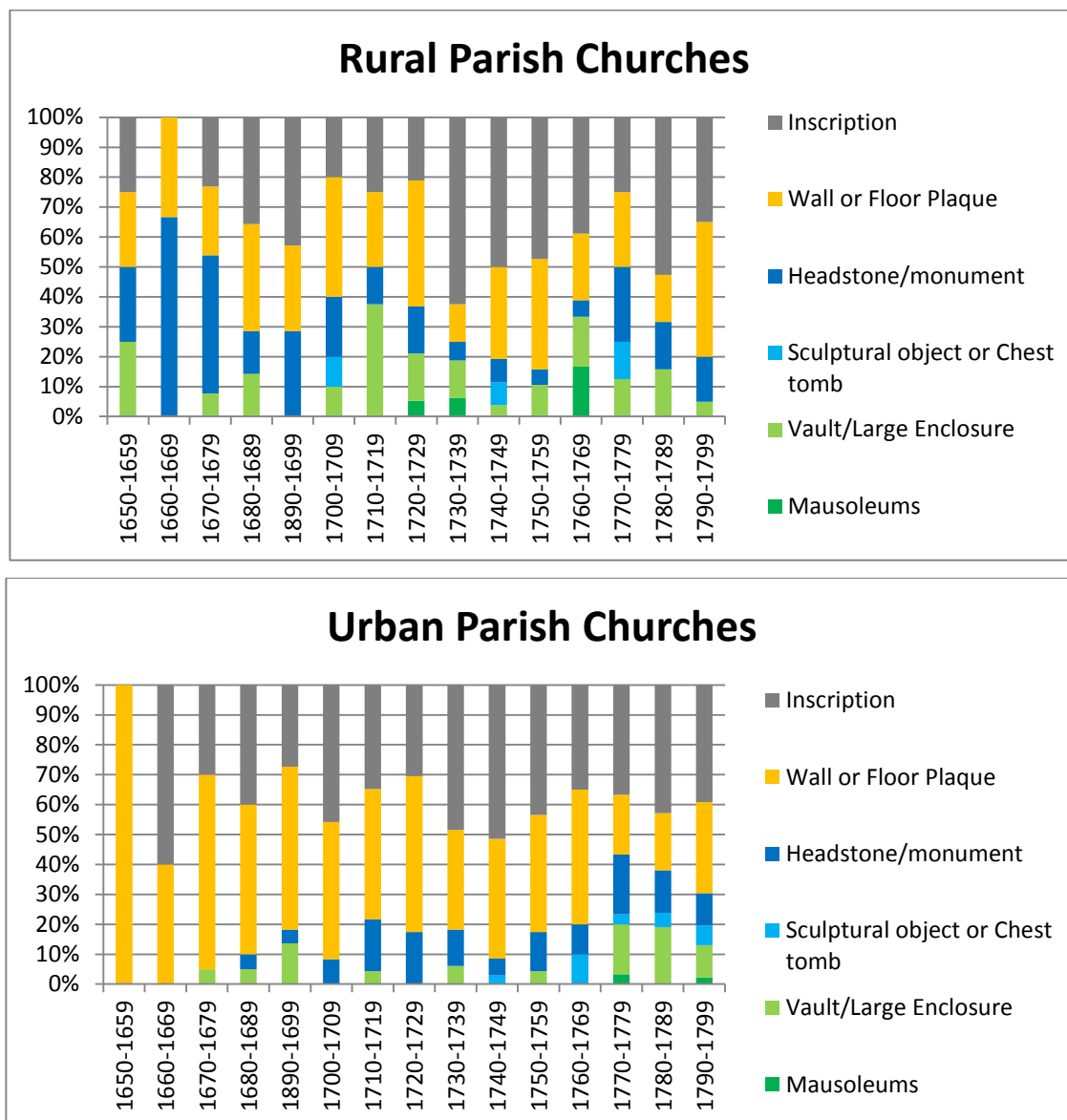
Figure 6.69 Comparison of commemorative form in rural and urban parish churches.

PLANTATION BURIAL: PLACE, IDENTITY, AND RELIGION

Plantations in Barbados were key sites of burial and memory from settlement through to the twentieth century. The burial of the enslaved population of Barbados on plantations has been studied by archaeologists (Handler 1996, 1997a, 1997b, 1999), and yet the existence of burial grounds for the white planter class on their properties has received much less attention and no systematic study. However, in contrast to Britain, where the practice of burial on private property was unusual rather than a sustained tradition (Sayer 2011b: 200), Barbados demonstrates a history of burial on plantation grounds from the middle of the seventeenth century into the twentieth century (Figure 6.70). Overall, 49 monuments on 40 plantations are recorded in a range of sources (c.f. Barbados Museum and Historical Society 1910: 23-28, Lawrence-Archer 1875, Oliver 1915, Thorne nd.: 253-280) (Table 6.5, see also Appendix I). Undoubtedly, this

underestimates the rates of white plantation burial, as not all private interments were recorded or commemorated. Moreover, the oldest systematic recording is from 1875, by which time some commemoration would likely already have been lost both physically (see monument attrition rates, Chapter 3) and in living memory, given the levels of migration during this time. Nevertheless, records do demonstrate that plantation burial and commemoration represents a practice that was sustained on the island for more than 200 years. What contributed to the choices to bury and commemorate the dead on plantation properties, rather than parish churches? Does private commemoration follow the same trends as commemoration in churches and churchyards? Exploring the relationship between place, identity, and religion in Barbados, primarily in the seventeenth and eighteenth century but also stretching into the nineteenth century where necessary, captures the range of these traditions and the choices behind them.

      Almost all of the parishes in Barbados have evidence of plantation-based burial and commemoration (with the exception of St. Andrew) (Figure 6.71). However, there is a belt of plantations in the middle of the island, in St. Michael's, St. James', St. Thomas', St. Joseph's and St. John's parishes, that account for the majority of private burial locations (65%, n=26/40), and all of the examples positively dated to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. There is another more dispersed cluster of private burial in Christ Church and neighbouring St. Philips parishes. Given the small size of the island and the fact that churches had been established in all of these parishes by the 1640s, isolation and inaccessibility of churches for burial cannot entirely account for these patterns. If isolation was a factor in influencing plantation burial, more examples would be expected in the most rural parishes, and particularly the northern parishes of St. Lucy, St. Peter, and St. Andrew, or along the east coast of St. John and St. Philip. Although some of the earliest plantation burials take place in more isolated parts of the island, there are many examples from St. James, St. Michael, and Christ Church, wealthy parishes that sustained full-time priests and vestries throughout this period (Campbell 1982: 90-110). Moreover, the majority of datable commemoration occurred within the eighteenth century (63.3%, n=19/30), and carries on into the nineteenth century, when there was an increase in churches and chapels on the island, as well as roads and development of the interior of the island. Overall, it is unlikely that these patterns can be accounted for solely by limited access to churches, which encouraged private burial grounds in other colonies (see for instance Niagara, Canada by Paterson 2013). Social factors, including connections to memory, place, identity, and religion, must therefore be considered in creating traditions of private burial in Barbados.

Figure 6.70 *Top:* Williams vault (c. 1660), Welshman Hall, one of the earliest examples of burial vaults on private property still in existence. *Bottom:* Easy Hall plantation burial ground (c. 1793-1921), the longest and latest use of a private burial ground.

Table 6.5 Commemoration on plantations in Barbados (based on fieldwork 2014, BMHS 1910: 23-28, Lawrence-Archer 1875, Oliver 1915, Thorne nd.: 253-280).

Plantation	Parish	Date	Type	Family	# of Ind.	Condition
Adams Castle	St. Joseph	1679	Marble slab	Hacket	1	Lost
Airey Hill	St. Joseph		Tomb	Mascoll		
Andrew's	St. Joseph	1667-1772	3 slabs on large burial ground	Wardall, de Hem Morris	3	
Ayshford	St. Thomas	1679-1832	Loose slab Burial ground	Ayshford Tyler Pin	4	
Bannatyne	Christ Church	1680s		Carew	2	Lost
Bissex Hill	St. Joseph	1680s	Tomb	Watermans		Lost
Bromefield	St. Lucy	1745	Stone	M.	1	Lost
Buckden	St. Joseph	1650s	Tomb	Byam family		
Bush Hall	St. Michael	1694-1709	Slab	Morris	2	Lost
Cane Garden	St. Thomas	1667-1680	Slab	Hook, Rider, Lillington	4	Lost
Clermont	St. Thomas		Tomb	Lane		Lost
Coverley	Christ Church		Tomb			Lost
Drax Hall	St. George		Tomb	Drax	1	Damaged
Easy Hall	St. John	1793-1921	Walled burial ground (1600m²)	Culpepper Mayers	20+	Restored
Halton's	St. Philip	1784-1796	Walled enclosure	Rous	2	
Hannay's	Christ Church	1720s-1734		Ince	2	Lost
Haynes Hill	St. John	1700-1711	Vault in rock	Forte	2+	
Holborn	St. Michael		Marble tablet			BMHS
Holder's	St. James	1705-1783	Vault	Holder	4	Destroyed
Hope	St. Lucy	1742	Marble slab	Greaves	1	Built over
Joes River	St. Joseph	1771	Tomb	Holder	1	Unknown
Lear's	St. Michael	1688-1758	Slab Vault	Lear	2	Lost
Malvern	St. Joseph		3 Tombs	Stuart Mayers Harpers		Maintained
Mangrove	St. Peter	1794	Marble Slab	Skeete	1	Lost
Penny Hole	St. Philip		Tomb	Field	1	Lost

(Table 6.1 continued)

Plantation	Parish	Date Range	Type	Family	# of Ind.	Condition
Porter's	St. James	1731	Tomb	Woodbridge	1	Lost
Quaker	St. Philip	1640s	Tomb	Weekes	6+	Maintained
Rice	St. Philip	1740-66	Slab on vault	Rice	3	Lost
Ridge	Christ Church		2 vaults	Trotuian	2+	Lost
Rock Dundo	St. Michael		Marble slab	Carlton	1	Lost
Rugby	St. Thomas	1760	Slab	Holloway	2	Lost
Searles	St. Joseph	1697	Slab	Collins	1	Lost
Selman	St. Thomas	1845	Tomb with iron rail Tomb	Walton Simmons	2	Unknown
Strong Hope	St. Thomas	1828-9	Vault in rock	Wilkinson	2	Unknown
Sturges	St. Thomas	1758	Burial ground	Worrell	1	Lost
Thorpes	St. James	1721-1810	2 marble slabs	Thorpe	2	Lost
Vaucluse	St. Thomas	1843	Slab	Simmons	1	Lost
Welches	St. Michael	1720	Vault	Scott	1	Lost
Welchman Hall	St. Thomas	1660s	Vault	Williams	1+	Complete
Whitehall	St. Michael		Tomb			Lost
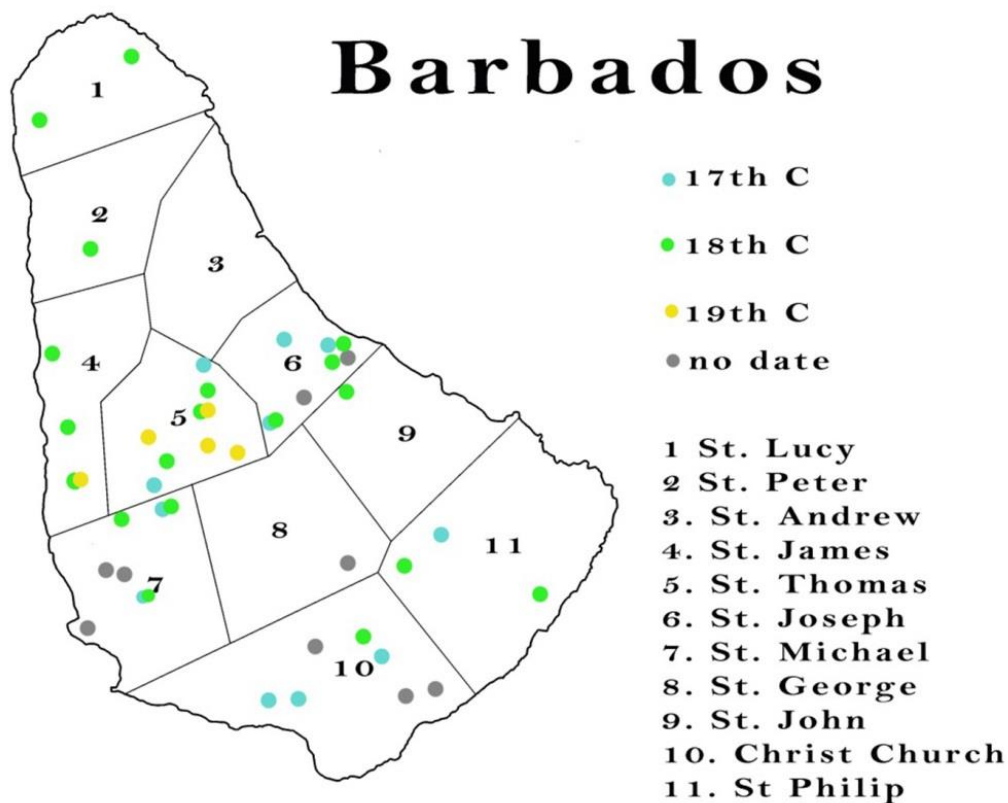
Figure 6.71 Temporal and geographical distribution of plantation burial and commemoration in Barbados from the 17th to 19th centuries.

The motivations for private burial are difficult to access; written records for choices in burial and commemoration are few and far between. Most wills are mute on the specifics of burial, noting only "the manner whereof I leave to the discretion of the executrix of this my last will and testament" (from the will of Robert Hacket, Record Book 6/9 n.d., 422-434) or "my body to the Earth to be decently interr'd by my Exors" (from the will of William Holder, Record Book 6/22, n.d., p 75-76). The specific location of burial may have been a discussion in life, with the individual relying on the executors of their wills to remember and act according to their wishes, or alternatively, it was left freely to the surviving family members to decide an appropriate treatment in death (Thomas 2009: 247-248). However, some wills do request particular treatments in burial, including specifying a church or alternative location. The will of John Greenidge, a teacher in St. Philips Parish Church (1705) requests, "to be buried in the church yard of Christ Church where [his] father and relations were all buried" (Sanders 2007: 145). Likewise, Henry Evans, whose will was written and proved in 1747, requested to be buried among ancestors, "in the vault in [his] own garden at my Congar Road plantation" (Barbados Museum & Historical Society, n.d.). Notably, Henry Evans's son, who died in 1771, was also buried and commemorated on his plantation, Joe's River (St. Joseph), suggesting the possibility of family traditions of private burial. The Evans, however, are known members of the Quaker community, a group that had clear motivations for private burial grounds.

Quakerism and Private Burial

Although Anglicanism (Church of England) was the primary religious denomination in Barbados, English and Irish Catholics had lived on the island since the 1630s and there was a small Jewish population (primarily in Bridgetown) from the 1650s (c.f. Shilstone 1966-7, 3-15). The Quakers, also referred to as the Society of Friends, were also present by the 1650s in Barbados and came to number several hundred by the eighteenth century, representing the largest non-conformist religious community on the island (Cadbury 1941, 1942, Gragg 2000: 216, see also Dailey 1991: 27-28, 37-39, Dunn 1972: 103-106, Durham 1972, Gunkel and Handler 1969: 6). This was part of a wider movement of religious dissent and pluralism emerging in England in the seventeenth century following the Civil Wars and the Restoration of 1660, and quickly migrating to the colonies, in part due to intolerance and persecution (King and Sayer 2011a, 4). Based on a life of peace and simplicity with a "notion of an inward Christ", Quakerism was founded on equality, frugality, and industry, whilst resisting temptation, luxury and vice (Gragg 2000b: 5). Often characterized as the largest and most active Quaker community of the sugar colonies (Dunn 1972: 103), they quickly drew the attention and sanctions of both

church and secular authorities, being fined, beaten, arrested, jailed and even sentenced to death, particularly for their refusal to participate in the island militia or fund it, pay for the Anglican Church, and their missionary work with slaves, in addition to their agitations and disturbances at church services that they were forced to attend (cf. Besse 1753: 278-343). This persecution pushed many Quakers underground, and eventually led to a large-scale migration, primarily to Pennsylvania, by the nineteenth century.

Requests "to be plainly and decently interred in [her] own vault according to the manner of Quakers" (Mercy Evans' will, c. 1720, in Sanders 2007: 115) were therefore part of a growing trend in Barbados funerary practice. Just as Quakers required their own meeting places, separate from the Anglican Church, these non-conformists also sought out separate burial grounds, which allowed them to develop distinctive funeral culture (Gragg 2000b:88). In Barbados, this was primarily dealt with through private burial grounds on plantations, though larger Quaker cemeteries were established in St. Peter's, Christ Church and St. Philip's parishes through the donation of land by prominent planters in the middle of the seventeenth century. For instance, Edward Oistine gave half an acre in Christ Church parish to, "the People called Quakers in this Island… which shall be in that part before my Garden which is Encompassed with Plantaine trees where I desire that I may be buried…. [also] that [there will be] a convenient path & free passage unto it at all times when they shall have occasion to goe thither and that it be well fenced or Enclosed" (sic) while Robert Taylor, who had held meetings on his plantation in St. James, gave notice in his will to finish the Friends' burial place upon his cliff (location unknown) (Dailey 1991: 39). The Ayshfords of St. Thomas also had a burial ground that was used by fellow Quakers, with the first reference coming from Richard Pin's will in 1679, requesting to be buried "at the Friends' burial place at James Ayshford's" (RB6/14 n.d., 112) and further Ayshford burials occurring there throughout the eighteenth century. Quaker burial grounds can often be characterized by evidence of multiple families burying their dead in a single location, not all of whom were residents of the property, because of the Quaker practice to include members of their "religious household", not just their domestic household. Of the known sites of private burial included in this study, 22.5% (n=9/40) could be confidently associated with Quakers. This includes the Holders, who opened this chapter and included commemoration both in an Anglican church and on their plantation; dual commemoration in this case was possibly used as a means of reducing their visibility as Quakers and the risk of being persecuted, but it also afforded them additional opportunities to establish themselves amongst their neighbours.

Quakers rejected Anglican practices of elaborate funerals, commemoration and mourning, opting instead for burial in a "plaine and solemn manner" (sic) (RB6/4 n.d., 523).This was influenced by the Quaker ethos of simplicity and modesty, as well as social equality. While commemoration is often relatively simple, many cases did involve the construction of large, elaborate vaults and tombs. For instance, the elaborate vault erected for Quakers of the planter class in St. Philip's Parish stands in contrast to the unassuming flat area of land to the southwest where lower-class white Quakers were buried (see Figure 6.72). The investment in elaborate commemoration and apparent hierarchy, which contrasts with Quaker principles and opposition to overt displays of wealth (Sayer 2011a, 2011b: 88), fits within wider patterns of elaborate coffin furnishings and funeral practice seen in British Quaker burial grounds (for instance, the Quaker burial grounds at Kingston-upon-Thames and Bathford, Somerset, Bashford and Sibun 2007, Boore 1998) but also diverse relationships to elaborate material culture in other facets of life (cf. Chenoweth 2012:81-82). Although religious identity was being negotiated and expressed in these contexts, there were other distinctions that were also being highlighted. The social value in expressing a level of hierarchy and family identity was part of, not counter to, of religious principles. Racial segregation was also evident, despite promoting equality and the integration of slaves into Christian communities.

Figure 6.72 Quaker Burial Ground (St. Philip, c. 1670 the eighteenth century). It includes six large vaults for planter families (including the Weekes, Gilkes and Pilgrim families), and a secondary area to the southwest for non-planter members of the Quaker community.

Overall, the motivations for private burial and commemoration are clearly mixed and complex. Burial grounds for non-conformist religious sects are perhaps the clearest explanation for the practice and its prevalence in eighteenth-century Barbados. However,

given the level of persecution for Quakers in the eighteenth century, Dailey (1991:39) argues that it was because it was already common for planters to have family burial plots on their plantations that Quakers were able to adopt the practice without drawing attention to themselves and experiencing further sanctions. They did, however, modify the practice by making provisions for more public access to these burial grounds and the individuals and memories that they contained. Isolation of early planters and the difficult accessibility of churches in the mountainous forest of the island's interior might explain the initial emergence of private burial, which in turn set the precedent for later Quaker burial grounds. However, other examples of eighteenth and nineteenth century private burial grounds that cannot be attributed to Quakers, and seem to be within easy reach of churches, highlight the complexities of diversity of this practice. Perhaps some families preferred to keep the dead close to home to facilitate visiting (as many planters attended church only once a month). Moreover, private burial grounds may have assisted in creating a sense of home or ownership on new plantations and in colonies far removed from the metropole, thereby becoming part of the process of negotiating creole identities and geographies (discussed in previous section on commemorating geographical connections; see also Paterson 2013, Sandiford 2000). Further consideration of these families and their private burial grounds is necessary given the precarious condition of most of these monuments today (and the proportion that have already been lost) and may allow for greater understanding of this practice in future.

CONCLUSION

The commemorative practices of families in Barbados in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when treated as opportunities for sociocultural communication and negotiation rather than merely reflections of colonial history, provide the opportunity to explore the diverse experiences, motivations, and positions of the planter class during the golden age of sugar. While it is clear that the wealth and prosperity that sugar created on the island facilitated the establishment and elaboration of commemorative traditions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it was the social landscape that defined the shape that those traditions took. Drawing on the frameworks of commemoration in Britain, the vocabulary and style of monuments quickly established a distinctive character in Barbados as a result of the very different life and death experiences that early settlers faced. Fluctuations in the types of identities being commemorated via inscriptions, monument styles, and places of commemoration demonstrate changing motivations and needs, audience and the stability of the community, relationships to the metropole and the geographies of home, and location and access to places of memory. The use of monuments

to engage with the tensions of creolised identities, society and culture underlines increasing distancing from Britain. As identities were negotiated in the face of cultural interactions and intersections, and complex experiences of race, religious diversity, and social relationships, commemoration was increasingly used to signal identities that were shaped by the colony. Inscriptions highlight shifting focus from the metropole to the colony as a place of origin, of residence, and death, and ultimately as a place for long-term, multi-generational connections. The significance of lineage, status, and reputation should not be underestimated in shaping commemorative practices, as families established themselves, jockeyed for position, and sought to build up wealth and power. Their personal relationships to the metropole and traditional identities were also reflected in diverse ways, as some commemorative practices maintained references to British identities, lineage and nobility while others referenced themselves as 'Barbadian'.

The type and place of burial further reveals the complexity of early colonial commemoration. The prevalence of delayed commemoration demonstrates how important memorialization was to early settlers, but also the weight or burden of the investment that meant that families could face decades waiting to commemorate, and could indeed see these hopes never realized. The variations in commemorative practice between urban and rural church settings reflect the different setting and communities of commemorative locales, as well as concepts of place on the island and position within society. The reliance upon tightly intertwined relationships between plantation, ports and sugar was reinforced in life, through marriage, and in death, through commemoration. Nevertheless, the significance of elaborate monuments to the upper echelons of society, and the impact of social competition, is evident in rural and urban environments, even if it plays out in different ways. Finally, centuries of commemoration on plantations, the families associated with these private burial grounds, and the variations evident in their practices, adds to our understanding of the mixed and complex motivations behind the monuments of early colonists. The needs of non-conformists, the precarious position of Anglican religion on the island, and relationships to the dead and places of memory, contributed to a sustained practice (despite varied motivations) that is not evident in Britain but served the needs and experiences of the creolised planter class.

The traditions, fashions, and practices in commemoration established on the island in the seventeenth and eighteenth century contributed to the development of the plantocracy, their identities and the way that they saw and represented themselves. The commemorative sequences of families like the Holders, Goodalls, and Ayshfords, of diverse backgrounds and professions, encompassing churches and plantations, and rural

and urban environments, point to the significance of monuments as well as the diverse facets of identity, spoken and unspoken, that shaped them. Moreover, they established the precedence for commemoration that would be drawn upon in later periods. The nineteenth and twentieth centuries saw many continuants from this period in terms of the format, vocabulary and place of commemoration of the dead. However, major transformations in society and economy, including the abolition of slavery and the emancipation of the enslaved population, and the tensions in racial and colonial politics that contributed to the eventual independence of the island, stimulated further changes to commemorative practice and the motivations behind it. The next chapter will consider both the continuity and change of monument traditions, use and fashion in light of these developments that defined the second half of Barbados' colonial history, connecting large-scale trends to the narratives of particular families to explore the changing commemorative population.

CHAPTER 7
COMMEMORATION IN THE AGE OF ABOLITION AND EMANCIPATION, 1800-1950

A modest, flat stone erected in 1816 in St. Andrew's Parish Churchyard highlights the transformation that the Anglican congregation of Barbados was undergoing:

A Friend

causes this Stone

to be erected to the memory of

Jane Ann Thompson

Free Coloured Woman

And her three Infant Children

As a mark of Esteem

…

Who departed this Life

January the 27th 1816

Aged 35 Years.

Very little is known about Jane Ann Thompson, but her status as a free coloured[7] woman in the early nineteenth century placed her in a liminal place within society, neither black nor white, and free only relative to slavery, but without the rights and freedoms of white citizens. And yet, she was free to join the Anglican Church, following manumission. It is also not known who her friend was that commissioned this monument, but their choice to commemorate her status and racial background was a rare one.

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[7] The use of racial terms are highly contested and fluid, however in this chapter, 'coloured' and 'persons of colour' will be used to indicate individuals of mixed European and African descent as it was commonly used during the colonial era both as a legal status, but also in self-representation. The terms 'black' and 'African-Barbadian' will be used to indicate individuals of African descent, and 'free' will be used to differentiate the legal status of individuals of African or mixed descent who were not enslaved prior to universal emancipation (for discussions of the discourse of race, see Githiora 2009, Hall and McClelland 2010, Ifekwunigwe 2004, Krebs 2004, and Wilson 2012).

Just over fifty years later, a monument erected in St. Mary's churchyard in Bridgetown (Figure 7.73), also commemorating an individual freed from slavery in the early nineteenth century, stands in stark contrast to Jane Ann's modest grave marker. Samuel Jackman Prescod's (d. 1871) elegant stone monument, inscribed on all four sides, with an ornate iron rail enclosure is amongst the most elaborate in the churchyard, but it also commemorates the first person of African descent to be elected to Parliament in Barbados, in 1843. The son of Lidia Smith, a free coloured woman, and William Prescod, a white planter, Samuel was the founder of the Liberal Party, a newspaper editor and judge. According to his monument, "he administered even-handed justice without reference to class or condition", "never swerving from [his] principles" as a "courageous and uncompromising advocate… of the anti-slavery cause." The commemorative inscription details his extensive achievements, attests to the status and wealth that he accrued during life, as well as the position that he managed to achieve in his community, despite facing racism and discrimination throughout his career. The inscriptions of these two monuments attest to the breadth of changes that had occurred in Barbados in the nineteenth century, making the lives and experiences of Jane Ann and Samuel Jackman seem quite distant from one another. And yet, subtle references to ongoing discrimination and inequalities demonstrate that there were many social and structural legacies from the age of slavery.

In the turbulent years of the abolition of the slave trade and emancipation of the enslaved population of Barbados, opinions were divided on where the future of the colony should lie. Although the white population predominantly perceived these developments as a threat to society and their way of life, there was a growing number of reformists that viewed these changes as long overdue. At the same time, the African-descendant community expressed disappointment with how slowly and laboriously change was

Figure 7.73 Monument in St. Mary's churchyard for Samuel Jackman Prescod (d. 1871).

achieved, punctuated by riots, rebellion, arson, and conflict. Overall, there are only a handful of monuments that reference race and slavery from this period. This is at least partially influenced by economic considerations; the financial means of most individuals of African descent was incredibly low and the island had extremely high rates of poverty, unemployment, homelessness, and malnutrition. Erecting a permanent monument would have been beyond the means of many, but as commemoration became increasingly accessible in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, race never became a prominent focus of commemorated identities. Even status, which had previously been important in earlier periods of Anglican commemoration, was only minimally referenced. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century monuments both reflected and altered existing practices, and social identities more generally; as active agents of change, commemorative material culture contributes to our understanding of this period of tension and transformation.

The nineteenth century witnessed radical shifts in social order in Barbados. As emancipated individuals sought to integrate themselves into religious communities that they had previously been barred from, church congregations were altered. This was paralleled by the gradual retreat of many white, British or British-descendent families who returned to Europe or moved elsewhere in the Caribbean or North America during this period. As a result, the burial and commemorated population of Anglican churchyards in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was very different to the population that came before. The patterns therefore invite further reflection as a rare context in which previously segregated communities were gradually integrated, negotiating new social relationships and identities. How did burial practices amongst African-Barbadian communities change, from slave burial grounds on plantations to Christian burials on consecrated ground? What influenced commemorative practices in these communities, recognizing that permanent monuments were not previously part of common burial practices? And were commemorative practices of white families also influenced by this transformation of social order and church community? Despite a focus on slave culture and issues of cultural change, creolisation and acculturation, particularly in the eighteenth century, the shift from African-influenced burial practices on private property to Christian burial largely in the Anglican churchyards of Barbados, or indeed other Caribbean colonies, have received insufficient attention (Blouet 2013, Brown 2008). The interaction of African- and European-Barbadian communities in churches and their surrounding burial grounds provides the opportunity to further explore this period of sociocultural transition. This endeavour is, unfortunately, challenged by the invisibility of racially-based identities in commemorative material culture; although parish records occasionally include the race of

baptised and buried individuals, particularly in the period leading up to and immediately following emancipation, very few monuments indicate race. The issue is further complicated by the adoption of last names of the white planter class and 'Christian' first names, complicating genealogical tracing of families. Nonetheless, the following chapter seeks to establish a preliminary picture of post-emancipation burial practices amongst the African- and European-descendent communities in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as the island transformed from sugar colony to independent nation. It will examine changes in the composition of the religious and commemorated population, and their impact on social relationships, identity, community and memory, shifting the hierarchies and strategies of the previously insulated white Anglican churchyard. Slavery, and the social and economic relationships that were structured by this institution, did not end abruptly, but rather they were gradually reconfigured, eroded and renegotiated; commemoration both reflected and contributed to these struggles as identities and positions of individuals and collective groups were materialized, resisted and reshaped.

FROM PLANTATION TO CHURCHYARD

Jerome Handler (1999: 13) has painted the picture that "Barbados is… a vast burial ground: over the several centuries of the slave period, many thousands of people, slave and free were buried in this compact 166 square-mile island." This image owes a great deal to the fact that the enslaved majority of the population during this period were barred from churchyards, and were instead interred on the hundreds of slave burial grounds that formed a necessary part of most plantations. Since the adoption of slave labour in Barbados, British inhabitants of the island had been averse to the conversion of slaves, concerned with the theological and legal status of Christian slaves and worrying that they would eventually have to be freed (Gerbner 2010: 59). This however was not universal in colonial slave communities; rather, "by refusing to admit slaves into their churches, the English planters differed markedly from contemporary French, Spanish and Portuguese slave owners" (Dunn 1972: 249). Spanish slave owners encouraged slaves to be converted to the Catholic faith prior to their departure from Africa and even British Virginia and South Carolina allowed modest missionary activities (Bennett 2003, Brown 2006: 75). Richard Ligon (1673[2011]: 101), who visited Barbados between 1647 and 1650, recounted a slave owner's stance on the conversion of slaves, who argued that, "being once a Christian, he could no more account him a Slave, and so lose the hold they had of them as Slaves, by making them Christians; and by that means should open such a gap, as all the Planters in the Island would curse him." Theoretical and theological concern had discouraged any treatment of slaves that might empower them; however historian Katharine Gerbner (2010)

has argued that it was not until the late seventeenth century that the white population truly feared slave conversion and persecuted Christian missionaries. In the aftermath of the 1675/6 failed slave rebellion, hysteria and fear, reinforced by the isolation of the island, the degree to which slaves outnumbered the free population, and the difficulties in controlling the island with a small militia, led to the scape-goating of the Quakers who had advocated for the conversion of slaves for several years. Although Quakers, who were both pacifists and slave owners, were unlikely to have encouraged a slave rebellion, their provision of both a religious education and the opportunity for unsupervised meetings conflicted with the attitudes of the Anglican community (Chenoweth 2014, 2009, Farnsworth 2000). An Act was quickly passed by the Barbados Council preventing the inclusion of slaves in religious meetings and conversions and missionary activities were thereafter persecuted on the island until abolitionist pressures to ameliorate conditions for slaves in the nineteenth century influenced changes in the attitudes of the Anglican Church (Beckles 1990: 120, Dunn 1972: 104-106). The majority of the African and African-descendant population was therefore segregated in death, as in life, from the places of burial and memory from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries.

In the period leading up to emancipation, between 1817 and 1834 there were more than 59, 000 slave deaths in Barbados. Sparse records impede calculations of slave deaths prior to this period, however estimates are in the hundreds of thousands (Handler 1999: 13). The majority of these deaths would have been followed by interment on slave burial grounds, generally located close to slave villages on plantations. Ethnohistory has provided a frame of reference for slave funerals, emphasising that slaves were largely left to their own devices with regards to burial, other than some passing of laws to limit the time of day and later the use of 'heathenish' music and singing. Obeah, "a system of beliefs rooted in Creole notions of spirituality… which incorporates into its practices witchcraft, sorcery, magic, spells, and healing" (Olmos and Paravisini-Gebert 2011: 155, see also Handler and Bilby 2001), was also outlawed in 1806, with further restrictions in 1818, although these laws were rarely enforced (Newton 2008: 89). Archaeological investigations have sought to fill in the gaps in the historical record, primarily through the excavation of Newton plantation's slave cemetery that was undertaken in the 1970s, and remains the only known, undisturbed slave cemetery in Barbados and the largest slave cemetery excavated in the British Caribbean (Handler 1999: 13). Based on this excavation, slave burial practices have been generalized (though it should be recognized that this was a limited excavation of 104 individuals from between 1660 and 1820; this is a very small proportion relative to the number of individuals buried on the plantation and elsewhere during the period of slavery).

This study also argues that it is likely that most slaves would have been buried in these designated slave burial grounds, but infants may have been buried apart from adults or cast into the bush, following West African influences (Corruccini et al. 1982: 455, see also Handler and Lange 1978: 208-215). Burials would have involved shallow graves dug into uncultivated land and the limestone bedrock, occasionally comprising the natural or artificial mounding of soil. Some burials included wooden coffins and grave goods, but this was not universal. Grave goods included food and drink, pottery, containers, cloth and mats, gold dust, beads and shells, jewellery, including rings and bracelets, knives, pipes and tobacco, replicating or modifying West African cultural traditions (Handler 1997: 102). However, the diverse treatment of the body and the provision of grave goods, including the quantity and quality, is thought to have been largely based on the position of the deceased in the community as well as cultural influences (Handler 1996, 1997). Although this study provides a rare glimpse of Barbadian slave cemeteries, the generalisations that have been drawn from it are largely uncritical and overreaching. Descriptions of 'west African cultural survivals' do not reflect the diversity and truly dynamic nature of mortuary practices from the range of distinct ethnolinguistic groups in this region (Insoll 2015: 78-85, see also Armstrong and Fleischman 2003). Our understandings of African material culture remain general and vague (for exception, see the headway that Ken Kelly and colleagues have made, cf. Kelly and Hardy 2011, Kelly and Fall 2015, Kelly et al. 2015). Our interpretations of the shift from pre- to post-emancipation burial and commemoration is therefore limited by the lack of comparable depth in case studies for slave-era burial grounds.

Even as the baptism of slaves became more common in the early nineteenth century, relatively few African-Barbadians were buried in the grounds of churches or chapels. In 1828, the island's rectors' responses to a London-based missionary society's survey regarding slaves and missionary activities reported that "some slaves are interred in the parish churchyard, others in their usual burying places on the estates" (Society for the Conversion and Religious Instruction of the Negro Slaves in the British West India Islands London 1829 in Handler 1999: 14). Some parishes may have varied in their treatment of the issues, as the rector of St. Michael's parish responded that, "slaves are always interred in places set apart for that purpose on each plantation" (Society for the Conversion 1829 in Handler 1999: 14). The discrepancy in policy is, at least in part, a manifestation of the general confusion regarding the stance of the Anglican Church on the treatment of slaves and the increasingly divergent attitudes of colonists. Urban churches appear to have maintained a more rigidly conservative approach even during emancipation, but it was

often left up to church leaders and influential members of the congregation. The baptism of slaves increased exponentially in the 1820s and 1830s, under pressure of abolitionists and the recognition of the role of converting and educating slaves in preparation for emancipation, however little is known about burial practices in these intervening years.

Apart from the enslaved community, there were also free black and coloured individuals in Barbados by the end of the seventeenth century (Beckles 1990: 85; Handler 1974), and by the second half of the eighteenth century they were becoming an increasingly numerous part of Bajan society (Table 7.6) and the Anglican community. This status was granted by Acts of Legislature for 'good conduct' at times of rebellions; by will/deed as a gift by their owners for good service; to the old and infirm that plantation owners no longer wanted to support; to illegitimate offspring with enslaved women; and finally, to the children of free mothers (Beckles 1990: 85-86, Dunn 1972: 252-255). Fearing their ascendancy into the ranks of higher society and economic class, legislation repeatedly sanctioned the rights of free persons of colour to inherit the property of whites, their political freedoms, and civil rights. Many lived in towns where it was possible to make a living independent of the plantations that dominated rural areas of the island; they worked as tradespeople, in taverns, and as peddlers or small retailers, or beggars if necessary, though some also built prominent businesses and came to own property and slaves. Although the successes of some freed families seem to contradict the attitudes of the white population, all individuals of African descent faced high levels of discrimination, structural inequalities, and violence, particularly in urban contexts. Given the poverty, instability and persecution that most free blacks and coloureds faced during this period, it is unsurprising that few commemorative monuments can be associated with them.

Table 7.6 Estimated free black and free coloured population of Barbados, 1748-1828 (data from Beckles 1990: 88; Handler 1974: 21, 24, McCusker and Menard 1985, 153).

Year	Enslaved Pop.	Free Black Pop.	Free Coloured Pop.
1748		NA	107
1770	92, 000		
1773		78	136
1823	78,816		
1825		1,760	2,066
1826		1,905	2,169
1827		1,947	2,201
1828		1,989	2,259
1829	81, 902	2,027	NA

Where they do exist, they are associated with free families that managed to accumulate some degree of wealth and status. According to St. Michael's Vestry Levy Books, Jane Ann Thompson, whose monument in St. Andrew's parish churchyard opened this chapter, owned property on James Street, in Bridgetown in 1808 (Handler et al. 2007, 86). Agnes Ann Bannister, a free woman of colour, commemorated the death of her 10-year-old son, George Francis (d. 1816), with a low flat vault erected in St. John's Parish Church (Figure 7.74). In the same year, she had acquired slaves from Joseph William Jordan in St. Michael, suggesting she had achieved a level of wealth, status and independence that provided the financial and social resources to acquire burial and commemoration for her son in pre-emancipation Barbados (Handler et al. 2007: 10). Commemorative events that can be confidently assigned to freed persons of colour also tend to be sporadic, inconsistent and often unique events. Whilst simple, they often conform to typical British-influenced fashions and styles of the period. Although an extremely limited sample, there appears to be slightly higher rates of commemoration for freed women and/or their children, possibly suggesting the role of white patronage for their African-Barbadian companions and illegitimate children. Many of these early monuments to free persons take place in rural parishes, despite their businesses and property being largely in the towns; based on records from the Society for Conversion in the 1820s and overall baptism rates, these parishes appear to have been more inclusive. However, it meant that attending church, and visiting graves would have required a much more substantial trip than attending local parish churches in urban environments, dislocating the living from the dead and structuring mourning practices. Finally, there is also a lag in the emergence of commemoration amongst this community; many of the free families that established themselves and acquired wealth and stability prior to emancipation do not begin commemorating their dead until later periods (see Belgrave case study below). Gradual shifts in the position of African-Barbadians within congregations, as well as the growing economic and social stability that was being achieved throughout society in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, undoubtedly influenced the development of commemorative traditions.

Transforming Anglican Communities

In the decades following emancipation in 1834, there was a high level of frustration with the degree of continuity of inequalities, infrastructure and social organisation. Nonetheless, significant changes are evident, both demographically and socially. The white population, which was proportionately higher than in other British Caribbean colonies

(approximately 8% in 1891, compared to 2% in Jamaica and 1.64% in Guyana), dropped steadily, particularly amongst the "poor whites", primarily the remaining descendants of

Figure 7.74 Monument commemorating George Francis (d. 1816, St. John's).

English, Scottish, and Irish indentured servants of the seventeenth century (De Barros 2014: 7). An increase in mortality rates following emancipation also meant that the coloured and black population, who had almost all been born on the island, was also in decline due to poverty, poor health and sanitation infrastructure. As the newly emancipated exercised their power by attempting to control their home and work lives, the African-descendant population was blamed for the population decline, with accusations of lack of civilization, morality, motivation, and poor mothering (Hall 2002, 338, Holt 1992, 309; part of wider colonial concerns with race and inferiority, cf. Ernst 1999, 4, Marks 1997, 210, Roberts 2009, 50-51). As a result, it was not until the early twentieth centuries that reforms made a significant impact on mortality.

Christianity and the Anglican Church, previously a marker of "whiteness" (Twine and Gallagher 2014), were also transformed during this period. Between 1812 and 1817, 2,600 people were baptized in the Anglican Church, according to a survey by the Colonial Office, but these were primarily the children of the white population (Newton 2008: 89). As previously discussed, very few African-Barbadians, whether free or enslaved, were baptized before 1834, and even fewer actually attended due to racial segregation and

unwelcoming white parishioners; marriages and burials in the Anglican Church were extremely rare (Newton 2008: 90). During and following emancipation, however, Christian teaching was deemed critical to preparing the African-Barbadian population, particularly with instilling morality, but also skills like basic literacy. Baptism rates and parish church populations increased drastically (Figure 7.75). Estimates based on church records suggest an increase in African-Barbadian presence from 3.9% (n=143/3,691) of baptisms between 1758 and 1768 to at least 65.4% (n=16,245/24,852) of baptisms between 1838 and 1840. These figures, particularly for 1838-1840, certainly underestimate African-Barbadian baptisms and overestimate attendance/participation, but nonetheless highlight the proportional shift of the congregation immediately following emancipation. Many African-Barbadians sought Christian conversion for the practical benefits and social respectability it could bring, including legitimating the status of children born out of wedlock, providing a venue for social interaction and labour incentives, and also creating opportunities to gain positions of power and respect within the community (Handler 1974, 165-166, Newton 2008: 91). While parts of Christianity were adopted, where deemed useful, less appealing aspects that clashed with existing cultural practices were often resisted, including family structures, views of polygamy and illegitimacy, and the Sabbath (and the resulting ban on Sunday markets and dances). At the same time, relative to many Caribbean and American contexts, the Barbadian Anglican church remained largely unchanged by African culture post-emancipation, due to a history of intensive planter control of religion, the Anglican church, and the regulation of slavery (Erskine 2014: 153).
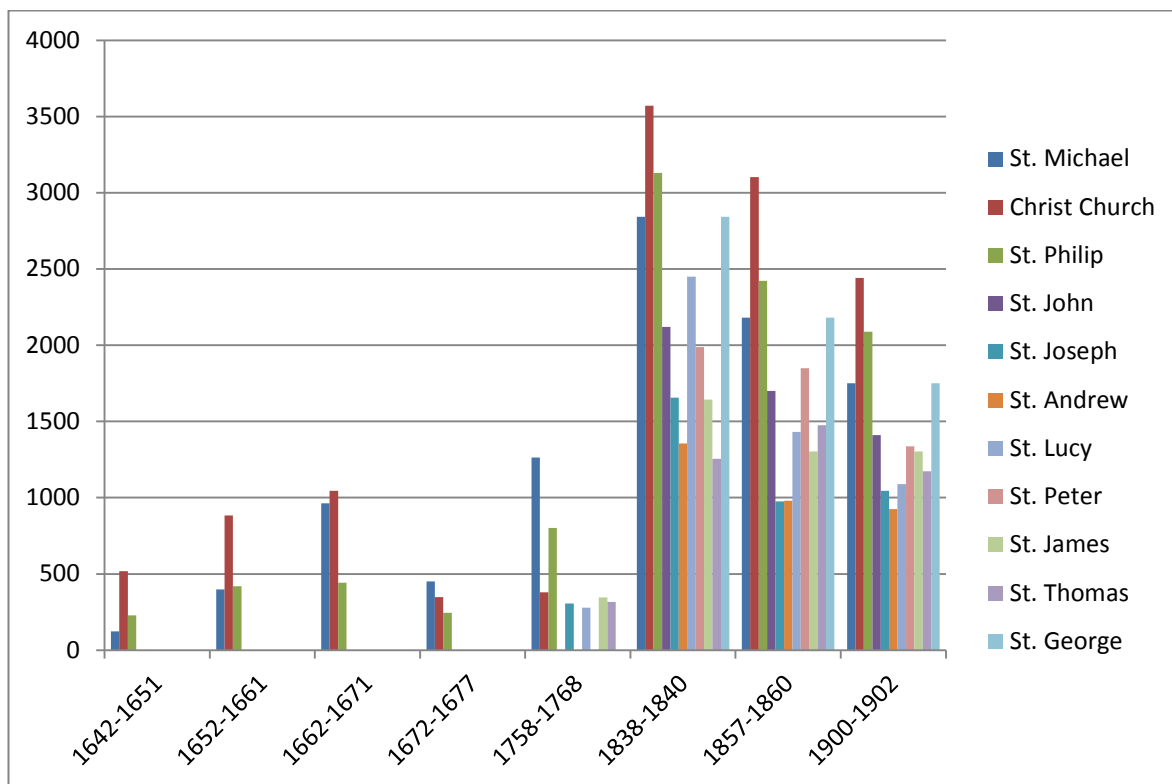
Figure 7.75 Total baptisms in parish church records, 1642 -1902.

Coinciding with higher baptism rates, parish records also demonstrate an increase in the frequency of African-Barbadians who were buried in churchyards (Figure 7.76). However, the burial rates remain low given the high post-emancipation mortality rates reported during this period for African-Barbadians (De Barros 2014: 9). Burial on non-consecrated ground (possibly old slave burial grounds or space set aside in communities) likely persisted into the second half of the nineteenth century and may have followed similar traditions of earlier slave funerals.[8] Burials that did take place in Anglican churchyards would have had to conform to Anglican practices and expectations, including Christian ceremonies, the use of coffins, and the discouragement of leaving grave goods. Most of the Christian ceremonies that are recorded during this period were delivered by assistant curates, in contrast to many of the ceremonies of the white population that were typically presided over by the parish priest, demonstrating a difference in the position of the newly emancipated population. Some churches may have also segregated burial grounds, or at the very least maintained the practice of reserving prime plots close to the church for the higher echelons of the church congregation. These quiet, reserved, and in many ways downplayed, Christian funerals would have stood in stark contrast to the ceremonies conducted in slave cemeteries, though they may have been followed by

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[8] Place of burial after emancipation has not previously been addressed but there is a substantial proportion of the population that cannot be accounted for in church records of burial; this situation, and the possibility that baptised Christians were being buried in non-consecrated ground deserves further analysis.

singing, drumming and other traditional practices at home (Erskine 2014, 143-144). For many, the preference for churchyard burial reflects the perception that Christian burial within Anglican churchyards was a privilege of being a free person, and these events were opportunities to solidify positions within the Church, as well as wider social networks.
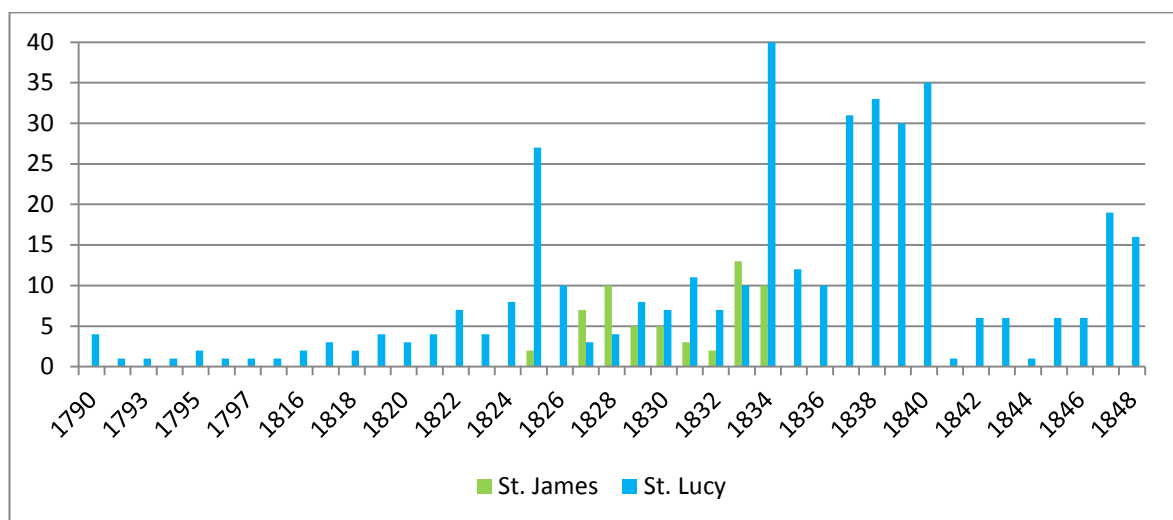
Figure 7.76 Total burials of African-Barbadians in St. James and St. Lucy, 1790-1848. [9]

Emancipated African-Barbadian Commemoration

Commemoration practices amongst the African-Barbadian Anglican community in the emancipation and post-emancipation era are even more difficult to reconstruct than mortuary practices. The rarity of references to race on monuments means that it is exceedingly difficult to characterize commemorative practices amongst the newly emancipated. It is possible that the lack of permanent grave markers in pre-emancipation slave burial grounds[10] limited the need for this form of commemoration of the dead following emancipation; however, given the evidence for commemoration amongst free African-Barbadians during the era of slavery, a lack of precedence cannot account for the patterns entirely. Funerary commemoration does increase at the same time as literacy and financial stability, but also the improving inclusivity of the churches and society more generally. Temporary markers may have been used in the place of more expensive alternatives. Small wooden crosses are still prevalent (Figure 7.77) and were used in the nineteenth century, creating places of memory for the living, but they do not have the longevity of materials like stone and metal.[11] Surviving stone markers that can be linked to

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[9] Most parishes do not have existing records that divide burials by racial categories and thus could not be included in this figure. St. James and St. Lucy are expected to be representative of urban and rural contexts.
[10] Historical records do not suggest that monumental commemoration took place in Barbados in slave burial grounds, but this could be due to the sparsity of records and common omissions. Elsewhere, commemoration in slave burial grounds has been noted (cf. Armstrong Undergraduate Journal of History 2014, Insoll 2015: 78-90, Knobloch 2015).
[11] Based on the dates of wooden crosses during 2013 field work, they have a typical lifespan of 10 to 30 years in the environmental and social conditions of Barbados.

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African-Barbadians in the mid- to late- nineteenth century were, however, strongly influenced by wider fashions. Where styles and materials were out of reach, there is evidence of modifications to create the same effect without the financial investment. This is particularly clear in the use of poured concrete monuments, that were inscribed while wet (Figure 7.78). Coral stone covered in plaster was also a popular choice that achieved the look of carved stone without the equivalent level of financial investment, and there is a visible increase in the use of this material from the middle of the nineteenth century through the twentieth century. Prefabricated cement blocks and other commonly available building materials have also been used to build plot enclosures reminiscent of more traditional stone structures. The resulting commemorative traditions do not, therefore, represent a revolutionary shift. Rather, monuments are linked to existing Anglican commemorative practices, with modifications to fit the needs and resources of African-Barbadians during the social, economic, and political struggles that followed abolition and emancipation in Barbados.

Figure 7.77 A recent burial, with a wooden cross and floral arrangements (St. Andrew).

Figure 7.78 *Left:* Waterman family's poured concrete tablet. *Right:* Recent coral stone and metal plaque added to commemorate Adam Straw Waterman[12] (d. 1887, St. George).

The Belgrave Family

Of course, not all African-Barbadians were new to the church during this period. The Belgraves had been freed persons of colour since the late eighteenth century. By the early nineteenth century, they had built up a large portfolio of property, including Adventure Planation (approximately 144 acres and 99 slaves), Graeme Hall Plantation (243 acres, 130 slaves), Sterling Plantation (218 acres, 166 slaves), and properties in Bridgetown (Handler et al. 2007, 13). Despite attending the Anglican Church in the eighteenth century, including marriages recorded in the 1770s and 1780s, there is no evidence of commemoration for their dead until the late 1830s; this was influenced by a range of sociocultural factors, including the fact that many clergy, who authorized commemoration, refused permission to persons of colour. However, in 1838 or shortly thereafter, the death of Sarah Catherine was commemorated with a white marble monument, set into a low vault (Figure 7.79). This was followed by a sequence of commemorative events erected in a row of plots until the turn of the twentieth century, including a double and single vault, and monuments set on top. The move from a solitary monument, to a more explicit grouping of monuments, and their expanding size and impact show a move to solidify commemorative traditions within the family. The reasons why the Belgraves decided to invest in commemoration at this time is unclear; perhaps in the tensions and uncertainty of this period of transition, permanent commemoration was viewed as a means of asserting the position that they had worked hard to construct for themselves, within their church community, Bridgetown, and the island in general. As both slave owners and individuals of a racial group that struggled for equality, the Belgraves

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[12] Adam "Straw" Waterman was born into slavery but freed at a young age. He then became a mason and is renowned for his work with sawn coral stone, including building St. John's Church (Hill 1984: 38).

stood to lose economically and benefit socially from emancipation and accompanying social changes. The Belgraves certainly faced discrimination on a routine basis; only a few years before, another Belgrave (likely a more distant relation) had been beaten to death by a white man (Handler et al. 2007: 14). Although these monuments would have played an important role in the mourning process for the Belgraves and established a place of memory in their local community, commemoration would certainly have also contributed to creating a material record or advertisement of the wealth, position and reputation of the family during this uncertain time. Whatever the case may be, the sequence of commemoration that ensued remained sporadic and difficult to characterize. Nonetheless, it is evident that the choice to commemorate was indeed a choice for the Belgraves and other families of African-descent during and following abolition and emancipation. The resulting monuments drew on existing forms, but increasingly sought to create a visual impact within the churchyard. They also demonstrate the maturing of commemorative practice, starting with relatively isolated commemoration similar to the aforementioned monuments of Jane Ann Thompson, Agnes Ann Bannister and the Watermans, before developing into a more stable and organized tradition, with regular intervals and repeated use of particular motifs, forms and materials.

COMMEMORATION IN THE ABOLITION ERA AND BEYOND

As the Anglican community transformed, reflecting and contributing to broader social transitions that sought to integrate the diverse populations in some respects, but maintained divisions in others, it is not surprising that commemoration was also used to negotiate the tensions that were emerging. Examining the overall commemorative values represented by the monumental record from the nineteenth and twentieth century reflects the breadth of changing experiences and social relations. Examining the ways in which commemorative trends changed in this period does, therefore, make it possible to explore the ways in which post-emancipation Bajan society experienced and represented their identities and negotiated social relationships through commemorative practice.

Social Relationships

Social relationships, and the nuclear family in particular, were central elements of commemoration in Barbados prior to emancipation (see Chapter 4 and 6). The peak period of commemorating social relationships on the majority of commemorative events in the eighteenth century remains stable until roughly the 1820s, with just over half of commemorative events including social relationships (51.01%, n=101/198) (Figure 7.80).
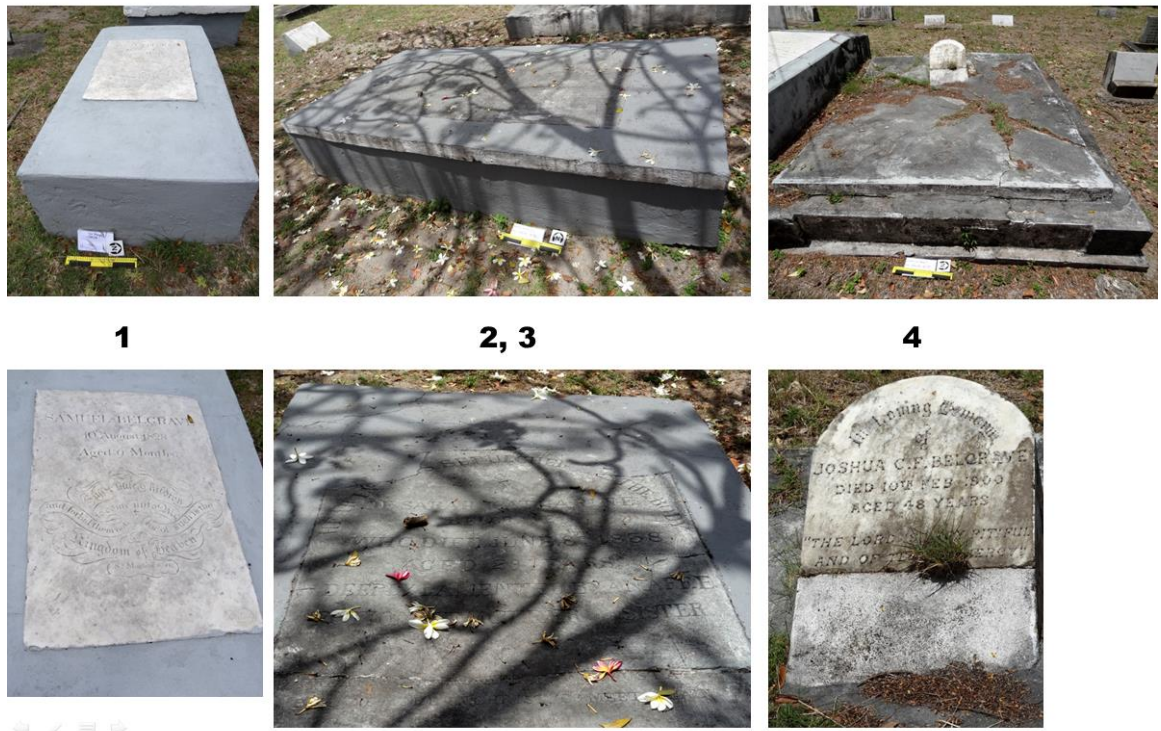
Figure 7.79 Commemorative sequence of the Belgrave family in St. Mary's Church, Bridgetown, including 1) Sarah Catherine (d. 1838); 2) Jacob Belgrave Jr. (d.1860), and his son 3) Jacob Ernest (d. 1859); and 4) Joshua C.F. Belgrave (d. 1900).
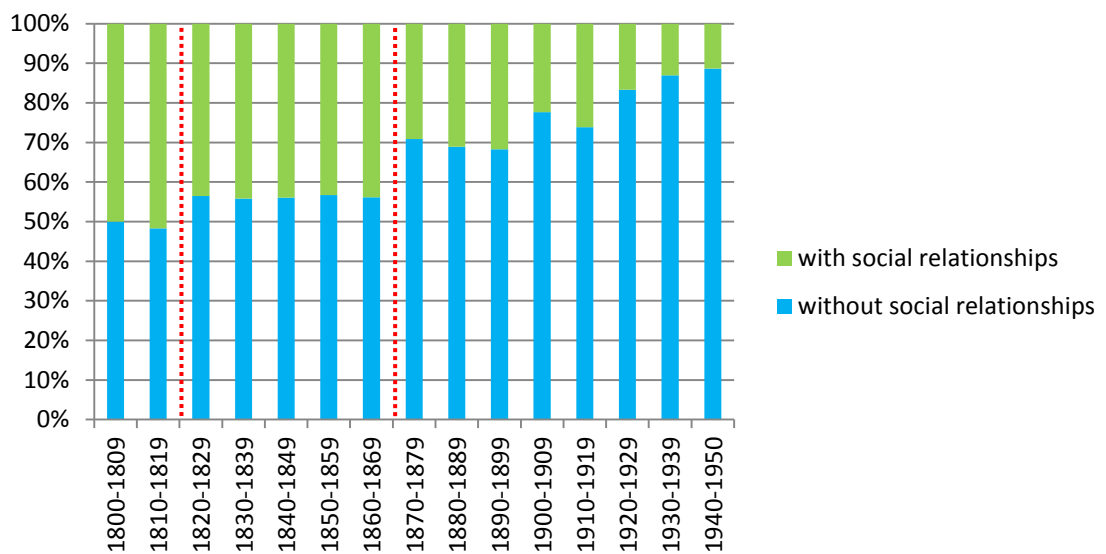
Figure 7.80 Proportion of commemorative events with and without social relationships, 1800-1950.

Although discussions of abolishing the slave trade were serious during this period, social circles and racial segregation remained relatively unchanged for the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The numbers of free persons of colour and slaves converting to Anglicanism was, indeed, on the rise. However, the unwelcome atmosphere of a predominantly white church congregation meant that many of these new parishioners did

not attend church regularly nor integrate into the religious community, and even fewer were commemorated in the churchyards. The slow decline in references to social relationships evident on monuments during this period cannot therefore be attributed to the destruction of family values and morality through abolishing slavery and integrating African-Barbadians into previously white social institutions, as many white Christians at the time feared (cf. Bush 1990, de Barros 2014, Meillassoux 1991, Newton 2008, Romero-Cesareo 2006). In fact, many early examples of African-Barbadian commemoration in Anglican environments include references to social relationships. For instance, the previously described example of George Francis Bannister's monument includes his mother's name. Rather, the decline in the nineteenth century, before the wider integration and inclusion of African-Barbadians, reflects broader social changes, including within the white planter class. The more stable communities that were being formed at this time (in contrast to high immigration and mortality rates in earlier periods) reduced the need for monuments to negotiate or advertise family relationships and lineage as a form of social status or position in society, similar to the more stable communities analysed in British case studies like Cambridgeshire and rural Lancashire (see Chapter 5). During the immediate phase of emancipation and the several decades of transition that followed, the changes to social groups were more severe. The prevalence of social relationships dropped before quickly levelling out. Between 1820 and 1869, although reduced, the use of social relationships remains relatively stable, with an average of 43.73% (n=349/798). The social flux introduced by emancipation may in fact have had a stabilising effect on commemorative practices, placing a temporary hold on further decline in use of references to social relationships. From 1870 onwards, there is a steady drop with only 22.60% (n=214/947) of commemorative events with indicators of social relationships. This coincides with a period in which a more notable proportion of monuments could be confidently attributed to individuals of African descent; however, these monuments demonstrate a comparable level of references to social relationships as those that could be attributed to individuals of European descent.

Although there are slightly lower rates of social relationships on primary commemoration, the overall pattern of decline-stabilisation-decline in references is paralleled across all types of commemoration (Figure 7.81). In fact, during the period of stabilisation between 1820 and 1869, there is actually a slight recovery of rates of social relationships commemorated on primary monuments, nearly reaching pre-emancipation rates. The dramatic decline that follows 1870 is influenced, at least in part, to the lower economic means of the population commemorating their dead in later periods, as the

African-Barbadian community came to dominate the Anglican and commemorated populations alike in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is, however, also tied to the changing social value that could be reaped from commemorating social relationships (or effectively advertising family connections). This is not to argue that social or familial relationships were not important within the African-Barbadian community; there is overwhelming evidence of the ways in which families were maintained during slavery not to mention the efforts of the newly-emancipated population to reconstruct families that had previously been torn apart by slavery (cf. Bush 1990, de Barros 2014, Meillassoux 1991, Newton 2008, Romero-Cesareo 2006). Rather, as the social order changed, inherited status became less important, and commemorative values shifted. After the 1870s, the steeper decline in use of family relationships in primary commemoration than in secondary commemoration demonstrates that where social relationships are still being used in commemoration, it is primarily a way of transitioning from commemorating one individual to the next (ie. "daughter of the above"), rather than using it as a means to advertise family or lineage, and its social value.

The types of social relationships being referenced throughout this period further reflects changes to both social organisation and colonial experiences. The nuclear family remained the primary social relationship referenced on monuments (93.9%, n=683/727). References to non-family social relationships are slightly higher however, with 1.1% of social relationships referencing friends and employers in equal numbers. The appearance of references to employers during this time period highlights changing racial interactions. Because a large proportion of the labouring population had previously been barred from Anglican burial grounds due to the regulations against converting slaves, the British tradition of commemorating important household staff like butlers and housekeepers had not emerged to the same extent in Barbados, as it did in Britain. However, references to slaves or servants do emerge in the short period between conversion of slaves as part of amelioration efforts in the face of abolition in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and the emancipation of slaves in the 1830s (Figure 7.82). Despite the diversification of social references, the decline in use is paralleled by a wider simplification of commemorative inscriptions, undoubtedly tied to shifts in the perception of the value, cost and impact of direct, textual references to social networks and status and their role in reflecting and negotiating wider social relationships and community networks.
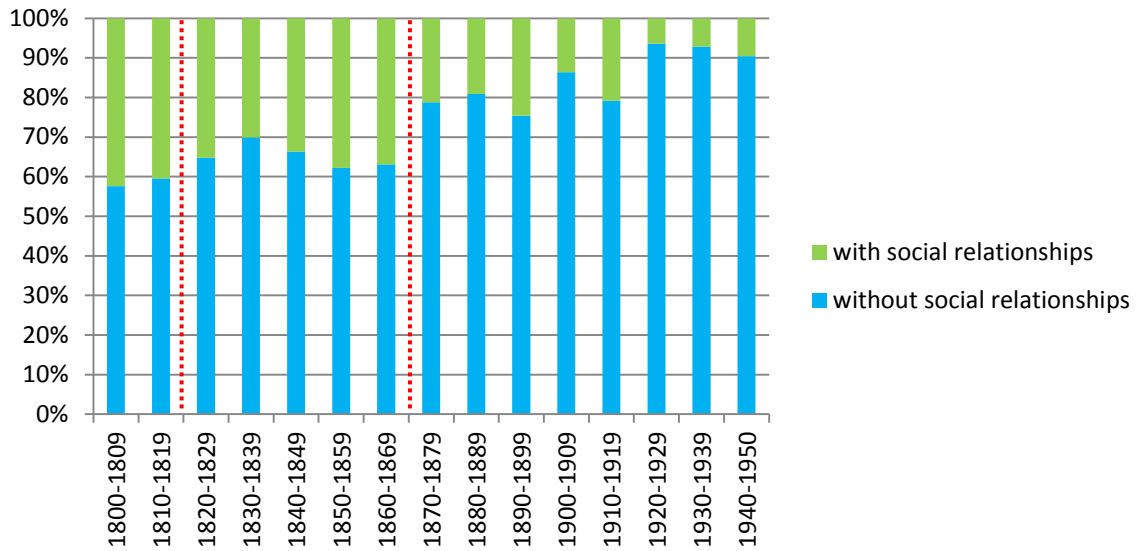
Figure 7.81 Proportion of primary commemorative events with and without social relationships, 1800-1950.

Here lies the Body of
JAMES JEZZEPH
late Coachman to the Right
Honorable
Lord Combermer (sic)
Governor of Barbados and
Commander of the Forces in the
Windward and Leeward Islands
who died November the 15th 1817
Aged 50 Years.

(emphasis added)

Figure 7.82 Tablet commemorating James Jezzeph (d. 1817), coachman.

The reduction in references to social relationships should not be attributed to a lack of family values or the insignificance of family relationships at this time; other indicators of family, and their status emerged as a means of creating family networks in places of memory in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In particular, one of the most common monument styles still in use in Barbados today emerged during this period (Figure 7.83). This style groups monuments within a larger burial plot, either with the use of a low curb or a large covered "vault" area of concrete or coral stone. This visually collects individuals together, even if no information is given regarding the nature of that connection (i.e. inscriptions with particular family roles or positions). If family connections and the commemoration of these relationships were not important, the reserving of large family plots and the structuring of commemoration in this fashion would not be necessary, and generally indicates a greater investment for families, playing some of the same

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communicative roles as inscribing relationships or heraldry had previously. The highly textual and status-based references of the earlier planter community declined in the nineteenth century under the pressures of a changing social order and way of life, before giving way to new fashions of representing family through more visual or physical grouping of monuments. These collective monuments created a focal point and defined space of memory and heritage for families. Monumental fashions and practices, therefore, demonstrate transformations in the *ways* that families are commemorated, rather than the value of kinship itself in these changing communities and commemorative contexts.

Figure 7.83 Two examples of monuments grouped by plot structures in St. Lucy Parish churchyard. Top: Ward family (1912-2010). Bottom: Watson family (1937-1997).

Social Status & Other Facets of Identity

The practice of drawing attention to social status of individuals and their relatives through commemorative inscriptions had peaked in the eighteenth century and was declining prior to the nineteenth century (Figure 7.84). Similar to referencing social relationships, there is also a small spike in the inscriptions with status peaking in the 1840s before declining and levelling out after the 1870s. This largely comprises references to military occupations and titles such as Esquire, Sir and Baronet, but is not limited to the white population (for instance, the previous example of Jacob Belgrave Junior, who is commemorated as Esquire). While it does not have the dramatic stabilisation seen in social relationships, it is nonetheless possible that this was similarly influenced by the social and political tensions on the island during the uncertainty of emancipation. Given the changing social framework, it is possible that prestigious titles and occupations were commemorated in order to help to negotiate socioeconomic relationships between previously segregated communities. The evidence suggests that the white population used references to their positions of authority and titles to maintain a more symbolic level of segregation as other walls were coming down. Overall, however, status was represented on only 32.2% of commemorative events (n=257/798) between 1820 and 1869, and fewer than 14.6% of commemorative events (n=136/932) between 1870 and 1950. The nature of status represented also shifts; twentieth-century inscriptions tend to reference occupations, particularly teachers, and medical and church professions, rather than social titles and political/military authority, representing the changing make-up of the commemorated population and the values of social positions.
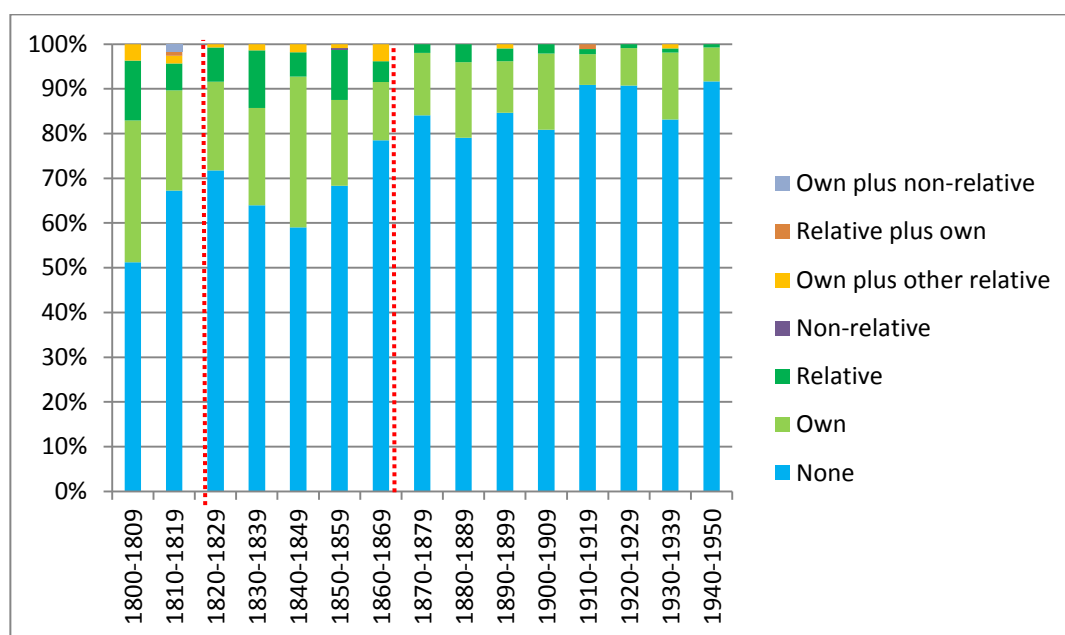
Figure 7.84 Proportion of commemorative events with references to status, 1800-1950.

References to geographical connections, such as places of birth, residence, and death, that were also more common in earlier periods, were in decline in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with some recovery between 1820 and 1869 (Figure 7.85). Places of residence and of death become particularly important in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, representing the change from a colony of immigrants to one where the majority of the population was born on the island (and beginning to migrate elsewhere, maintaining a link to Barbados as 'home'). Commemoration of links to particular properties (particularly plantations) peaked in the 1860s and 1870s, serving a similar function as social status discussed above – setting in stone another racial- and class-based indicator of identity to set apart certain individuals during a period of social flux. Given that only six out of nearly three hundred plantations were owned by individuals with African ancestry in the 1860s, the ownership of property remained a characteristic of racial privilege and a legacy of previous social and economic systems in Barbados. Other facets of identity, such as virtues, service, religion, and political affiliations, roughly follow this same pattern, with some sense of recovery or stabilization in the period between 1820 and 1869, but not facing the same dramatic decline thereafter (Figure 7.86). Family roles, religion and service (especially military) remain particularly prevalent after the period of 1870, elements that remain highly valued within Bajan communities today. The rise and decline of commemorating different facets of identity, from social relationships, status, geographical connections, and even the individual's character or life history, are both reflections of a society and church community in transition, but also the ways in which inscriptions and material culture were incorporated into the processes of negotiating these social tensions and the needs of families in remembering their dead.

In contrast to other components of inscriptions that were waning during this period, the majority of references to cause of death in commemorative inscriptions occur within the nineteenth century (91.4%, n=106/116). For instance, John Winterbottom, and his wife Penelope, V.A. Surtees, and E. Gough of the 52nd Light Infantry all "fell Victims to an Epidemic which attacked the Corps shortly after its arrival at Barbados towards the latter end of 1888" or Elizabeth Augusta Turner (d. 1853) "who died of a lingering illness of eight years." In particular, between 1840 and 1859, there is a peak in the number of cases that commemorate illness as cause of death (43.1%, n=50/116). Although this coincides with large epidemics on the island, particularly the cholera epidemic of 1854 that killed 20,000 people, it is not of course the only period in which illness caused high death tolls in Barbados. By the nineteenth century, mortality rates for the white population, however, had fallen to the lowest rates since colonization. The mortality rates of the African-
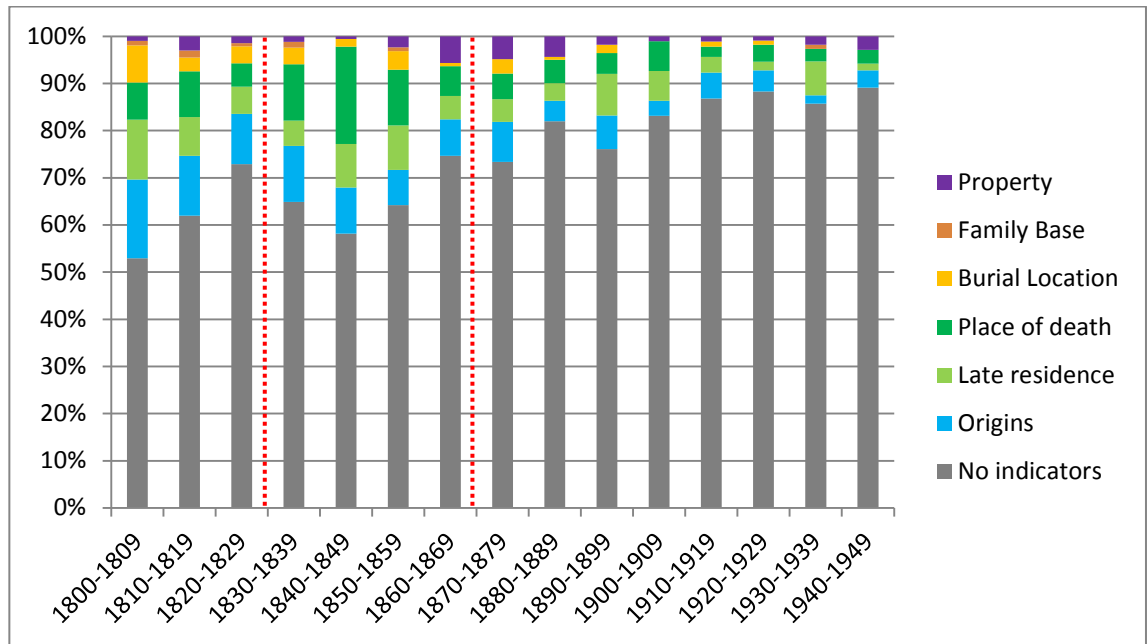
Figure 7.85 Proportion of commemorative events with references to geographical connections, 1800-1950.
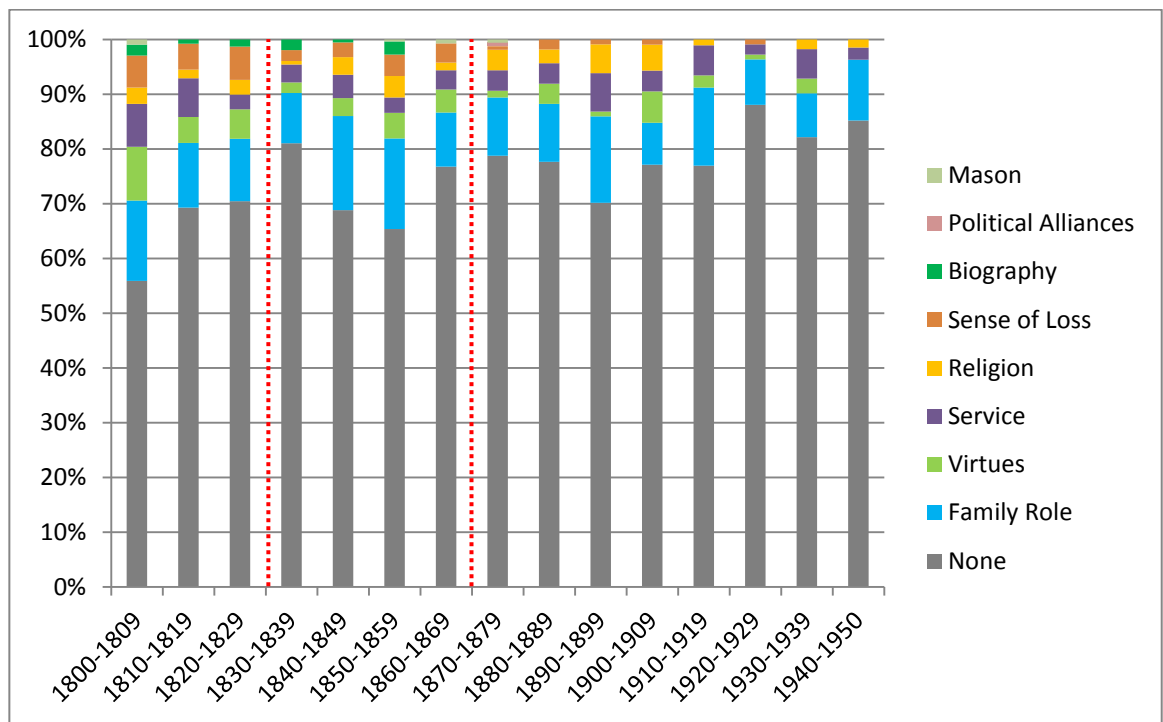
Figure 7.86 Proportion of commemorative events with references to identity or character, 1800-1950.

Barbadian community, on the other hand, were not in decline until the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. However, the cases commemorating cause of death in the nineteenth century were almost exclusively attributable to white individuals. The commemoration of cause of death does not necessarily indicate an intensification of grief as a result of the decline in mortality rates (as has been the interpretation with regards to

other facets of death, such as infant mortality, heavily influenced by the work of Ariès 1962, Shorter 1975, Ucko 1969). Rather, in a context in which fewer individuals were dying of illnesses, not to mention military conflict, and environmental conditions, the cause was all the more noteworthy in commemorating particular losses. Moreover, case studies regarding high infant mortality and military losses have suggested that commemoration is more likely to be simplified or muzzled during periods of high mortality so as to not trigger higher emotional responses in grief stricken communities (cf. Cannon and Cook 2015, McCafferty and McCafferty 2006, Strange 2005). There is a sense, then, that, at least for the white middle and upper classes, the experience of death and dying in Barbados was in transition in the nineteenth century, and the ways in which the dead were commemorated were likewise transformed. This transition occurs later for the African-Barbadian population and the resulting shifts in commemoration fall largely outside of the period of study but could be an important avenue for future research. The contrast in commemorative values, themes and choices, however, reflects divergent experiences of British- and African-descendant communities in Barbados between emancipation and independence. While choices regarding references to status, family and property were largely motivated by interests in maintaining segregation and previous social structures in a period of flux, the inclusion of references to cause of death, and other personal details reflect changing experiences and values that individuals were perhaps less conscious of but were nonetheless important elements of identity, memory, and death in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Commemoration Styles and Use

As Anglican communities evolved in Barbados, changing commemorative strategies, social relationships, and resources transformed patterns of use and styles of commemoration in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In comparison to the seventeenth century, there was a decline in the erection of new monuments and structures for commemorative events, particularly in the second half of the nineteenth century (Figure 7.87). On the other hand, electing to add to existing monuments became increasingly prevalent. In particular, adding plaques or small ledgers to existing structures, which was extremely rare in earlier periods, became increasingly common from the 1850s onwards. This is undoubtedly influenced by the aforementioned fashion to group small monuments within a large curb or vault surface, rather than erect one large monument on which further inscriptions would be added later. Overall, however, there is increasing reuse of existing monuments over long periods of time, including multiple generations of a family and over a century, reflecting the social stability and connection to family places of memory

established in Barbados in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The place of commemoration had also firmly shifted to the churchyard for most of the nineteenth century, following a peak in internal commemoration between the 1780s and 1820s (Figure 7.88). Most internal commemoration in the twentieth century pertains to individuals that were strongly involved in the church, such as priests, curates, wardens, choirmasters, and organists, and take the shape of small metal plaques, in contrast to the ostentatious sculptural monuments of the plantocracy in the seventeenth centuries that dominated church walls. Commemoration in private burial grounds persisted into the twentieth century, however its popularity was declining as relationships to plantations shifted in the nineteenth century.
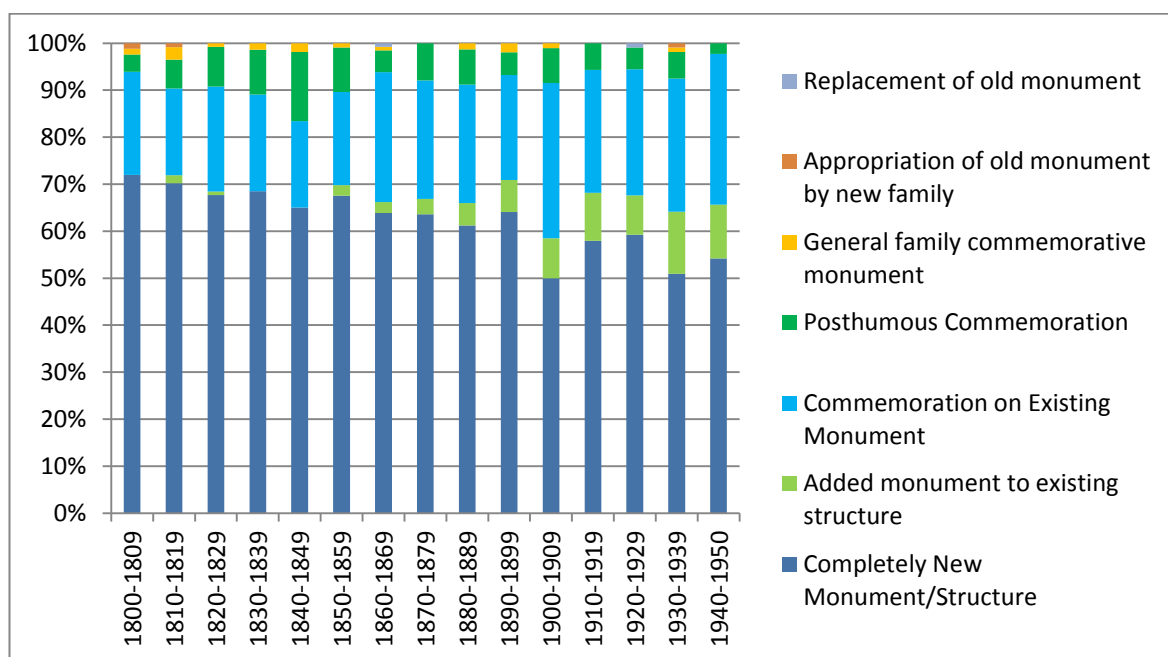
Figure 7.87 Proportion of commemoration types, 1800-1950.
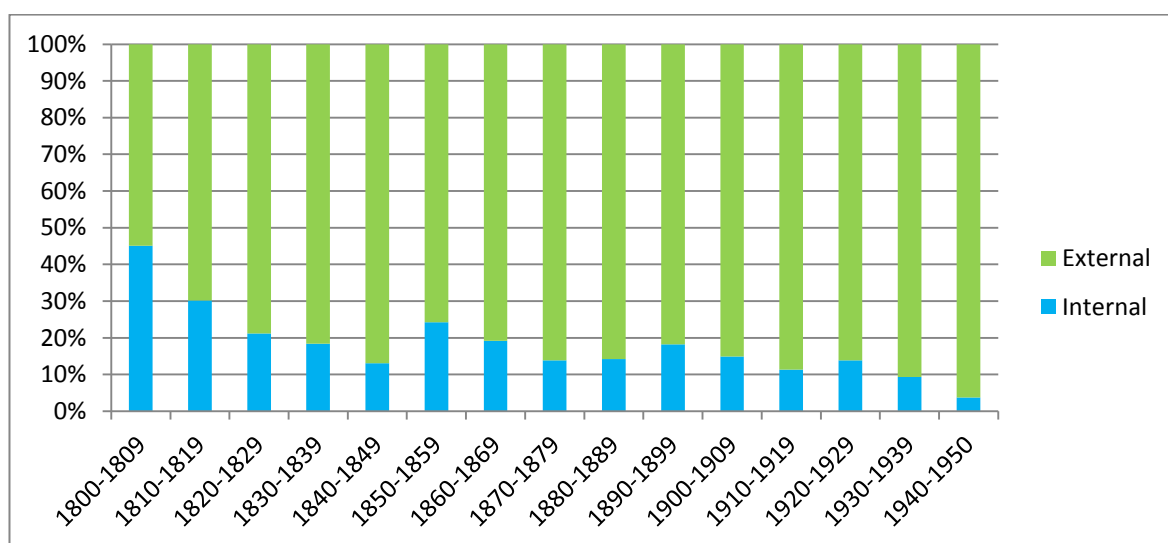
Figure 7.88 Proportion of internal and external commemorative events, 1800-1950.

Rural and urban approaches to commemoration also diverge during this period. Although the themes and elements included in inscriptions largely mirror each other during this period, the styles of commemoration develop in different ways (Figure 7.89; see also Chapter 4 for more detailed discussion of data). Rural churchyards saw peak use of mausolea (large, fully or partially above-ground structures) in the first half of the nineteenth century. As the use of mausolea declines, the construction of large vaults (crypts largely or completely below ground) and enclosures on large group plots increases exponentially, accounting for the majority of commemorative monuments erected in the first half of the twentieth century. In fact most of the headstones that were erected in the twentieth century were being added to these large structures, rather than being placed independently. In contrast, urban churchyards had much lower proportions of mausoleum use, and later large structures. There were larger proportions of headstones and sculptural monuments erected in the churchyard, but adding inscriptions to existing monuments was far more common in urban rather than rural environments, particularly in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. These patterns reflect differences in social structures, logistics and resources. Certainly, many of the rural churchyards have more space and generally smaller congregations than the urban churches, leaving much more room for large mausolea, vaults, and enclosed plots. Moreover, since the allotment of plots was under control of individual ministers, it is possible that urban churches were less accommodating with regards to reserving large plots for a particular family and more keen to distribute plots as deaths occurred. Overall, there are lower proportions of large monuments erected during this period in urban settings and higher rates of adding inscriptions to existing monuments, whilst rural settings see greater investments in new (and larger) monuments or adding of elements to existing structures. This suggests that there was greater stability in urban societies, but also that there was greater wealth based in rural communities during this period, possibly accompanied by an increase in the social value of commemoration, warranting greater investment beyond what was necessary for the purposes of marking graves and providing a place of memory for families (similar to the rural communities of Cambridgeshire, and Lancashire, see Chapter 5). Certainly, the realities of everyday life in rural and urban communities following emancipation stood in stark contrasts. Records suggest that many urban churches were more conservative and there were higher levels of discrimination in cities. However, the lack of opportunities for African-Barbadians led to urban growth, but also high unemployment and poverty rates in the cities. The reordering of merchant businesses as the sugar industry shifted and as Barbados headed towards independence further transformed the social structures of urban

ports and this is reflected in the commemorative record. Commemorative material culture reflects these changing circumstances in rural and urban communities not only due to differences in the physical and social environment, but also because the values and strategies for memory production deviated in these contexts. Levels of community stability, race relations, the fabric of church congregations, and the politics of commemorating the dead continued to influence decisions about what was important to commemorate into the twentieth century.
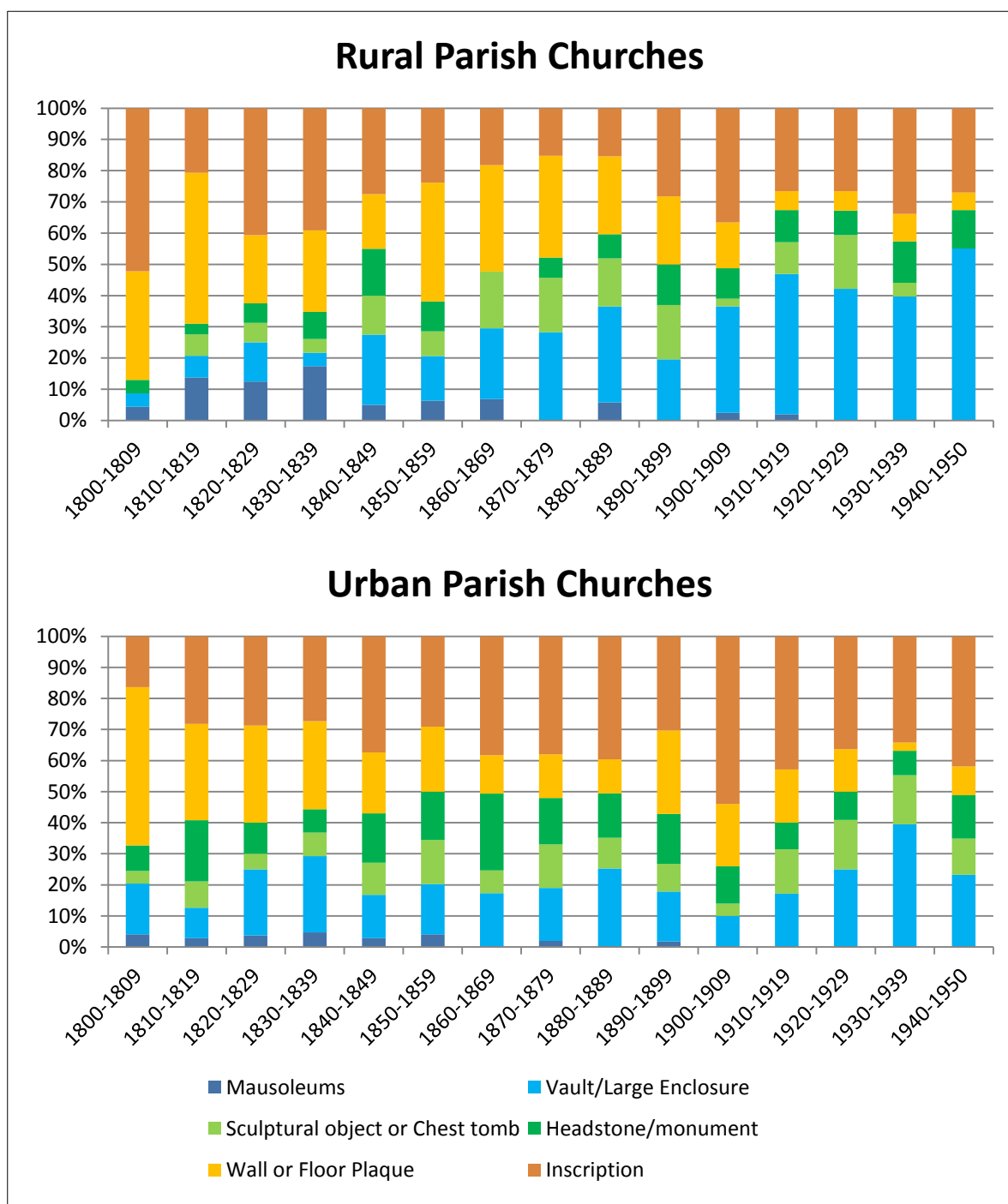
Figure 7.89 Comparison of the proportions of styles of commemoration in rural and urban parish churches in Barbados, 1800-1950.

ESTABLISHING COMMEMORATIVE TRADITIONS

Given the increasingly stable communities of later-colonial Barbados, the existence of long sequences of commemoration associated with families provides the opportunity to explore the establishment and development of traditions during this period. The families described above and the case study below both underline the deeply contextual choices and events in the commemorative record, but also provides the opportunity to generalize practices to better understand the experience of families in colonial Barbados, and the ways that their experiences shaped the broader trends that have been identified.

The Kellman Family

Residing in St. Lucy's, the northernmost parish of the island, the Kellman family traces its heritage in the colony to the mid-seventeenth century. Historically, they left little evidence beyond a steady stream of baptisms, marriages and deaths recorded in the parish church, until the middle of the nineteenth century. At this time, the family owned three primary properties in the parish – Chance Hall, Cluffs and Whiteheads plantations. But their presence in the parish can also be traced via a trail of family commemoration that is scattered throughout the churchyard. Starting in 1840, with the commemoration of James Cragg, aged 4 years and 3 months, by his parents John and Alithea Kellman, 20 commemorative events followed on a total of 14 monuments, as late as 1967, representing four generations and at least three lines of kin (**Figure 7.90**,Figure 7.91). This family is in many ways representative of nineteenth and twentieth century experiences for rural white planter families. Like many families hit by the tragedy of the cholera epidemic of 1854, the Kellman family lost Mary Jane, wife of Shadrack Kellman, Esq., and their 14-year-old daughter Ann Cragg, both dying on the 24th day of June. Additionally, in the twentieth century, many family members emigrated to the United States, particularly New York (Brooklyn), seeking employment in the military, as jewellers, and in sales. This was part of larger exodus from the island, spurred by shifting economic and occupational opportunities resulting from falling sugar prices, limited land available for a growing population, not to mention emancipation and changes to labour, social and political structures (Beckles 1990: 207-209). Most of these family members remained abroad, though Carrill Kellman (d. 1967), returned to St. Lucy from New York after his wife's death and was commemorated on a monument erected to his uncle James Cragg, Jr. (d. 1880). This family also had clear traditions to maintain their collective sense of identity, evident for instance in the naming traditions; the use of the middle name 'Cragg' can be traced back to the eighteenth century, and was used repeatedly for more than two hundred years. The Kellman family therefore represents a strong case study for understanding choices and traditions.
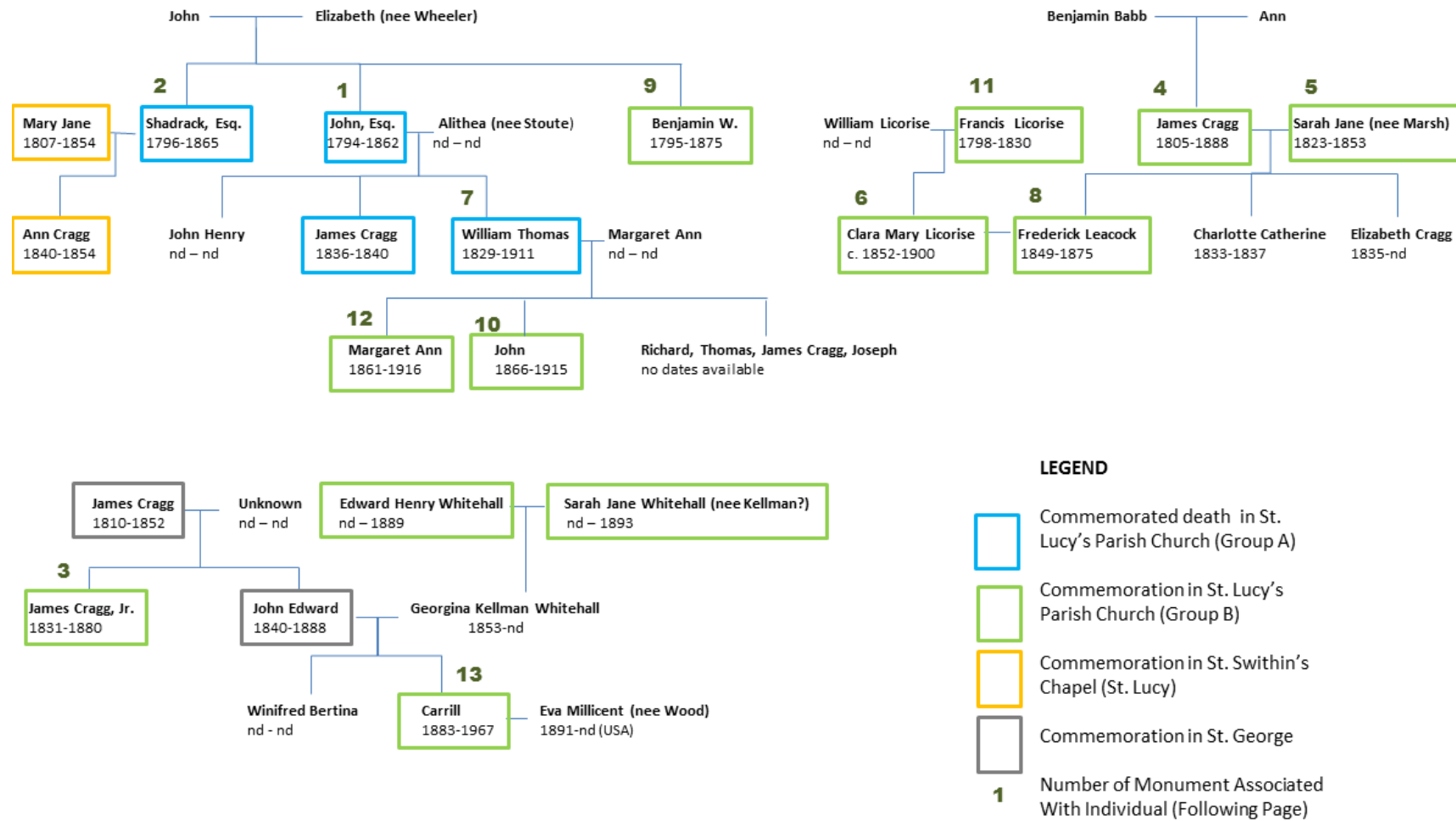
Figure 7.90 Kellman family trees, with places and sequences of commemoration (corresponds with Figure 7.19).

Figure 7.91 Kellman monuments from St. Lucy Parish Church (corresponds to, Figure 7.18).

It is difficult to infer the impetus for commemorating their dead, starting in the 1840s. Their overall visibility that emerges in the nineteenth century might represent a period of particular prosperity for the family, having acquired multiple successful sugar plantations, providing the economic stability to encourage investment in commemoration. However, to associate it wholly with financial ability would be an oversimplification, and personal sentiment and emotions, experiences, and relationships with death may have also contributed to the choice to commemorate (Tarlow 1999: 28-30, 36, 2000). This is strengthened by the fact that the earliest monuments erected were in emotionally charged situations – the death of a young child and the loss of a mother and daughter on the same day to an epidemic – that coincided with the necessary economic stability of the family. Nonetheless, the commemoration of Kellmans is never universal, with some spouses and children never receiving permanent commemoration, a common trend that was seen for most families on the island and indeed in the British comparative sample. The context of deaths, and the remaining family members that would be responsible for commemoration (for instance, the second individual in a married couple to die or parents that die after their children are less likely to be commemorated) strongly influenced an individual's likelihood of commemoration.

Because the Kellmans commemorated their dead for more than a hundred years, with a number of monuments and locations, this family also provides the opportunity to explore the development of family traditions. Early commemoration shows little conformity – the first three monuments associated with the family occur in three different churchyards (as recorded by Oliver 1915: 127, 132, 172), though their disappearance since the beginning of the twentieth century makes it difficult to comment on stylistic traditions. Later monuments, however, show a variety of styles prior to becoming more uniform. The initial monuments erected in St. Lucy's are close to one another but not immediate neighbours, in contrast to a row of monuments that was established in the 1880s. The first phase also shows a variety of monuments, all covered tombs but with a range of tablet styles, including a slanted tablet, a large flat tablet, and a large upright tablet with a pitched vault covering. In the second phase, and the establishment of a clear Kellman family plot, one of the earliest monuments is a white marble cross, with a low iron enclosure. The rest of the monuments in the row, however, show a high level of uniformity, all with flat vault covers and upright, white marble tablets. There is some variety in inscription styles, including lead lettering on one monument, and iconography, ranging from the individual's monogram to the religious inscription of IHS.

Given the development of the Kellman monuments, it could be argued that the initial choice to erect monuments commemorated deaths that were particularly emotionally charged. They do not show material or physical links with one another, beyond sharing a family name. Following these initial events, commemoration of the dead may have seemed more appropriate as a result of precedence. Monuments continue to show some variation in style, influenced by fashions, options available from stone masons, and existing monuments in the churchyard. However, following the establishment of the Kellman plot, greater uniformity is visible as monuments filled in the spaces. Even a monument to two Whitehalls, whose monument was almost certainly erected by their daughter, a Kellman by marriage, that occurs in this same row, takes the same form of white marble tablet and vault cover. The family may even have used the same stone mason to provide these monuments, which could account for some of the uniformity. The Belgrave family, in St. Mary's churchyard, followed a similar pattern of increasing uniformity with the establishment of a large collective plot. Overall, the Kellman and Belgrave traditions demonstrate the development of greater organization, the possible influence of undertakers, stonemasons and mass production, and conformity to a family tradition that gradually emerged from the 1840s to 1880s, and then was maintained into the twentieth century. Although the ability to confidently reconstruct sequences of monuments to a single family is relatively rare, other case studies demonstrated a similar pattern of establishing the precedence, then gradually developing more concrete traditions, though many followed fashions in monument styles more closely and demonstrated less uniformity overall.

Superficially, this case study, and others like it, does not necessarily transform our understanding of Barbados or historical changes to social and economic organisation on the island. However, they show the propensity for family identity, experience and tradition to both shape and be shaped by commemorative fashion, not to mention wider social forces. In many cases, the outliers or lag periods in the wider trends can be contextualized by a small-scale case study approach to the family concerned. For the Kellmans, the impetus to start commemorating the dead with permanent monuments, the development of a relatively uniform style, and the choices to include details like cause of death or property in inscriptions, cannot be fully understood in terms of statistics and fashion, but rather were shaped by the family's experiences of life, death, and society during this period – the impact of the cholera epidemic, of widespread emigration, and even the solidification of family tradition. By this token, families may follow commemorative practices that diverge from common customs and fashions. Similarly, the families that elected to be buried on private property contrast with what was customary (church burial), perhaps most

dramatically in the case of John Brathwaite Skeete, Esq. (d. 1794) whose remains were disinterred from St. Peter's Church, where other family members were buried, to be interred on Mangrove Plantation according to, "his own particular desire" (Oliver 1915:158; see also plantation burials in Chapter 6). Families in Britain demonstrated similar divergence from customs and fashions, evident in the case of a family from the Cambridgeshire sample that maintained the use of simple limestone tablets between 1809 and 1964, long past when the style was fashionable or common. Understanding the motivations behind the choices to be buried in a particular location, or commemorate particular individuals in particular ways can be extremely complicated and are often not widely accessible in the archaeological and historical records. However, these case studies shed light on some of the factors influencing choices in commemoration and the processes through which family traditions are established and drawn upon by later generations, and in turn contextualize broader trends, and the implications for our interpretations.

CONCLUSIONS

The nineteenth and twentieth centuries witnessed revolutionary social, economic and political changes in Barbados. The abolition of the slave trade, emancipation of slaves, and accompanying transformations of infrastructure, political structures, and the island's economy impacted the experiences of every social group on the island. While some of these transformations were immediate and abrupt following emancipation, others were more gradual; their influence is evident in commemorative practices, as social relationships were gradually renegotiated, new communities were forged, and economic positions shifted. Analysis of commemorative events, then, provides a rare context from which to explore the integration of previously segregated groups, and their reactions and experiences, through the ways that they created material culture and memory. The stabilisation of declining rates of commemorating social relationships, status, and other facets of identity during the period of emancipation, for instance, reflects the threat that many of the white planter class saw to their way of life and social order. While references to social relationships did fall in the end, the emergence of monuments grouped by larger structures like vaults and curbs in the second half of the eighteenth century highlights the ongoing importance of kinship and representing a uniform family identity through commemorative practice. The shifting relevance of inscriptions, the emergence of new styles of commemoration, and the modification of older fashions and practices, all reflect this dynamic period of Bajan history because they were relevant outlets for family identity and memory, and negotiating social relationships and positions.

On the other hand, this chapter has also demonstrated that by exploring more detailed micro-scalar case studies, it is possible to recognise the ways in which choices and experiences of individuals and families contribute to and create the commemorative patterns that can be quantified and analysed. The commemorative practices of the Thompsons, Bannisters, Belgraves, and Kellmans explored in detail in this chapter, in addition to other case studies constructed in this project, do more than create a sense of humanity and lived experience in historical narratives. They contribute a framework from which to interpret the motivations and decisions to memorialize in the past. By the same token, the narratives on their own are impossible to contextualize in terms of the defining outside "norms" and family influences. Isolated from macro-historical developments, the unique family choices and commemorative events seem to exist independent of fashions, customs, and even wider social experiences and transformations. Together, micro- and macro-histories provide narratives of commemoration from which to consider both Barbadian social history and more theoretical understandings of commemoration, memory, and material culture. This suggests possible avenues for the rapprochement of micro- and macro-scalar studies and methodologies, which continue to be a struggle for archaeological understandings of historical processes. The combination of micro-historical details of family traditions and practices and the macro-historical understanding of broader trends and fashions contribute to the more nuanced narratives of post-emancipation Barbados being sought by both scholars and the general public alike.

CHAPTER 8
CONCLUSIONS

To find oneself in one of the many churches that dot the island of Barbados is to find oneself straddling the past and present of this former British colony. Founded on sugar and slave labour, as well as a mixture of religious reform and conservatism, and of social mobility and structural inequality, the churches have been built and rebuilt throughout the island's turbulent past. Today, these historic churches, once frequented by planters and merchants recently arrived from Britain, continue to act as a focal point for islanders, many of whom are descendants of the Europeans and Africans that settled, cleared and cultivated the island during the colonial period. Each church has its own character, and their own historical narratives.   They are also now tourist attractions, where tourists come face to face with the names of the elite planters of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries – the Alleynes, the Beckles, the Thornhills (Figure 8.92). . Just beyond the church's seemingly immovable walls, wave seas of sugar cane in the shadows of the shells of abandoned mills, in juxtaposition with the whir of constant traffic, buses, markets, and passersby.

Figure 8.92 Recent signage at St. James' (left) and St. John's (right) Parish Churches, directing visitors to attractions at two of the most popular churches on the tourism circuit.

And yet, other experiences nag one back from this naïve utopian balance of past and present. Tripping over fragments of human bone in overcrowded churchyards, groaning under the weight of roughly 400 years of mortality, or shifting layers of rubbish and debris from crumbling monuments, one is confronted with the reality of heritage: not all of the past is equally valued, nor can it all be maintained. Urban churchyards that were once the prestigious stage for advertising elite families' identities are now the refuge of the homeless and impoverished. Locals warn that these places have reputations for crime and threats to personal safety, and that their occupants have drug addictions and mental health issues, but they also act as important places for the homeless to sleep, cache their belongings, and socialize in busy city centres (Figure 8.93). Seemingly far removed from these urban environments, family burial grounds are crumbling, forgotten, plundered for building materials, or knocked down by bulldozers to make room for new development on the island. The overgrown yard and jagged cracks scarring the walls of St. Joseph's church, deconsecrated after irreparable structural damage, are a solemn testament to the strain between Barbados' past and present (Figure 8.94). In the push and pull of heritage, modernisation, tourism, tradition, genealogy, the needs of the living, the limitations and compromises of preserving the past, and the tensions of memory continue to shape the narratives of the commemorative practices of colonial days gone by. These tensions, however, are part of the process through which memories are created, manipulated, forgotten, or even destroyed, through which meanings and historical narratives are transformed, as the present's relationship to the past is constructed and reconstructed, over and over again. Understanding funerary commemoration is, therefore, framed by a constant dialogue with the past, but also continuous reinterpretation in the ever-shifting present.

Figure 8.93 Caches of personal items kept in St. Mary's Churchyard (April 2013).

Figure 8.94 Deconsecrated and unused St. Joseph's Church (April 2013).

UNDERSTANDING COLONIAL COMMEMORATION

This thesis has sought to understand the processes that created the monumental material culture of Barbados as a means of accessing a more nuanced history of colonial experiences, from the seventeenth to twentieth centuries. This has included understanding the ways in which colonists were influenced by their metropolitan counterparts, as well as fashions, customs and expectations for dealing with the dead, mourning and memory. Motivations and decisions regarding who, when, and how to commemorate, and the ways

in which this material record of the colonial past has been manipulated and shaped over time, reveals the diverse experiences of British, African and creole communities throughout this dynamic period. The changing Anglican community on the island, during major shifts like the sugar revolution and emancipation, can be explored by the ways in which individuals and families represented themselves in monumental form and manipulated, appropriated, and transformed existing memorials on the island. The unique opportunity of material self-representation, the interplay of family, status, and racial identities, and the ability for commemorative mediums to be at once permanent, written in stone, and long-lasting, and at the same time malleable and open to reworking over time, means that a study of monumental commemoration can be used to explore both the ways in which memory was created and its transformation and renegotiation through time. This necessitated the development of new methodologies, which in turn have contributed to new understandings of Bajan society, colonial experiences, the role and position of families in the new world, and the interaction of British- and African-Barbadian communities throughout this period. Moreover, it has contributed to theoretical and practical understandings of memory, practice, and material culture. It has also highlighted avenues for future exploration and the ways in which an understanding of death can shape our understandings of life on this sugar island.

Methods for Study

This project has sought to incorporate new approaches to commemorative material culture and colonial studies to expand the opportunities for understanding Barbadian contexts and narratives in particular, and memory practices more generally. The primary methodological contributions were approaching monuments as collections of commemorative events, and multi-sited comparative analysis of colony and metropole. These analytical approaches to commemoration allowed for the exploration of funerary practices with greater fluidity and multi-scalar contexts, contributing to a balanced understanding of the rapid and gradual social shifts in Barbados that transformed experiences of colonization, family, and death. The framework provided by this broad multi-sited analysis with extremely fine temporal resolution provided by the regularity of commemorative events also has implications for approaches to Atlantic and colonial history, in addition to mortuary and memory practices in the past.

The shift from treating monuments as the primary unit of analysis, to recognizing each addition or modification of monuments as separate commemorative events, was central to highlighting the dynamic approaches to commemoration, whilst isolating the ever-changing experiences and motivations that inform funerary practice. The majority of

studies of monumental commemoration give primacy to the *initial event* of commissioning and erecting a monument (cf. Buckham 2003, Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966, Mytum 1994). The premise that most decisions regarding style, iconography, and materials are solidified at this time is perfectly valid for studies built on art history. However, for broader perspectives on landscape and materiality, and large-scale temporal transitions, it blurs the biography of each individual monument and loses some of the resolution that commemoration offers. In contrast, the intent of this study was to be able to identify small-scale transitions in tradition, particularly at the level of family experience and decision making, rendering *each separate addition* to a monument critical to understanding the ways in which family experiences and decision-making developed. For the most part, monument reuse over years and even decades means that the initial placement of a monument, with follow-up events including adding commemorative inscriptions or even adding new elements to existing structures, reflects different decisions, fashions and social contexts. By organizing the database of monuments into commemorative events that could be connected together when relevant, whilst also differentiated, this study could study both monuments as whole, particularly when concerned with the overall impact of a monument or the family it represented, but also as separate events, necessary to identifying changing approaches to memory, identity, and colonial society.

Overall, this process included 1924 monuments in Barbados, divided into 3323 commemorative events, and 3195 monuments in Britain, divided into 5600 commemorative events. With nearly 9000 commemorative events in total, dating between 1650 and 1950, representing more than 10,000 individuals who were commemorated in the colony and metropole, exceptionally tight chronologies brought into focus the speed at which commemorative practices were transformed to suit the needs of ever-changing communities, but also periods of social change that lagged in impacting commemorative practice. For instance, the very gradual integration of the African-Barbadian community following emancipation was highlighted through this approach, but also the reaction of the British-Barbadian community with a short-term resurgence of indicators of identity and status during this period in defence of their position within the church and society more broadly. Without the focus on individual commemorative events, these changes would have been almost imperceptible, watered down by broader periodization, smaller sample sizes, and the clumping together of separate events that were defined by divergent motives, experiences, and intentions. Instead, it was possible to examine the reactions and relationships of white settlers to sugar, slavery, disagreements and struggles with Britain, abolition and emancipation, race and the integration of previously segregated communities,

and the ways in which tensions were negotiated through display including memorials for the dead. This resolution represents a lengthier process of establishing and analysing databases, and is undoubtedly unnecessary for the goals of some commemorative studies. The unit of analysis should always be selected based on the motivation of the study, but it is hoped that this project has demonstrated the potential for the use of commemorative events to recognize the impact of small-scale social changes and family decision-making in understanding more nuanced transformations of commemorative patterns, particularly the timing, lead and lag of changes, and the development of small-scale traditions and broader fashions.

Multi-sited analysis was also critical to contextualizing these material practices throughout the colonial period. Even in the realm of Atlantic study, and the various frames of Circum-, Trans-, and Cis-Atlantic histories that seek to emphasize particular scales, localities and routes of exchange and connection (cf. Armitage 2009, Bailyn 1996, Braudel 1949[1996], Elliott 2009), examples of truly multi-sited projects remain quite limited and often anecdotal (cf. Mytum 2010). The lack of comparable metropolitan and colonial datasets has certainly thrown up barriers to this type of study, and the size of samples necessary for systematic analysis further complicates and slows research. However, this project surveyed commemorative practices in Britain in order to contextualize the practices in Barbados, making it possible to identify British influences, and the ways in which colonial practices diverged, from which point it was possible to explore the reasons for deviation. Moreover, the analysis of different types of communities in Britain, including urban and rural, and the spectrum of colonial influence, contributed to the understanding of how social interactions and structures, and the influences of colonialism and globalisation, contributed to commemorative practice. Finally, it was necessary for ruling out British influence as the reasons for particular patterns in Barbadian memorials. Without this comparative approach, it would have been impossible to provide evidence that the practices developing in Barbados, particularly before the nineteenth century, were not solely shaped by sourcing monuments primarily from metropolitan stone masons. Taking direction from known and commemorated connections to Britain, this study selected four urban and two rural parishes associated with the colony (in Liverpool and Lancashire) as well as an analogous selection of four urban and five rural parishes in Cambridgeshire that were not strongly tied to the island. In view of recent scholarship that has emphasized the ongoing and intensive communication and movement of people, ideas, and material culture throughout the Atlantic (Amussen 2007, 177-217, Debe and Menard 2011, Smith 2006), it was expected that Barbadian practices would demonstrate strong ties to British

counterparts, reflecting changing metropolitan fashion and customs. It was also hoped that there would be evidence for multi-directional sociocultural exchange, with Barbadian experiences and fashions in turn filtering back to British contexts. However, the results highlighted the rapid development of Barbadian practices that, while influenced by British traditions, embodied their own particular character and fashion. An early Barbadian cultural identity emerged through complex processes of creolisation, drawing on tradition but also reacting to and negotiating entirely new identities, environments, and social structures. Despite the connection to Britain, and even the sourcing of commemorative monuments from the metropole, the experiences of colonists were so different, and thus their motives, needs and choices in commemoration so dissimilar, that whilst using the same material vocabulary of memory production, the results reflect alternative uses and relationships. At the same time, Barbadian practices do not seem to have influenced British commemoration, as the same strategies and approaches did not resonate with metropolitan experiences. On the other hand, the transformation of identity and family structure, particularly in places such as Liverpool that were heavily integrated into colonial efforts, geographies and even social mobility, is evident in the comparison of memorials to those of more isolated communities, such as Cambridgeshire. Multi-sited analysis was therefore critical to creating comparable datasets with appropriate sample sizes from which to critically compare and contrast the temporal and geographical development of transatlantic commemoration, and identifying Barbadian-specific practices and strategies that reflected the realities of island society. In future, further consideration of the creolisation process and the early emergence of Barbadian culture will be critical to developing more detailed narratives of colonial experience, interactions, and the ways in which the island's residents actively expressed and negotiated their identities through commemoration, but also other forms of material culture, including architecture, clothing, food and drink.

The integration of using commemorative events as a unit of analysis with multi-sited study of metropolitan and colonial developments provided a level of temporal and geographical resolution that has not been achieved through other material culture. The ways in which identities, community and family structures, and self-representation transform highlight the ways in which individual lives, experiences and understandings shifted, but more importantly provide a means of measuring the impact and timing of those shifts. The correlation between broad colonial narratives, and seemingly revolutionary changes (slavery, economic wealth from colonial endeavours, religious reform, abolition and emancipation, etc.), is not simple or direct but rather has multiple trajectories, with varying temporal rhythms and echoes for the real lives of those involved both directly and

indirectly. The use of alternative sources for historical data, such as commemorative events, that reflect fine chronologies and multi-sited experiences and exchanges, is a potential avenue for contributing to current approaches to Atlantic studies and explorations of social identity and memory in the past.

Colonial Commemoration

The methodological approach of this study has added layers to the colonial narrative of families and their experiences in the British Atlantic, from early settlers establishing 'home' in a new world, to the integration of previously segregated communities post-emancipation. The ways in which families engaged with and utilized monuments as sites of memory and venues for social communication and display shifted throughout the colonial era, both reflecting and contributing to processes of social change. The examination of monuments as material records of experiences and reactions to short- and long-term cultural, economic, and political transformations contributed to multi-scalar narratives of colonial life and death at the level of the colony, the relationship between colony and metropole, and Atlantic empires more generally.

Early commemorative practice in Barbados was undoubtedly influenced by British traditions, both through the transplantation of institutions like the Anglican Church and the necessity of ordering stone monuments from overseas. Nevertheless, commemorative practices on the island demonstrate rapid divergence from British fashions and patterns. Metropolitan influences served only as a framework or material vocabulary that could be manipulated and shaped to fit the needs and desires of colonists. Commemorative monuments as venues for communication, display and negotiation were intensified in these new communities, providing the opportunity to advertise family relationships and status, and geographical connections, creating critical networks of social knowledge. Over time, these practices were shaped by the fluctuating stability of colonial society and an ever-changing relationship with Britain; more and more, commemorative monuments sought to establish an independent colonial identity and recognize individual identities and kin-based connections. Monuments, therefore, not only reflected but also *contributed to* the colonial experiences of settlers in Barbados. Commemorative practices were critical to negotiating the 'tensions of empire' (Elliott 1987:9), and the increasingly divergent sociocultural experiences of colony and metropole, by manipulating individual and familial histories, geographies and identities (Sandiford 2000: 3-14) through processes of creolisation and memorialisation.

The diversity of colonial experiences can be further explored via divergent commemorative patterns within Barbados. The contrast of rural and urban monuments, for

instance, represents the complexity of planter-merchant relations, diverse experiences of mobility (social and geographical) within the colony, and different opportunities and understandings of rural and urban churchscapes. Similarly, the long history of private burial on plantation properties across the island highlights further differences in burial and memory practices, relating to early experiences of empire, the colonial church, and issues of access, but also to religious dissent and the freedoms that colonies often offered for alternative views and lifestyles. Although Quaker communities in Barbados account for some of these plantation burials, they also relied upon the use of plantation burial by non-Quakers to draw less attention to themselves and their opposition to Anglican burial grounds (Dailey 1991:39). The wider use of private burial likely reflects other facets of the creolisation process, including the creation of home and memory in new places, and facilitating access to burial grounds and the dead during early colonisation (see also Paterson 2013). The commemorative practices of seventeenth and eighteenth century British-Barbadian families contribute to narratives of plantations and sugar, religion and religious dissent in the colonies, experiences of rural and urban environments, and the impact of colonial endeavours on identity, kinship, and social structure.

Whilst there were many continuants from the first two centuries of British colonialism in Barbados, including the use of monuments to establish identity, the divergence of rural and urban practices, and the use of private burial grounds, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries saw further transformation of practices largely in connection to abolition and emancipation. After nearly 200 years of segregated burial of British- and African-Barbadian communities, the push towards abolishing the slave trade, and then the institution of slavery altogether, increased the rates of religious conversion and education for African-Barbadians, opening up the opportunity for Christian burial on consecrated ground. Slave burial grounds have been studied extensively, but there have been limited opportunities for large-scale study of post-emancipation funerary practice, restricting understandings of racial, religious, and social tensions during this critical period (for examples, see Blouet 2013, Brown 2008). New members of Anglican congregations faced ongoing discrimination that discouraged some from seeking burial in these churchyards. Nevertheless, the late eighteenth century saw increasing rates of burial and commemoration of African-Barbadians. This represents a major transformation in the experiences of funerals and commemoration of the dead from slavery to post-slavery Barbados. However records and material commemoration highlight the influence of earlier Anglican traditions, with the replication of earlier monument styles with modifications to suit the needs of African-Barbadian families. This is particularly evident in the use of coral

stone, plaster and concrete to replicate the look of marble and other stone, and the development of monument styles that allowed for small, long-term additions. Anglican churchyards and commemoration also provide a rare venue in which British- and Afro-Barbadian communities interacted and negotiated social identities and structures through self-representation and material culture. The information commemorated by inscriptions during this time also materializes the reactions of the white plantocracy, with an increase in statements of family lineage and status in the face of abolition, but overall, there was a trend to include less and less information in commemorative inscriptions. The transformation of social structures had long-term ramifications for the value and use of commemorative monuments by living communities.

These small-scale family traditions and broader trends, in creating and negotiating social memory and relationships, and their divergence from fashions and practices in Britain, contribute to our understanding of colonial processes through which new places were transformed into homes, foreign landscapes were given meaning through memory and material culture, and new communities were forged out of relative strangers. Correlates in other colonial contexts, particularly Canada (Campbell 2005, Furniss 2011, Johnson and Enomoto 2007) and Australia (cf. Byrne and Nugent 1999, Carter 2010, Read 1996), have drawn on geography, sociology and history to highlight the complex processes through which "rootedness" (Read 1996: 3) is achieved in new landscapes, through the interaction of individual responses and cultural structures to shape physical places into landscapes of connection, attachment, memory and narratives (both personal and collective). Historian Peter Read (1996: 8) suggests that, "After marking out boundaries, clearing, working and the physical presence of being, the last part of bonding with land is for some, the creation of special, intimate or sacred sites" that create the deeper connections to landscape that stimulate lifelong and even multi-generational attachments to places. Byrne and Nugent (2004: 31, 53) have considered funerals and burials in particular, and the ways in which reworking traditional practices, cross-cultural exchange, and spatial relationships of the dead came to shape and be shaped by social structures, landscape, and interactions between new communities in colonial and post-colonial Australia. This archaeological case study of colonial Barbados, and the island's relationship to metropolitan Britain, contributes to these considerations of the process through which memories, social structures, and relationships to landscapes were forged through material culture. In particular, the immediacy of efforts to create sacred and intimate claims on new locales is evident in the early investment in funerary commemoration, even in fledgling churches that lacked the communities, infrastructure, and in some cases the physical

structure that would have been considered necessary for the traditions of social display and memory in Britain. Seventeenth-century colonists established precedence, but eighteenth- and nineteenth-century white planters used the profits of sugar to feed increasingly elaborate commemorative practices that tied their names to places, materializing their social relationships and status in a new community. The racial segregation of burial grounds on the island began to dissolve in the late eighteenth century but it was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that the African-descendant population of Barbados in turn utilized Anglican funerals and commemoration to create new relationships within the secular and religious landscapes of the island as a means of negotiating new positions and social structures. From a position of extremely restricted geographies, where movement, residence and burial was controlled by slave owners, to increasing freedoms, commemorative practices were again utilized to establish and negotiate relationships to landscape, narrating new locales with memories, stories, and material claims in the form of monuments. These geographies of memory and the dead in colonial contexts demonstrate the significance of commemorative material culture in both creating and studying New World histories.

Family in the British Atlantic

Kin structures, social relationships and the identities of families and households in colonial settings have traditionally been treated as separate from those in the metropole. Emerging historical narratives of relationships, marriage, divorce, inheritance and illegitimacy in the New World have, however, sparked questions regarding the development, maintenance and transformation of family during this early period of globalisation. There is growing recognition that the cultural transformations of the British Empire had substantial implications for the social institution of family (Amussen 2007, Loftfield 2001, Hauser 2009). It was hoped that the multi-sited approach of this thesis would elucidate some of the connections and deviations in the structure and role of family in Britain and Barbados. Moreover, the project used commemorative events to access the idealised self-representation of family identities, direct communication of relationships and family structures in inscriptions, and tight temporal chronologies to examine the ever-changing nature of family as represented by memory material culture.

Analysis of commemoration in Barbados reinforced the view that individuals drew on broad kin networks for security and identity in fledgling communities and risky economic markets (Smith 2006, Puckrein 1984: 26-27). Commemorative sequences often represented more than one family, usually connected through marriage. These families, however, were frequently represented with a uniform image, and without explicit

referencing of their relationship or indeed, their separate identities. The result is that broad kin networks are represented as homogenous collectives in the commemorative record. Moreover, the family was ever-present even in early commemorative practice, highlighting the role and presence of families even in the infancy of the colony. Nevertheless, the nuclear family was still the core of individual's identities and kin groups and was typically responsible for commemoration of deceased individuals; their decisions, identity and image is materialized in the monumental record. Correspondingly, the analysis of commemoration in Britain reveals that metropolitan families were also transformed by colonialism. Despite the pervasive view that the institution of family has stayed relatively stable in modern Europe, changing commemorative practices of families in Liverpool, Lancashire, and in Cambridgeshire highlight the impact of increasing distance, social mobility, and economic opportunities had for family identity and structure. More detailed analysis of the commemorative record of the British Empire presents the opportunity to contribute more critical understandings of the dynamic nature of family structure and identity, modern changes in this critical the social institution, and the legacies for our understanding of British society.

Commemoration and Memory Studies

The patterns observed in this study of commemoration in Barbados and Britain contribute to broader understandings of memory and commemorative practices, particularly in answering questions about how and why traditions and fashions change, and the connections between small-scale choices and large-scale trends. Systematic case studies of family sequences of commemoration, which have rarely been undertaken in studies of commemoration, contributed to understandings of choice, variability, and the development of traditions in memorial material culture. In particular, tracing family burials, commemoration, and styles of monuments across parishes on the island of Barbados, and in Britain, in conjunction with church, census and genealogical records, made it possible to infer relationships between economic means, emotion, community stability, and family identity in contributing to the choice of whether to commemorate a deceased family member, when, and how. In particular, the relevance of financial investment, experiences of grief, and community structures to commemorative practice have contributed to long-established debates in the study of funerary practice (cf. Cannon 1989, Cannon and Cook 2015, Parker Pearson 1982, 1993, Tarlow 1999, 2000, 2012). This study has contributed to this discussion, highlighting that whilst emotionally-charged events could often stimulate families to start commemorating their dead, for instance the unexpected death of the young or heads of family, or multiple deaths in short succession,

economic means shaped the form, location and style of commemoration. This can also be seen in instances of delayed commemoration, where erection of monuments or inscriptions could take place anywhere from a year to more than a hundred years after the date of death of the individual. This is likely tied to the interaction of unresolved bereavement and sense of loss and the need to accumulate the funds necessary for the desired commemoration. However, emotion and economic means only account for some of the variability in commemoration practices. Family tradition was also demonstrated to play an integral role in the development of monument use in Barbados. Many families followed a process by which early monuments were spatially dispersed and showed little uniformity, with gradual transitions to more spatially bounded plots (particularly surrounded by enclosures) and stylistic standardization. This previously undocumented process of family monument traditions has considerable implications for understanding trends in commemoration, given that families will undergo this development at different times, and in the process may maintain practices that are otherwise 'unfashionable' but which are representative of family identity or a micro-scalar sense of what is appropriate in death. As families are most often responsible for commemorative practice, their decision-making and sense of tradition contribute to defined sequences of practices that are related but not wholly defined by broader trends, and in turn contribute to the development of these fashions and patterns in the material record. Thus, understanding the reasons for shifts in commemorative and mortuary material culture cannot be disconnected from the families and their micro-narratives.

On a larger scale, this study also considered the impact of cultural exchange, mobility, and early globalization on practice, memory and material culture. In particular, it examined the relationship between colonialism, early globalization and funerary fashion on both sides of the Atlantic through the multi-sited analysis of monuments in Britain and Barbados. Community stability, mobility, proximity to colonies via major ports, and global influences produced divergent commemorative strategies relating to family values, needs and motivations for memorializing the dead in Barbados, Liverpool, Lancashire, and Cambridgeshire. That is, the ways that the living represented the dead on monuments were heavily connected to the impact it would have in the community, which was diverse, historically-contingent and ever-changing. This is not to say that social display and competition governed all decisions in commemorative practice; monuments play important roles in maintaining memory within families and providing foci for grieving (Francis et al. 2005: 54-57, 105-107). However, given their position in public places, in contrast to other forms of commemoration like commemorative jewellery, art and shrines in the home, the

function of monuments in contributing to collective memory and social relationships must also be considered. In rural Cambridgeshire communities, which had much more limited movement, where neighbours would have known each other quite intimately, monuments tended to display stylistic variation and elaboration related to material display, however the communicative quality of inscriptions was limited, with the lowest rates of referencing kinship, social status, and other details about the deceased. In contrast, centres of trade and migration, including Liverpool and the colony of Barbados (particularly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), with social composition constantly in a state of flux, monuments were used to record and even advertise or negotiate information that would have been common knowledge in more stable social environs. This research, then, reveals some of the factors that influenced strategies of commemoration and shaped practices and fashions in mortuary material culture between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries in Britain and her colonies, and more widely how people relate to and use funerary monuments.

While the intention here is not to outline universal rules of commemoration, it is evident that monuments, the people erecting them, and the wider community viewing them are strongly interconnected. Understanding the broad patterns in style, approach and format of commemoration, then, requires a sense of the smallest-scale of decision making, for instance the family (or even individual) selecting a monument, in relation to the community at large, and the ways in which the two influence each other. A community in flux, which encourages commemorative strategies that seek to cement identities and positions within society through rituals and material culture, may in turn be transformed by these practices that gradually build up common knowledge, attachment and rootedness. As the community transforms, so too does the role and use of monuments, which contributes to ever-shifting practices and fashions. These practices are also shaped by the economic means of the individual/family, emotions, and in some instances, what they stand to gain through commemoration (position, reputation, etc.). The interaction of these factors may contribute to delays in commemoration, as well as pragmatic approaches to replicate fashions, for instance the use of coral stone and concrete in Barbados, particularly after emancipation, to imitate monument styles that had been used by the plantocracy. All of these factors contribute to the micro-scalar decisions that accumulate, influence, and transform wide-scale fashions, and the anomalies and deviation from those patterns that are evident in any cemetery. Contextualizing the erector of a monument and the wider community, time period and place through multi-sited and nuanced chronologies is fundamental to understanding commemorative practices and strategies in the past, and in turn, using these patterns in material culture to contribute to historical narratives.

FUTURE AVENUES OF STUDY

These narratives are by no means complete, but rather have laid the groundwork for further exploration of life, death and memory in Britain and her colonies. Additional study of Barbados could strengthen understandings of the relationship between commemorated and uncommemorated populations, particularly to further explore marginalized groups, for instance the descendants of indentured Scottish and Irish labourers, small planters and tradespeople, and the free and emancipated coloured and black populations, in line with the aims of contemporary Atlantic studies. Comparison of Anglican commemoration with other denominations and secular burial grounds on the island would also give greater understanding of the experiences of different communities, particularly given the popularity of non-conformist churches following emancipation, for instance the Methodist and Baptist churches. The temporal limits of this project could also be expanded to consider the period following independence, which would likely reveal further social transformations that occurred as a result of increasing political autonomy, economic stability and social equality. This project has nevertheless demonstrated the potential for adding to historical narratives of the island via funerary commemoration, recognizing its role as a venue for social negotiation and memory throughout the colonial period. More broadly, exploring different colonial contexts through commemoration would further expose factors influencing commemorative strategies and the ways in which people experienced and reacted to new landscapes and communities. For instance, examining colonies that had more nationally-diverse histories, given the regularity with which some colonies changed hands between the European empires, could further contribute to understanding the representation of identity and geographical/national connections. Considering colonies where race, religion and socioeconomic status and mobility played out in different ways would also be insightful. These contexts would further contribute to theoretical considerations of memory, identity and commemorative practice in past, particularly the impact of emotion, economic means, and internal and external pressures.

Public engagement will also be critical to future developments of this research, ensuring that the narratives constructed here are communicated to the stakeholder communities of Barbados, and the wider diasporic community. Places of the dead are undeniably emotionally-charged environments that accumulate the histories of the people buried there; they are also spaces where the living connect with the past and negotiate the future. Burial grounds can be contemporary battlegrounds for social conflict, places of collective and individual healing, and museums for local and global consideration of history. The tensions involved in engaging with contemporary communities through

fieldwork and research, and the accompanying legacies of colonialism, slavery, and heritage, has highlighted the complexity and frequent contradictions in the balance and connection between research, heritage planning, and the values and interests of contemporary society. Although this thesis project was designed to understand the processes that created the monumental material culture of Barbados as a means of accessing a more nuanced history of colonial experiences, from the seventeenth to twentieth centuries, the social impact of research must also be considered. The findings from this research have underlined that burial grounds are not simply places of the dead, but rather landscapes of the living (see also Cook 2011, Francis, Kellaher and Neophytou 2002: 197-213). But the relationship between the living community's relationship to the dead, and to heritage more generally, is a complicated one, resulting in diverse and contradictory needs. Interactions with the Anglican Diocese of Barbados, local communities, and descendant communities abroad have reflected the contradictions between the needs of tourism infrastructure (deemed necessary for economic development and to ensure that the results trickle down to local communities), community social values, emotional connections and identity construction, and individual reactions and perceptions. Future research, engagement, and collaborations, for which this thesis project laid the foundation, will provide more opportunity to critically examine issues of heritage, material culture, and contemporary society, both as a means of developing valuable resources for living communities and for contributing to theoretical discussions of and practical approaches to memory, heritage and historical landscapes.

Conclusions

From the ornate monuments crowding the walls and yard of the imposing St. Michael's Cathedral of Bridgetown, at once austere and yet softened by age, deeply rooted within a busy port town, to the community of stones that have collected themselves around the isolated yet cosy All Saints' church, the life histories of colonial commemorative monuments in Barbados continue to stand testament to lives and deaths of island residents whilst playing a role in contemporary communities, and their relationship to the past, and the heritage and legacy of the island's history as 'Little England', as the home of the 'sugar barons', and as a battleground for social, political and economic debates from the seventeenth to twentieth centuries. Across the immense Atlantic Ocean, the monuments of Liverpool and its surrounding hinterlands reflect British experiences and identities in the age of empire, at once connected to and separate from every corner of the world. And receding into the interior of Britain, insulated slightly from early globalization, the tensions between tradition and stability, and change and modernity are evident in the monuments of

university towns like Cambridge, and even the tiny rural parishes that surrounded it. Every year, new monuments are added to this record, both maintaining and transforming the dialogue between identity, memory, past and present. Equally, monuments are crumbling away, eroding the materiality of memory and erasing with it some of the complexities of these processes of remembering, forgetting, and transforming the past. This gradual, yet constant, process of adding to and erasing the record of the past not only makes this work a necessity, but it also contributes to the complexity of the relationships between the living, the dead, and their material memories.

APPENDIX I: BARBADOS FIELDWORK SITES

CHURCHES AND CHURCHYARDS

The Anglican churches of Barbados developed in two main phases. The first phase in the seventeenth century followed the establishment of the six initial parishes on the island, with the construction of parish churches by 1637, including Christ Church, St. Michael, St. James, St. Thomas, St. Peter and St. Lucy (Campbell 1982: 23-24). The subdivision of these parishes to create the parishes of St. Andrew, St. George, St. John, and St. Thomas occurred by 1640, with the building of corresponding churches (Campbell 1982: 30). Even during the first decades of settlement, these parish churches were insufficient to serve the small island, leading to the establishment of chapels of ease, such as All Saints Chapel in St. Peter's Parish. These chapels were typically served by the minister of the parish church, though occasionally the size of communities justified their own clergy (Campbell 1982: 37). A second phase of major church construction was undertaken by Bishop William Hart Coleridge, the first Anglican Bishop of Barbados, in the first half of the nineteenth century; he established ten chapels of ease, one church, and eleven chapel schools to facilitate attendance and access to religious teachings across the island and in recognition of the growing congregations. In particular, St. Leonard's, St. Matthias, and St. Paul's were constructed in the heavily populated areas of St. Michael's and Christ Church parishes as a result of this initiative. All of these churches, however, have experienced repeated phases of building and rebuilding as a result of hurricanes, earthquakes, and fires, as well as modifications to reflect changing congregations.

Fieldwork was undertaken at the 16 abovementioned churches and churchyards in Barbados in March and April 2013. Research also targeted other places of burial and commemoration on the island, particularly at four plantations. The history of these churches and plantations will be outlined in the following sections, alongside maps and photographs, to contextualize the interpretations presented in this thesis. For the associated monument inscriptions and photographs, see Appendix III. This Appendix also includes a list of family heraldry appearing on monuments in Barbados, and associated pedigree.

All Saints Chapel

Originally constructed as a 'Chapel of Ease' in 1649, All Saints was built in the area of Pleasant Hall, St. Peter's Parish, for the convenience of parishioners who had difficulty travelling to St. Peter's or St. James Parish Churches for services. At the same time, St. Peter's church had fallen into disrepair and All Saints temporarily served as the main parish church (Hill 1984:49). All Saints was one of only three churches/chapels that were left standing after the hurricane of 1780 (along with St. Andrew's and St. Peter's Parish Churches). Unfortunately, it was not so lucky in the hurricane of 1831; it was rebuilt in 1839, before being demolished again forty years later due to structural issues. The final rebuilding occurred in 1884, and this version of the chapel remains today (Figure 95, Figure 96). The chapel's footprint has remained largely unchanged, with a relatively compact knave and a long rectangular apse. Its structure and decoration are relatively simple, with pilaster buttresses supporting the exterior walls and pitched roof, small porches and Gothic inspired pointed windows and tracery. All Saints is renowned for its stained glass windows, donated by Thomas Briggs in memory of his parents, Sir and Lady Graham Briggs, and are considered to be the most detailed stained glass windows in the western hemisphere.

The churchyard is no less noteworthy, being the place of burial for William Arnold, considered the first English settler to set foot on the island in 1627, now marked by a recently-erected monument (see also Young 2013). Sir William Gibbons, who died in the first half of the eighteenth century, is also buried in a vault in this churchyard, with a monument commemorating his efforts as Colonel of the Leeward Regiment of Foot, Speaker of the House in the General Assembly of Barbados and other offices that led to his appointment as Baronet. Today, the churchyard is dominated by recent, temporary wooden grave markers in the shape of crosses or posts and often painted white. Overall, this study drew on 48 monuments dating between 1666 and 1950, only 16 of which were recorded in 2013 (Figure 97). Most of these are tablets, particularly of granite and marble, with concrete curbs around single or double plots, and occupy the north and west sections of the churchyard. There are no mausolea in this churchyard, however there are two examples of more elaborate chest tombs. Access to the interior of All Saints Chapel was not possible during the course of fieldwork. However, Oliver (1915) did record 14 internal commemorations, including windows, communion rails, and wall and floor tablets.

Figure 95 All Saints Chapel, St. Peter's Parish, Barbados. Front entrance and churchyard.

Figure 96 All Saints Chapel, St. Peter's Parish, Barbados. Northern side.
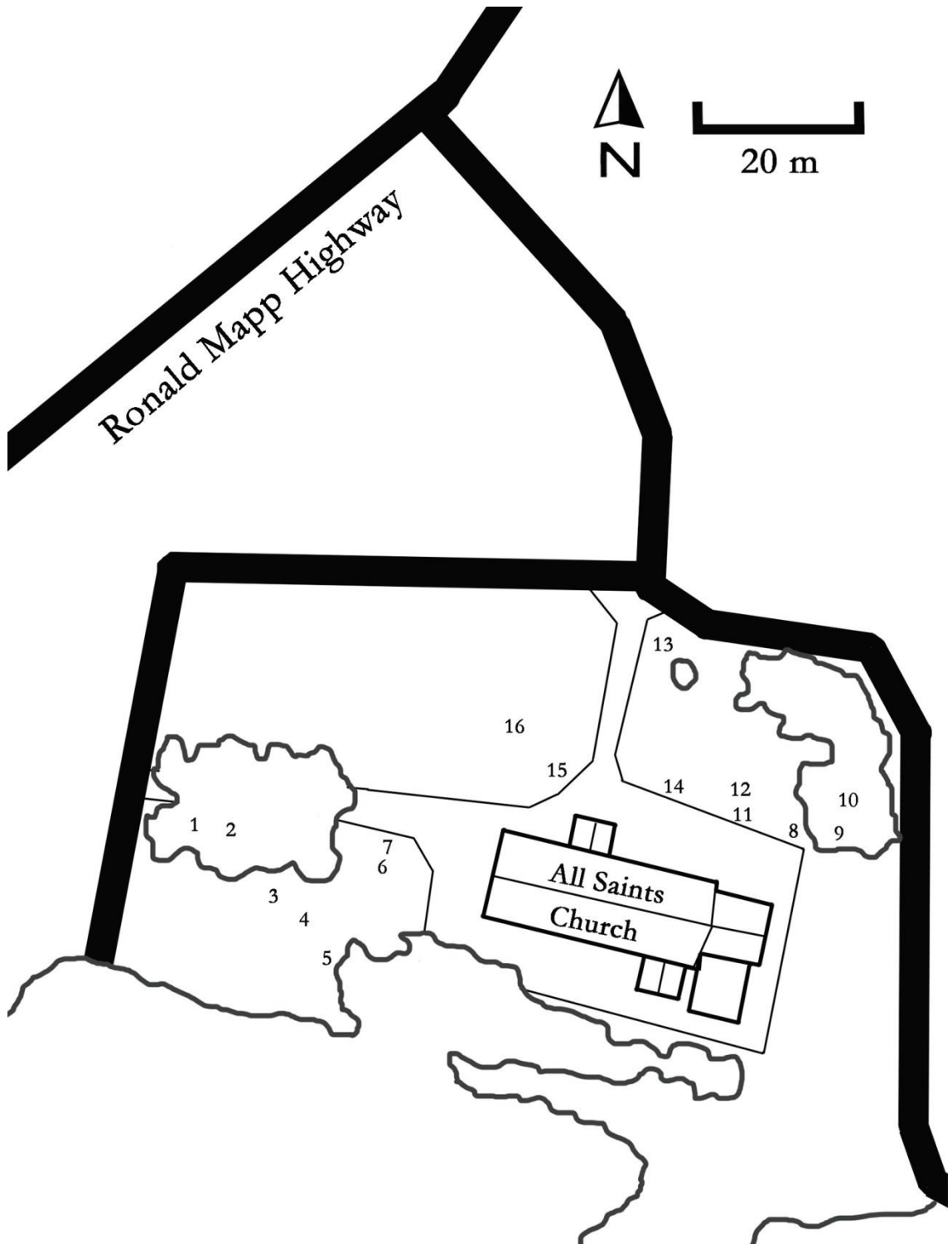
Figure 97 Map of All Saints monument locations recorded during 2013 fieldwork.

Christ Church Parish Church

Overlooking Oistins' Bay, the current Christ Church Parish Church had four predecessors. The first was one of the earliest churches built on the island and was a rough wooden structure built close to the coastline, adjacent to Dover beach. After substantial flooding in 1669, the church and most of its graves were washed away (though one surviving tablet is now housed in the Barbados Museum and four tombs were rebuilt on the site in 1672). The church was rebuilt on a higher promontory, but was destroyed nearly a hundred years later by the hurricane of 1780 (Hill 1984: 37). The church that followed was consecrated in 1786 and then destroyed by the hurricane of 1831. The church was again destroyed by a 1935, but this time as the result of a fire. Most of the memorial tablets in the nave of the church were destroyed by the fire, however one survived, commemorating John Randal Phillips Esq. Many records were also lost during this blaze. The final construction of the church, as it exists today, incorporates three walls and the west tower from the previous church (Figure 98, Figure 99). The tablet of Phillips is now mounted on the northeastern wall of the nave, alongside other ornaments salvaged from the fire. Located in a relatively affluent parish, Christ Church Parish Church benefitted from the high rents collected that supported the building (and rebuilding) of this large, ornate church (Campbell 1982: 28). It is easily recognizable with four hexagonal towers at each corner of the structure, and a main bell tower, all with castellations, and its long barrel vaulted wooden ceiling.

The churchyard at Christ Church Parish Church has gained notoriety for the infamous moving coffins of Chase Vault; in the early nineteenth century, every time the tomb was opened for interment the coffins had been rearranged, and in one case shattered (Hill 1984: 38). After efforts to seal the grave against tampering had no effect, Governor Viscount Combermere ordered the coffins be removed and the vault to remain vacant (as it does to this day). Beyond rumours of supernatural activity, the churchyard includes monuments dating to the second construction of the church, when it moved to its current position, and a total of 92 monuments were included in this study (**Error! Reference source not found.**). There are a number of large mausolea and crypts, in addition to smaller tablets on curbs outlining family plots. This includes many coral stone tablets, but also brick, granite, marble and other stone monuments. Unusual circular enclosures stand beside the more typical styles of mausoleum. A large vault was also constructed during the cholera epidemic of the nineteenth century, since sealed with the simple engraving 'Cholera'. The original churchyard wraps around the church, however a modern extension dating to the twentieth century was opened to the north.

Figure 98 Christ Church Parish Church, Christ Church, Barbados. Front exterior, and interior.

Figure 99 Christ Church Parish Church, Christ Church, Barbados. View from north side churchyard.
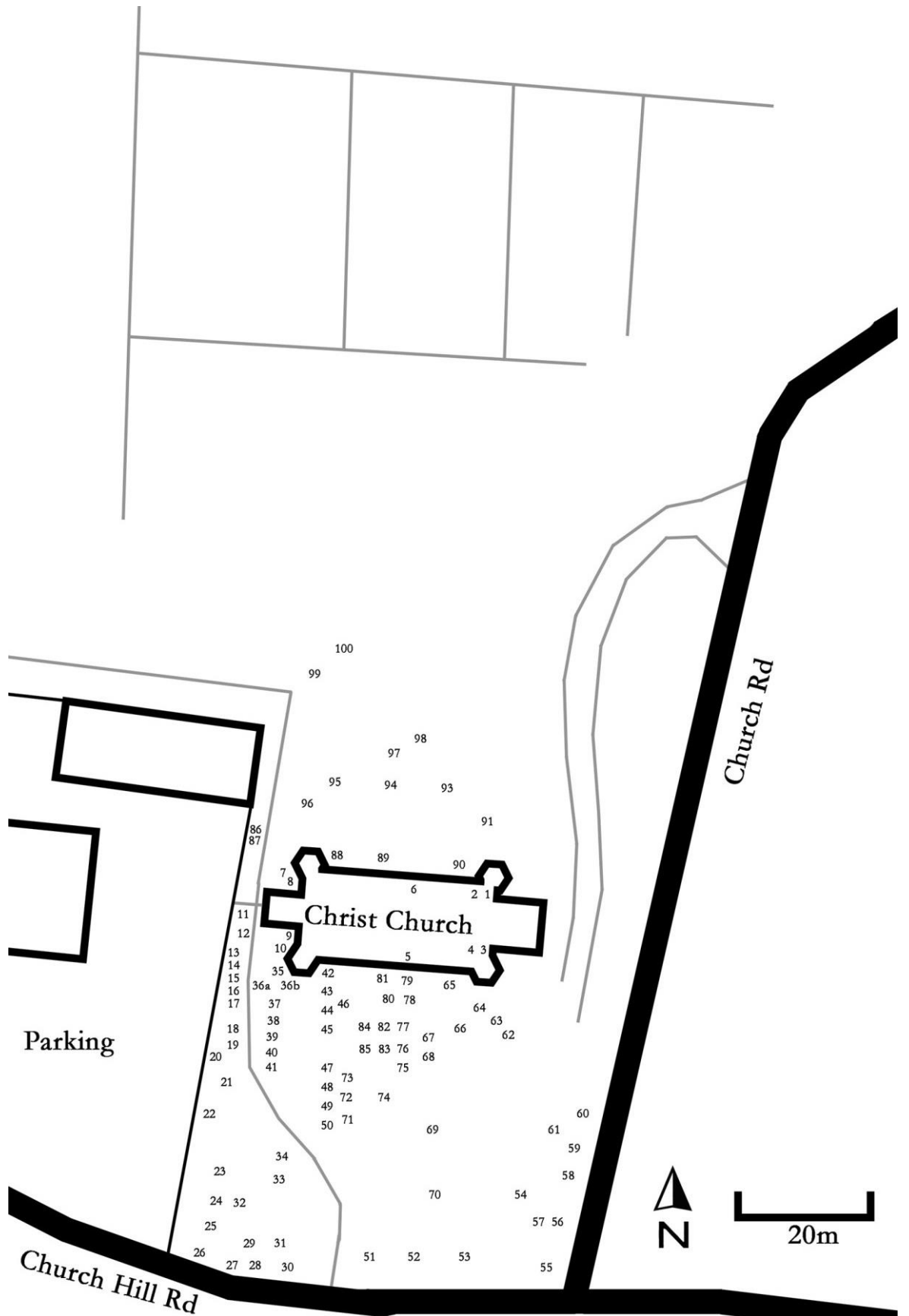
Figure 100 Map of Christ Church monument locations recorded during 2013 fieldwork.

St. Andrew's Parish Church

Just north of Bathsheba on the eastern coast of the island, St. Andrew's Parish Church was established in 1630, however the current church building date to 1846 (Hill 1984: 44). Despite public outcry, the original building, which had survived the great hurricanes of 1780 and 1831, was demolished in 1842 as it had fallen into disrepair. The current church building is inspired by traditional English churches, including a square tower, and gothic styled buttress, windows and tracery, and a small apse to the back (Figure 101,Figure 102). With seating for 500 people, the church includes a small gallery level at the back wall leaves most of the church open to the high pitched roof; this gallery section was originally three times the size until it was rebuilt in the 1970s when it collapsed (Catwell 2014: 26-27). The white mahogany altar, baptismal font and stained glass windows are treasured pieces in the current church. A small extension has been added to the northeast of the church to house a vestry, robe room, and toilet facilities, added successively in the early twentieth century and in the 1960s. Now more than 160 years old, St. Andrew's church community is currently raising building funds to address ever-accumulating signs of wear. Nevertheless, there is a clear sense of pride amongst the congregation, with many ornaments, flower arrangements, and community touches.

The original St. Andrews burial ground stood to the northeast of its current location (Catwell 2014: 38). Today, the churchyard extends around the east to northeast of the current church building. Surrounded by agricultural fields, churchyard is quiet and peaceful, interrupted only be bleating goats. Dating as early as 1650, 35 monuments from this churchyard were included in the study. However, only 16 were recorded during the period of fieldwork as a result of extensive monument attrition (Figure 103). The large churchyard is dominated by more recent monuments, primarily in black granite and white wooden crosses. There is also a recent addition of a garden of remembrance with a large cross in a northern clearing of trees. The older sections of the churchyard are closest to the church, with many marble and concrete monuments, including many fragments of tablets. Notably, the grave of Jane Ann Thompson, a free coloured woman, and her three infant children from 1816 was commemorated with one of only a handful of monuments that reference racial background, originally located in the churchyard, it now has been moved into the church in a place of prominence by the altar (Catwell 2014). Many of the other monuments commemorate the religious leaders of the Parish Church, but also planters, military leaders, and merchants.

Figure 101 St. Andrew's Parish Church, St. Andrews, Barbados. Front exterior and interior.

Figure 102 St. Andrew's Parish Church, St. Andrews, Barbados. View from rear churchyard.
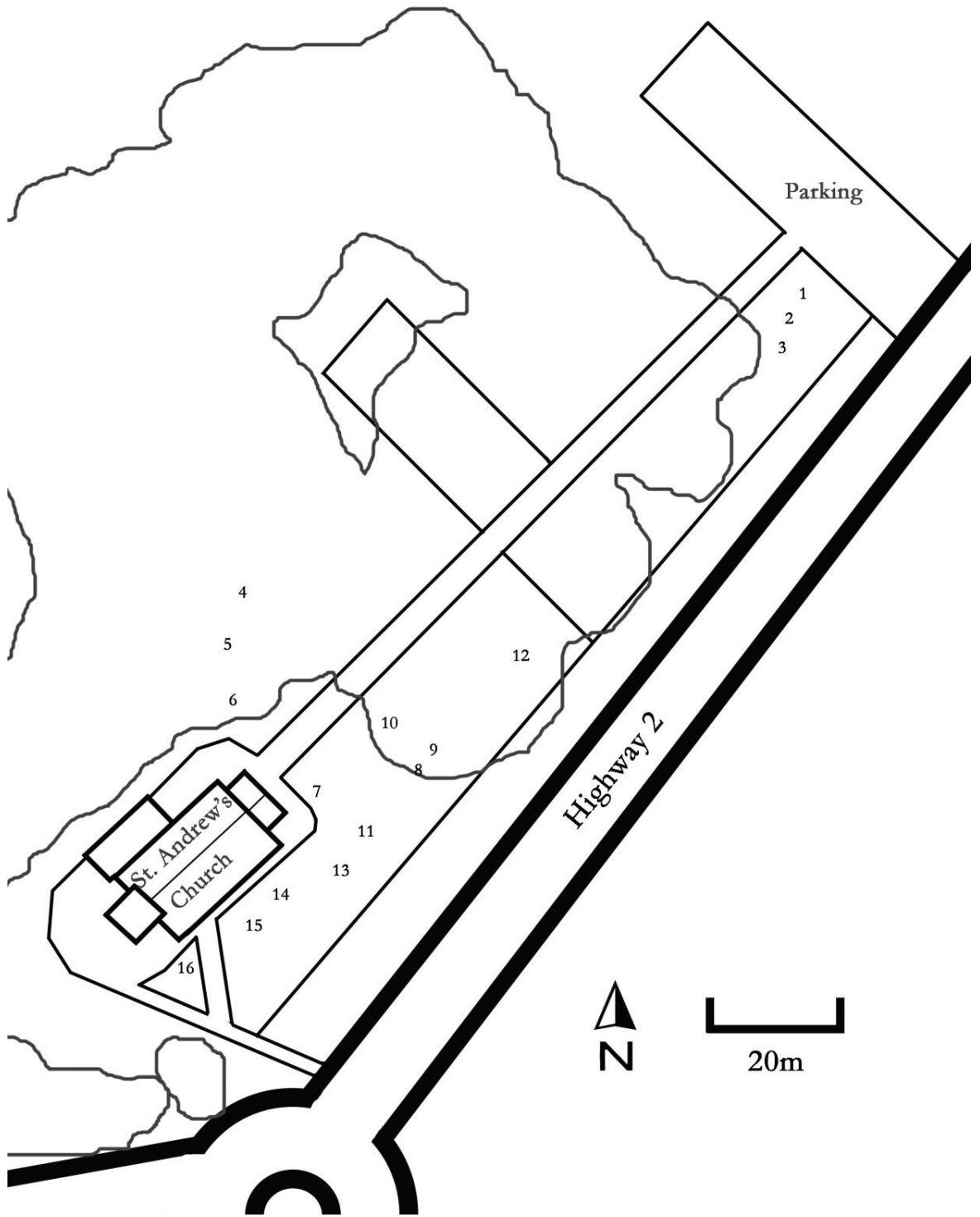
Figure 103 Map of St. Andrew's monument locations recorded during 2013 fieldwork.

St. George's Parish Church

As with many of the churches on the island, the original St. George's Parish Church (built between 1637 and 1641) was destroyed by the hurricane of 1780, along with all documentation and records (St. George's Parish Church n.d.: 1). At the expense of £6000, the church was rebuilt, with the dedication, "Long may this structure lift its venerable head unhurt by the slow and sweeping hand of time, or by the ruder and undistinguished assaults of winds and storm" (St. George's Parish, n.d.: 4). It was one of only four parish churches that survived the hurricane of 1831, along with the 1898 and 1955 hurricanes, making it the oldest ecclesiastical building in Barbados. Primarily Georgian, with gothic influences, this church used traditional Barbadian building techniques, including the use of coral stone (Figure 104,Figure 105). The mixture of Old and New World architecture is complemented by colourful foliage and careful landscaping, particularly at the main northern entrance. Boasting a painting by Benjamin West R.A., whose work also hangs in Buckingham Palace, along with memorial tablets by famous sculptors Westmacott and Nollekens, the interior of this church is treasured by the community (Hill 1984: 33).

This study includes 140 monuments from St. George, dating as early as 1680, with 116 monuments recorded during the fieldwork in 2013 (Figure 106). Twenty six monuments were recorded inside the church, ranging from sculptural wall tablets to simpler floor tablets. The churchyard wraps all the way around the church, with a substantial section to the south that is dominated by post-1950 monuments, particularly wooden crosses and small marble monuments on curbs. The older sections, immediately adjacent to the church building, include many white marble monuments on curbs and covered vaults, interrupted only by trees and bushes. Very few mausolea stand in the large churchyard, but large family plots and enclosures do pave the majority of the land between pathways. The burial ground is populated by many surgeons and doctors, politicians, military men, and planters. Irish merchant William Hall (d. 1813), military officer and President of the Council Henry Frere (d. 1792), and Charlotte Hustler (d.1801) of Acklam-Hall in York, daughter of the Meade family of Philadelphia, and granddaughter of an influential politician in Barbados, are just some of the influential names that can be found buried here.

Figure 104 St. George's Parish Church, St. George, Barbados. Exterior.

Figure 105 St. George's Parish Church, St. George, Barbados. Interior.
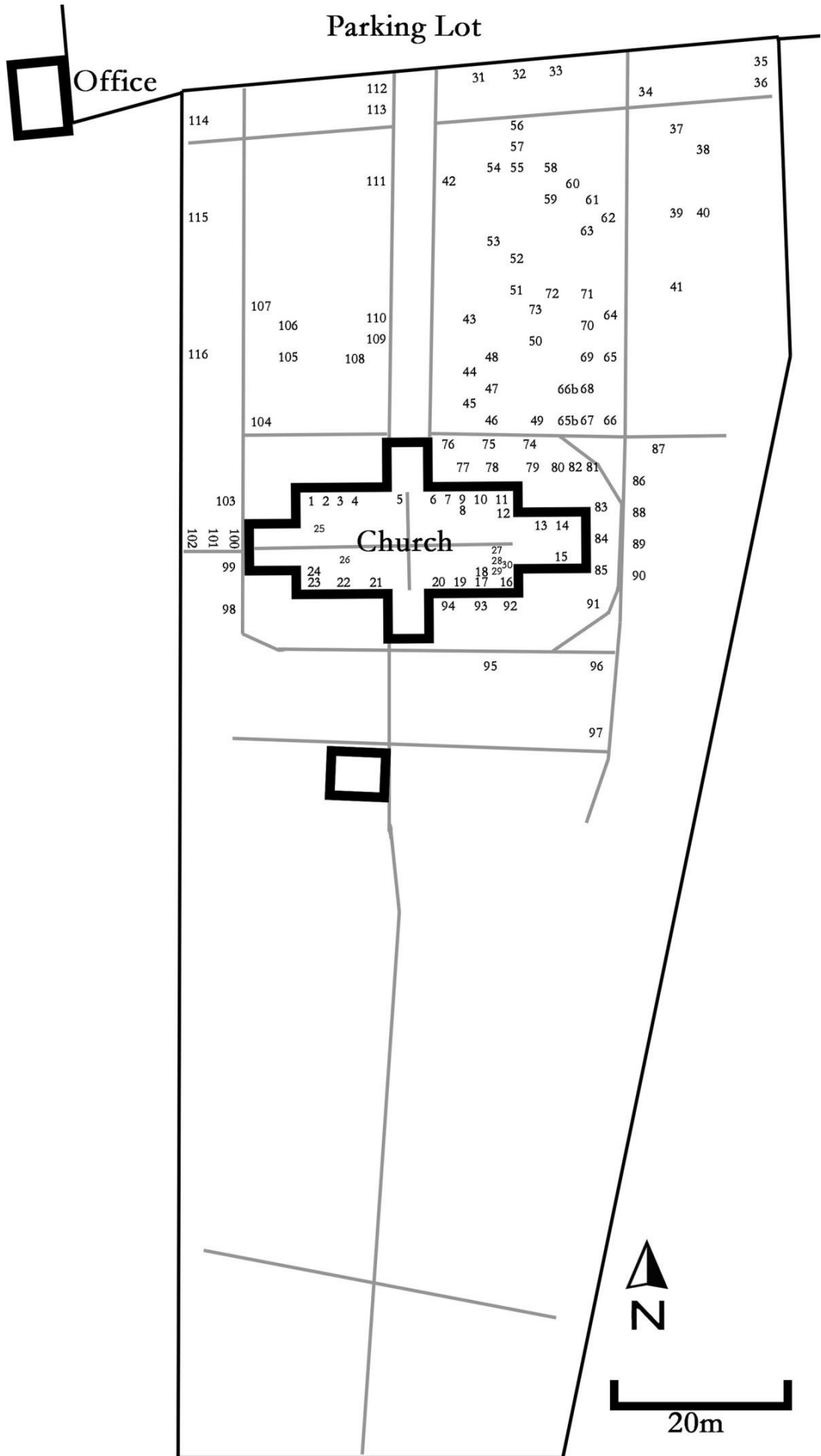
Figure 106 Map of St. George's monument locations recorded during 2013 fieldwork.

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St. James Parish Church

Located in Holetown (originally known as Jamestown), the original site of settlement, St. James Parish Church is heralded as the oldest church on the island with references to the church in 1629, 1660 and 1668 (Hill 1984: 43). Unfortunately, the hurricane of 1675 destroyed the first structure, built of wood. A coral and limestone structure was then erected, but it was later destroyed by the hurricane of 1780. A further building was constructed again of stone and with a seating capacity of 550 (though the congregation at the time was approximately 360 individuals) (Schomburgk 1846). It survived the hurricane of 1831, before falling into disrepair. St. James was replaced in 1874, with an even larger and grander structure that remains largely unchanged today (Figure 107,Figure 108). The sanctuary and north porch, however, were added in the 1900s, extending its space and grandeur. Architecturally, St. James Parish Church includes a number of unique features in comparison to other churches on the island, such as the circular bell tower, wide circular columns supporting arches that run the length of the knave, ornate beams, and a carved wooden spiral staircase (see also Hill 1984: 44). The original baptismal font, dated to 1684 and commemorating Richard Walter, survives, along with the original church bell, dating to 1696. Heralded as 'the oldest church in Barbados', St. James Parish Church attracts many tourists, who appreciate the warmth and character of the church and the many connections to the island's heritage. At the same time, it has a thriving congregation that maintains and decorates the church, in addition to running community groups and events.

This study included 72 monuments, dated as early as 1669. Fieldwork in 2013 recorded 61 monuments both inside and outside of the church (Figure 109; see also Johnson 2013). Internal monuments range from small brass and marble wall plaques to large, ornate sculptural memorials. Outside, the existing monuments are well spaced on the short lawn. Many of these are chest tombs and vaults, of marble, concrete, and coral stone, with iron enclosures. A large enclosure to the Alleyne family, an elite planter and merchant family on the island, is amongst the most notable and their descendants' occasional visits to the parish church and the graves are much celebrated by the community. Many other elite families are also visible in the church and churchyard, including the Gibbes family, who reached high ranks in the military and government, including president of the island, as well as the Braithwaites, Forsters, Fercharsons, and Holders. The connection between St. James Parish Church and these commemorative narratives further contributes to the attraction for tourism.

Figure 107 St. James Parish Church, Holetown, Barbados. Exterior.

**Figure 108** St. James Parish Church, Holetown, Barbados. Interior.
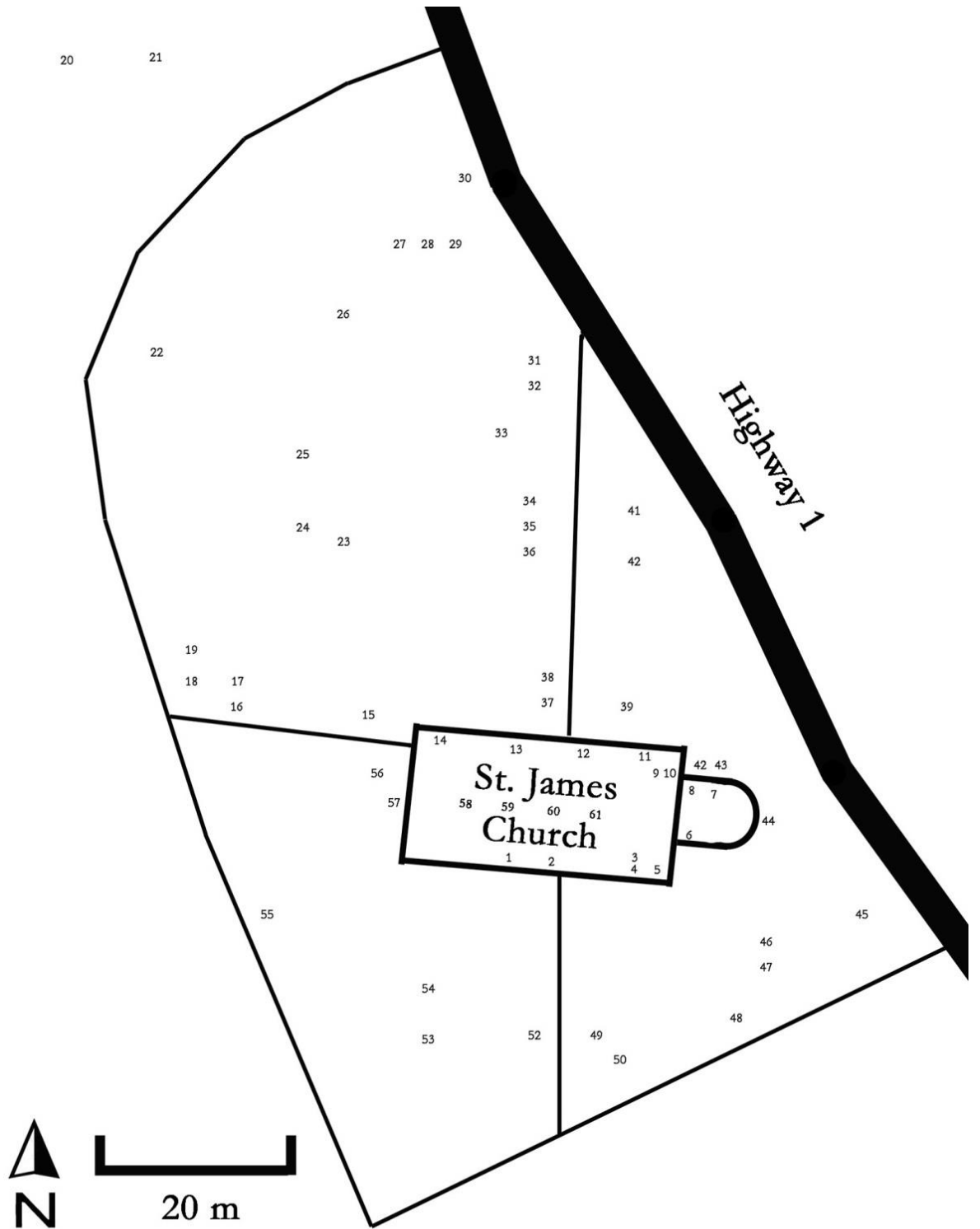
Figure 109 Map of St. James monument locations recorded during 2013 fieldwork.

St. John's Parish Church

One of the oldest churches on the island, St. John's Parish Church, was first built of wood in 1645, with sweeping views of the eastern coast (Hill 1984: 34-35). It was soon destroyed by a fire, and replaced in 1660 with a stone structure at the cost of 110,000 pounds of sugar. This structure was so badly damaged in the hurricane of 1675 that it had to be torn down soon afterwards. Its replacement had a bit longer lifespan, until it was destroyed by the hurricane of 1780. Unfortunately, the hurricane of 1831 again levelled the church, being replaced by 1836 with a new structure. The church has fared better since then, still standing today, with the addition of a chancel in the 1870s and stained glass windows in the first decade of the twentieth century. The Gothic revival style church parallels many churches on the island, with arched windows, buttresses and its imposing square bell tower (Figure 110). The interior of the church is a warm mix of woods, including mahogany, ebony, locust, machineel, oak, and pine, including the ornate carved pulpit, curved staircases, and galleries (Figure 111). There are a number of elaborate internal monuments, including work by famous British sculptors like Westmacott. The church was described by Schomburgk (1848: 34) as being in a very romantic situation on Hackleton's Cliff, with a "sublime prospect from the churchyard toward St. Joseph's and St. Andrew's."

The churchyard that surrounds the north, east and south sides of the church is filled with native flora, including a canopy of old trees. It is a popular tourist attraction for its unique features, such as its sundial at the far eastern boundary line, one of only two surviving sundials from the colonial period. The monuments and burials also stimulate the curiosities of visitors. The grave of Paleologus, for instance, has links to Emperor Constantine; the green painted granite monument dates to the nineteenth century, when his body, set in in quicklime with his head facing west in accordance with Greek Orthodox custom, was found in the vault of Sir Peter Colleton, in the church near the organ loft, and was reburied in the churchyard (Franzius :433). In the adjacent tomb, Thomas Hughes was buried standing up, according to his own request. Beyond the curiosities of the churchyard, many aging mausolea lie low in the dappled sunlight, adorned with inscriptions commemorating the elite families of St. Philip's parish. Stone, coral and granite monuments abound, many of which have large iron enclosures or curbed plots. Fieldwork recorded 106 monuments in St. John's Parish Church, with more than 30 internal monuments (Figure 112).

Figure 110 St. John's Parish Church, Church View, Barbados. Exterior, north-western churchyard.

Figure 111 St. John's Parish Church, Church View, Barbados. Interior.
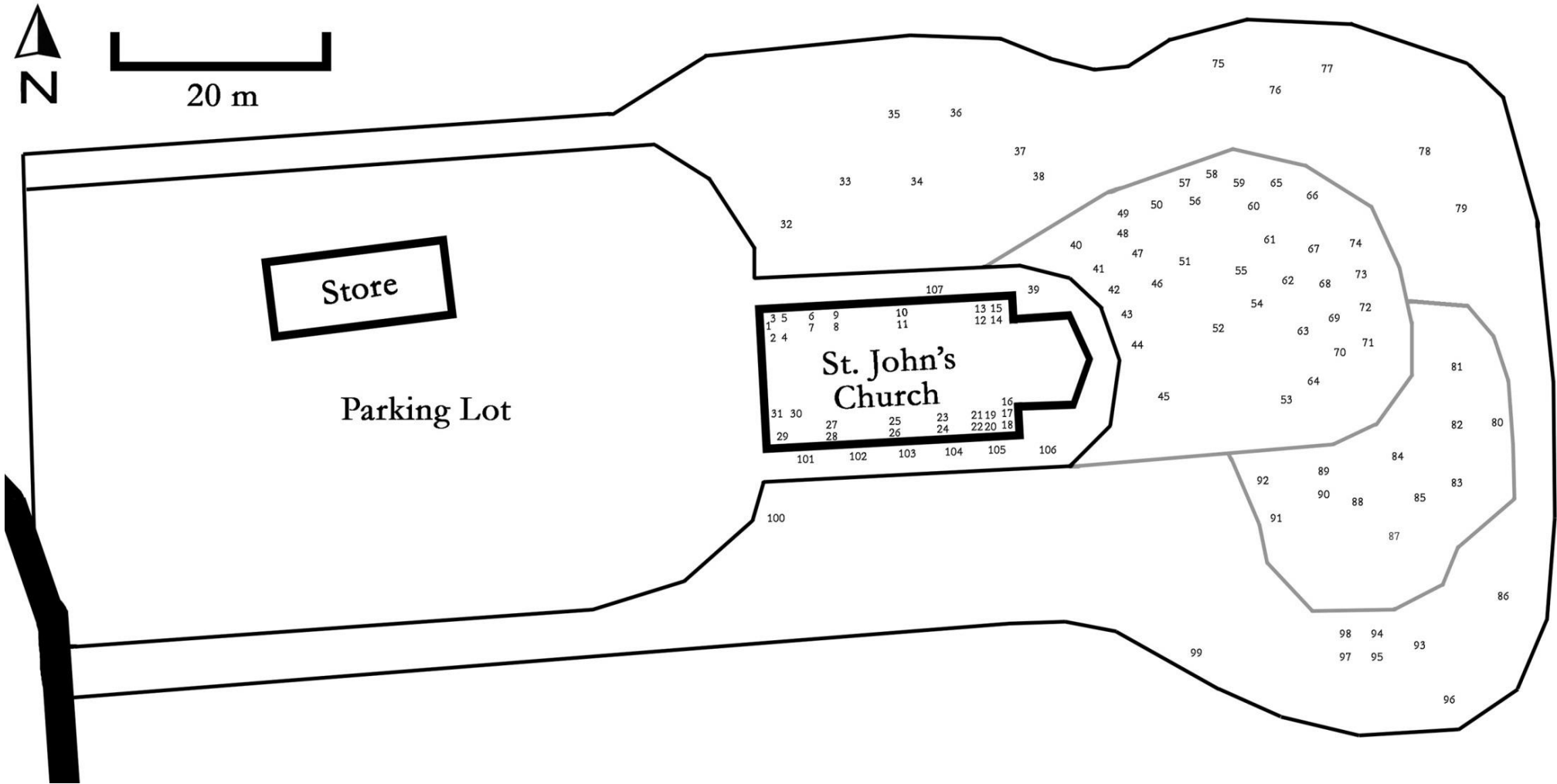
Figure 112 Map of St. John's monument locations recorded during 2013 fieldwork.

St. Joseph's Parish Church

Despite being the last of the parish churches to be established, after the subdivision of St. Andrew Parish in the 1650s, records suggest that a church existed at Joe's River by 1641 (Campbell 1982: 35-36). This church likely served as the parish church until it was destroyed by the hurricane of 1831. A mortuary chapel survives on this site with a few monuments. A new parish church, however, was constructed by 1839, on land donated by John Briggs Esq, making it the last of the churches to be restored after the hurricane. The style of the church is unusual for the island, with a triple frontage and triple pitched roof. The small open bell tower and series of circular and lancet windows adorn the front of the church, and are mirrored on the rear wall and small apse. Gothic styled windows run the length of the building, flooding the interior with light. Unfortunately, land slippage followed by earth tremors in 2007 and Tropical Storm Tomas in 2010 resulted in severe structural damage that eventually forced the closure of the church in June 2011 (Figure 113,Figure 114). The congregation joined St. Aidan Anglican Church in Bathsheba, St. Joseph and the site was deconsecrated October 6th, 2011, with plans to leave the abandoned building as ruins and construct a new church nearby.

The surrounding churchyard has also been impacted by the land slippage and deconsecration of St. Joseph Church, with many of the older monuments being damaged and now unmaintained. Only 14 monuments dated to the period of study were included in this project, with few monuments surviving from Oliver's (1915) monument inscriptions to the fieldwork conducted in 2013. The interior monuments had been stripped from the church along with other fittings and ornaments and were not traceable. External monuments from the period of study are concentrated to the northwest and southwest of the church building, with more modern sections extending to the southwest (Figure 115). There are no mausolea, however the range of chest tombs, almost all of which are now severely cracked, would once have been beautiful and impressive in this setting. Despite the rural isolation of St. Joseph's Parish Church, inscriptions include Bridgetown-based merchant Joseph Shene, Assembly representative Edward Benney Esq., and even one member of the Alleyne family, who drowned at Bathsheba, St. Joseph in 1847. Other commemorated individuals include religious and military leaders.

Figure 113 St. Joseph's Parish Church, Cleaver Hill, Barbados. Exterior.

Figure 114 St. Joseph's Parish Church, Cleaver Hill, Barbados. Interior.
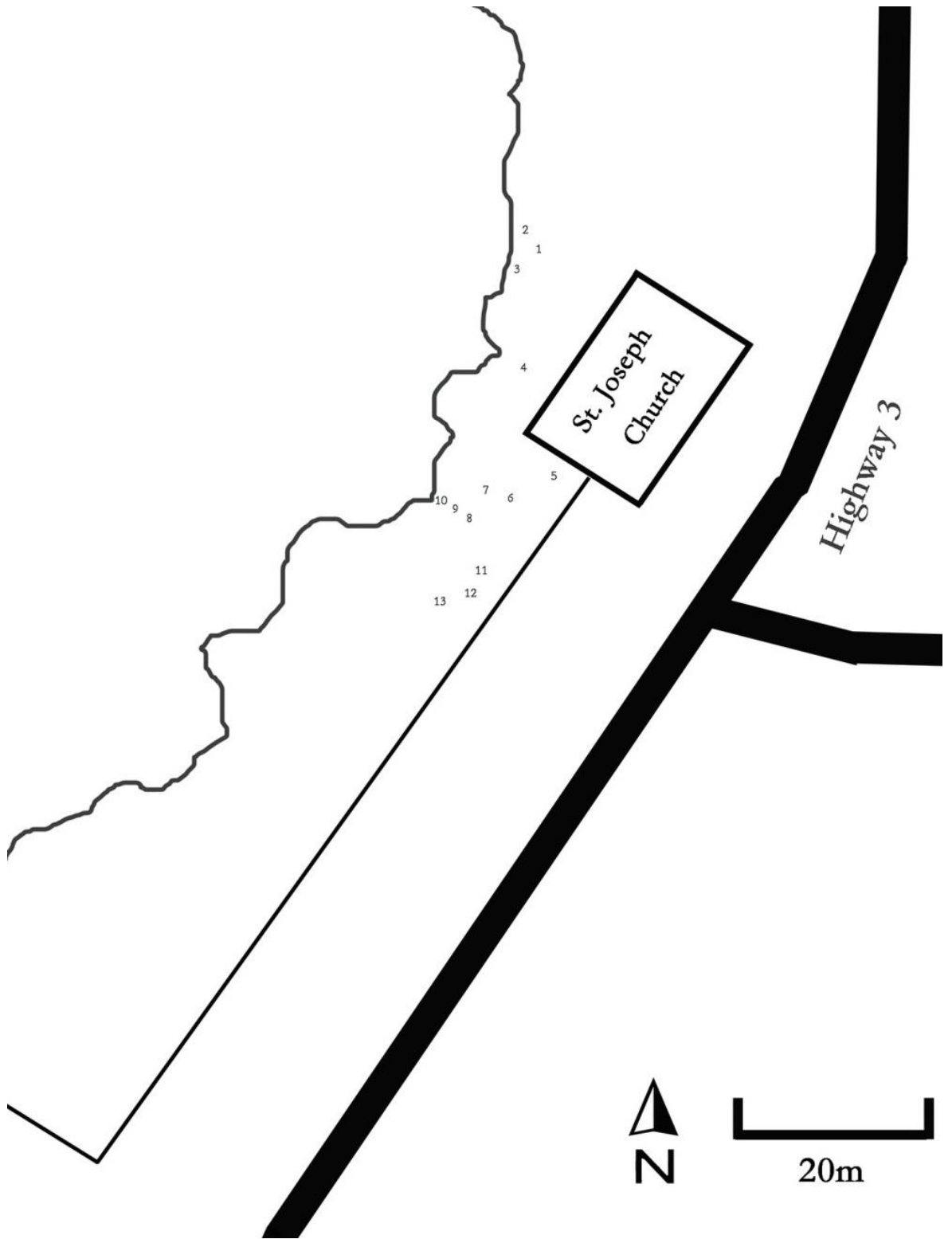
Figure 115 Map of St. Joseph's monument locations recorded during 2013 fieldwork.

St. Leonard's Chapel

Located on Westbury Road in Bridgetown, St. Leonard's Church dates to the middle of the nineteenth century when it was established to serve the ever-growing population of the main port of the island. At this time it was renowned for its beauty and architectural detail, including a high pitched roof, off-centred bell tower and lead windows, and was considered one of the finest churches on the island. This city church was described as pretentious, belonging in a London suburb, and exceedingly fashionable (Hill 1984: 83). Unfortunately, this building was completely lost in a major fire in 1981 and the present structure was erected in 1985. Unlike many other churches in Barbados that have faced reconstruction in the twentieth century, St. Leonard's did not seek to restore or replicate the previous church building but rather embraced modern church architecture. It features a unique octagonal form and the industrial character of metal and concrete (Figure 116). Dual staircases lead to the main entrance, with a central church tower, and the unusual footprint of the building opens into a large nave on the first floor with an expansive pentagonal wood roof. There is extensive space for offices, vestries, and community rooms on the ground floor.

The very large churchyard that surrounds the contemporary church building remains a testament to the history of the site (Figure 117). Oliver (1915) did not record monument inscriptions in St. Leonard's systematically and only included 20 in his publication, most of which were internal and, due to limited access, it was not possible to ascertain if they survived the fire or photograph them. However, a total of 129 monuments were recorded in the churchyard during the 2013 fieldwork, most of which date to the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Figure 118). Monuments include large mausolea, chest tombs, and tablets, many of which are enclosed with ornate iron railings. The churchyard is also known for its particularly rare cast iron monuments, including an extremely tall cast iron obelisk erected for Benjamin (d. 1865) and Georgeana Alleyne (d. 1885). As to be expected in a burial ground in Bridgetown, there are many merchants, plantation owners, politicians, and military and religious leaders.

Figure 116 St. Leonard's Church, Bridgetown, Barbados. Exterior.

Figure 117 St. Leonard's Church, Bridgetown, Barbados. Churchyard and rear of church.
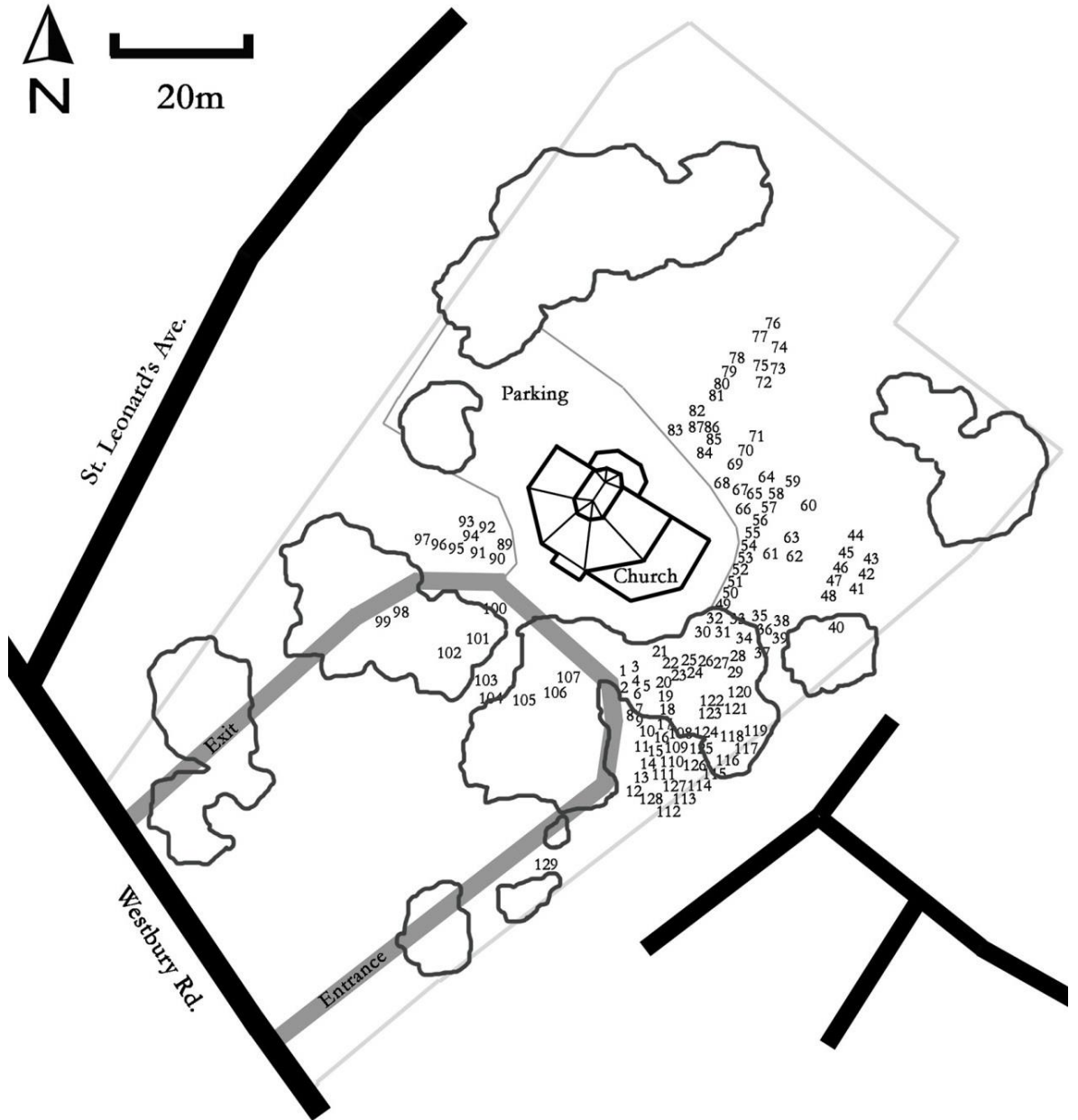
Figure 118 Map of St. Leonard's monument locations recorded during 2013 fieldwork.

St. Lucy's Parish Church

  Amongst the original six parish churches established on the island, St. Lucy's Parish Church was originally a wooden structure built in 1627. Unfortunately, it was destroyed a mere two years later by a hurricane. A permanent replacement was not completed until 1741, and this time was constructed out of "sawed stone or sawn stone and very handsome and regular" (Oldmixon in Hill 1984: 38). It too was destroyed by the hurricane of 1780, as was its replacement by the hurricane of 1831. A Georgian stone church was completed in 1837, and still stands today, with features including a barreled ceiling, a large gallery along three sides of the church, and a square bell tower at the entrance (Figure 119). With a seating capacity of 750, it is one of the largest churches and serves the northernmost parish of the island. Its simple elegance has been well maintained, with clean, white rendered exterior walls and the interior is equally bright and white, large windows and an airy atmosphere. The apse includes elaborate stained glass windows, wood alter, screen and lectern, and painted details.

  With views of the ocean, the churchyard surrounds the church, with the largest and more modern section to the west. It is secluded, shaded and crowded with monuments (Figure 120). There are many signs of frequent visitation and maintenance of more recent graves, with boots and gardening tools stashed in crevices of collapsing vaults. This study included 100 monuments dating between 1696 and 1950, many of which were recorded during fieldwork in 2013 (Figure 121). While Oliver (1915) records a number of internal monuments, these were inaccessible at the time of fieldwork. Outside, many of the older monuments are concentrated around the church, particularly to the north of the structure. Around the back of the building extends a large burial ground to the west. There are some large mausolea, but the majority of the monuments are tablets set on large covered vaults and curb enclosures. Many of the original ornate iron enclosures have also survived. Monuments are primarily marble, coral stone and concrete. Many important families are visible in this churchyard, including the Alleynes, Leacocks, and Skeetes (see also Chapter 8 for discussion of the Kellmans of St. Lucy).

Figure 119 St. Lucy's Parish Church, Fairfield, Barbados. Exterior of church.

Figure 120 St. Lucy's Parish Church, Fairfield, Barbados. Churchyard, looking north.
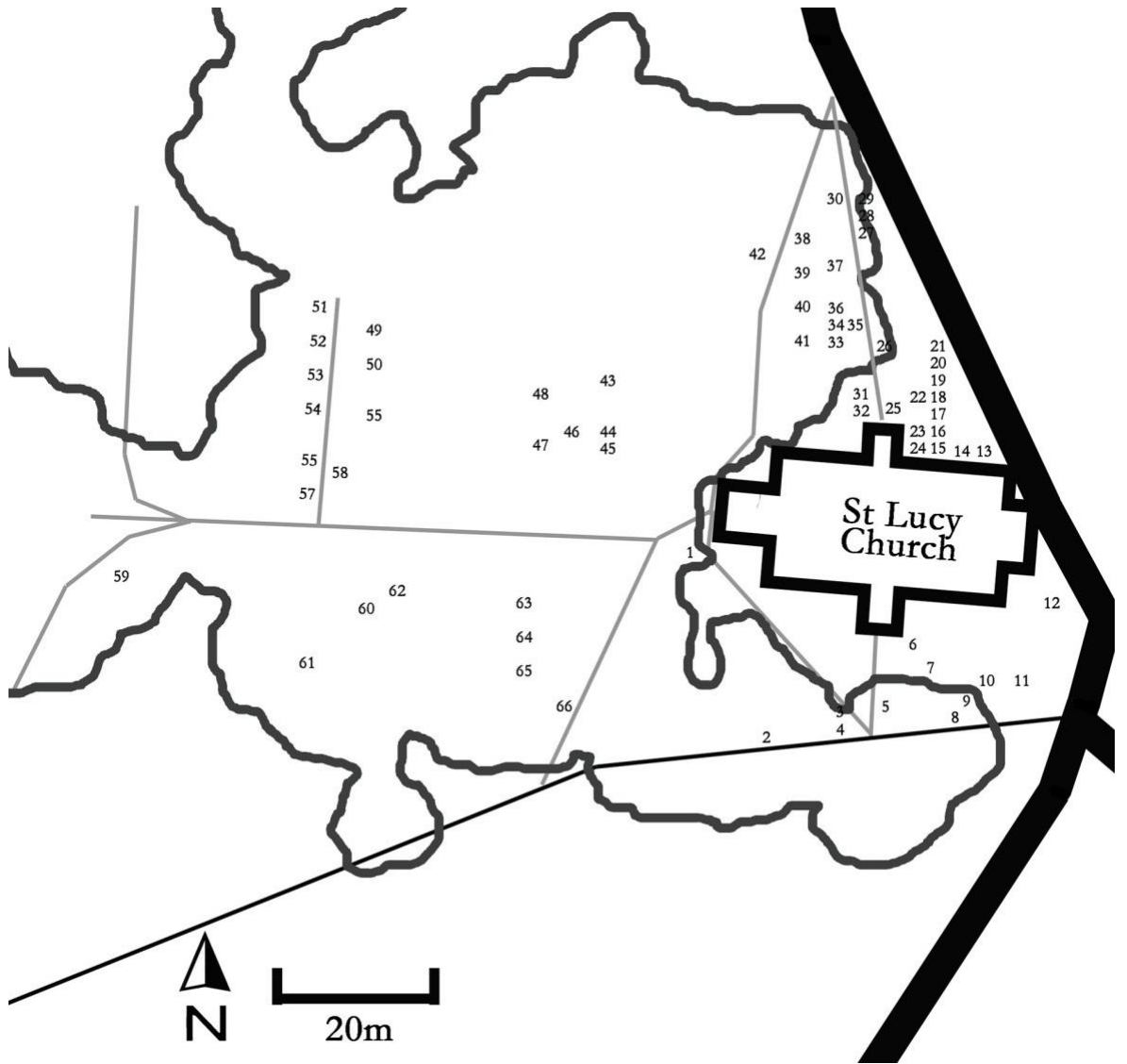
Figure 121 Map of St. Lucy's monument locations recorded during 2013 fieldwork.

St. Mary's Chapel

St. Mary's Chapel occupies the original site of St. Michael's Cathedral, built in 1641 and comprising a wooden structure (Hill 1984: 51). This is one of the earliest sites of consecrated ground on the island (perhaps second only to St. James). The small church was, however, already considered inadequate by 1665, and a relocation was slowly being planned when the structure was destroyed by the hurricane of 1780. At this time, St. Michael's Cathedral was built on a different site in Bridgetown. The remaining cleared but consecrated ground on the original site was then used as a burial ground for non-white, baptised residents in Bridgetown, until a new chapel was planned. It was built as a Chapel of Ease during a period of major church building, due to the growing island population and religious congregations, and was dedicated to St. Mary in 1827. Given this history and the establishment of St. Mary's at the time of abolition and emancipation, the chapel incorporated a diverse congregation from the outset. St. Mary's Chapel has a striking red roof and blue walls (Figure 122, Figure 123). The large nave, including an upper gallery with additional seating, includes an impressive barrel ceiling and a spacious apse. Elaborate mouldings and wood carvings are set off by the cream and pale blue colour scheme inside. The colourful character of St. Mary's Chapel is well-maintained, elaborate and spacious.

The churchyard, which was used for burials predating the establishment of St. Mary's Chapel, includes 103 monuments dated between 1681 and 1950, with more than 70 recorded during fieldwork in 2013 (Figure 124). The urban churchyard includes many well maintained monuments, which have been recently painted, but also monuments that have fallen into disrepair. The large mausolea and covered vaults that characterize this churchyard are surrounded by mature trees and flowering foliage. Unfortunately, the churchyard has a negative reputation, with some tourists being warned that is unsafe due to the use of the space by 'homeless people, drug users and the mentally ill'. The diverse commemorated population reflects the cosmopolitan history of the church, including individuals of British, Portuguese, and African descent, with merchants and politicians as well as tradespeople and the military. It includes individuals that died in major events in Barbados, such as 8-year-old Elizabeth Thomas Crick, killed in the hurricane of 1831, and abroad, including Lieutenant A. Turquand who died in a cholera outbreak whilst serving in Madras in 1849, highlighting the global connections of Bridgetown communities. The elaborate monument with lengthy inscription commemorating Samuel Jackman Prescod (d. 1871) also demonstrates links to the anti-slavery movement, while that of Thomas Clarke Marshall (d. 1879) hints at the church's connection to the Masons and Knights Templar.

Figure 122 St. Mary's Chapel, Bridgetown, Barbados. Exterior, front entrance and bell tower.

Figure 123 St. Mary's Chapel, Bridgetown, Barbados. View from southern section of churchyard.
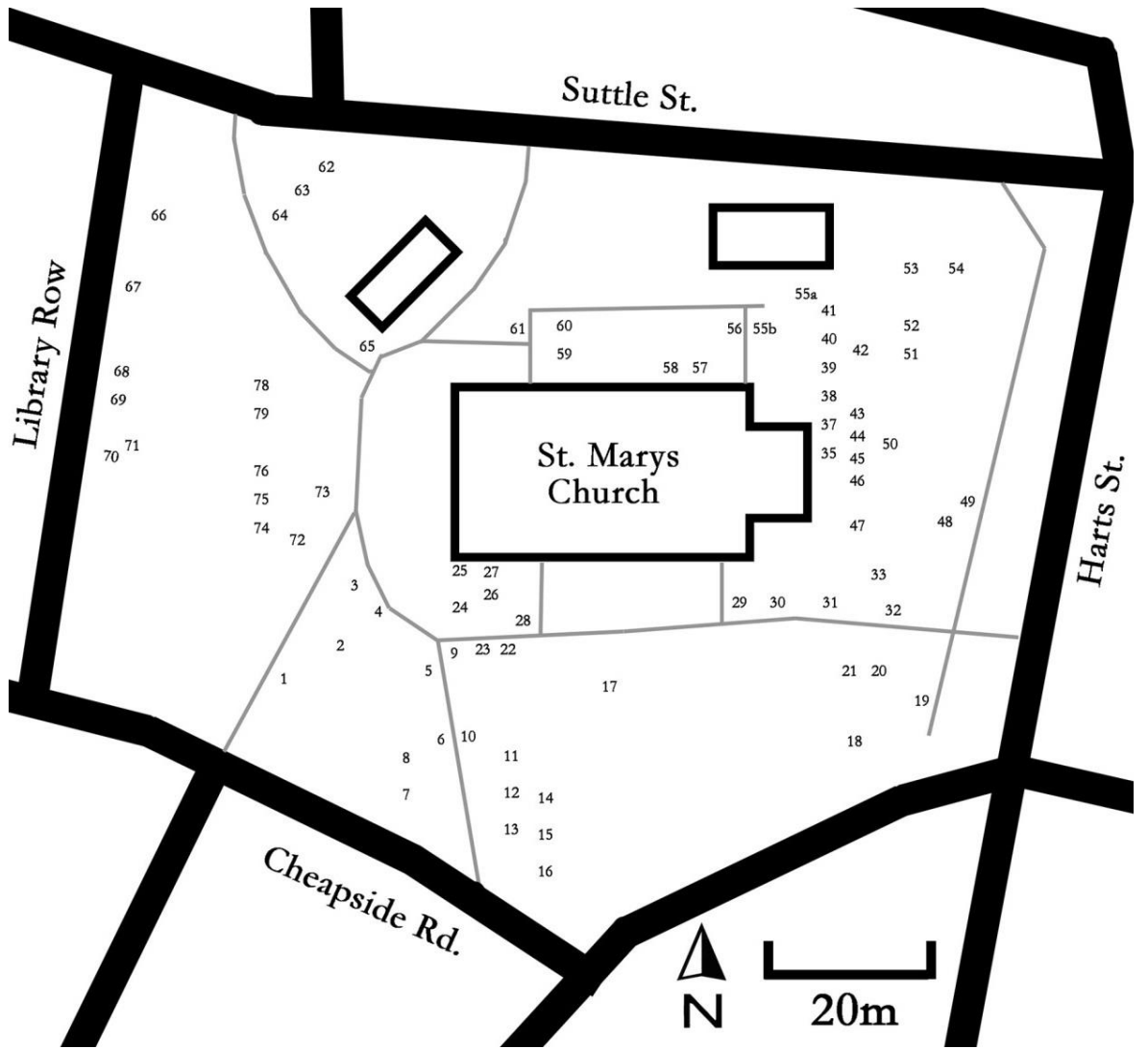
Figure 124 Map of St. Mary's monument locations recorded during 2013 fieldwork.

St. Matthias District Church

As early as the 1830s, St. Matthias chapelry district was operating primarily out of one of the parochial schools until a church could be constructed. Built on ¾ of an acre of land in Hastings, Christ Church Parish, donated by John Mayers in 1837, St. Matthias Church was completed in 1848 (Figure 125). Originally conceived of as a chapel of ease, the architecture is much more elaborate and the budget of £3,250 was more than five times as much as the average chapel construction on the island (approximately £750), not to mention most of the church rebuilding that was occurring after the hurricane of 1831 (on average £2600) (Hill 1984: 80). Records suggest that there were intentions to make St. Matthias a parish church, by defining new boundaries and creating a vestry, which may explain the size and ornate nature of the structure. The exterior is a well-maintained and elegant combination of exposed stone and brickwork. The interior of the church is graced with wooden fittings, including a small second-storey gallery that extends halfway through the nave on each side, and colourful stained glass windows in the apse (Figure 126). Without the troubled histories of destruction and rebuilding of many of the churches on the island, the church maintains many of the same features of the original structure. It has always had a close relationship with the Barbados Garrison, and now retains a connection to the Barbados Defense Force.

The most famous monument at St. Matthias District Church commemorates fifteen officers and a captain's steward that died of yellow fever on board the HMS Dauntless (Figure 127). However many others who died of yellow fever were also buried there, including 9-year-old Frederick Morse (d.1852), son of Captain H.A. Turner, Fanny Kemp Cleland (d.1852), wife of a surgeon, and Anne Mary Hutton (d. 1852), wife of Richard Holt Hutton, who died during a visit to Barbados. As a result of the high mortality rates from yellow fever, the cemetery had to be closed four years after it was opened. The small churchyard that surrounds St. Matthias church includes monuments that date as early as 1852 and this study includes 21 internal and external monuments, of which 17 were surviving in 2013 (Figure 128). Most of the external monuments are chest tombs with lengthy inscriptions on marble tablets. More recently, a modern garden of remembrance with small commemorative tiles was established to facilitate memorialisation in the very small churchyard. Inside the church, monuments are primarily brass wall plaques from the twentieth century. Beyond the yellow fever victims, commemoration also includes William Phillips Clarke (d. 1895) who died at Monte Carlo, Monaco, but was commemorated here by his widow, and the Crompton family who were heavily involved in the Anglican Diocese but also the Barbados Mutual Life Assurance Society.
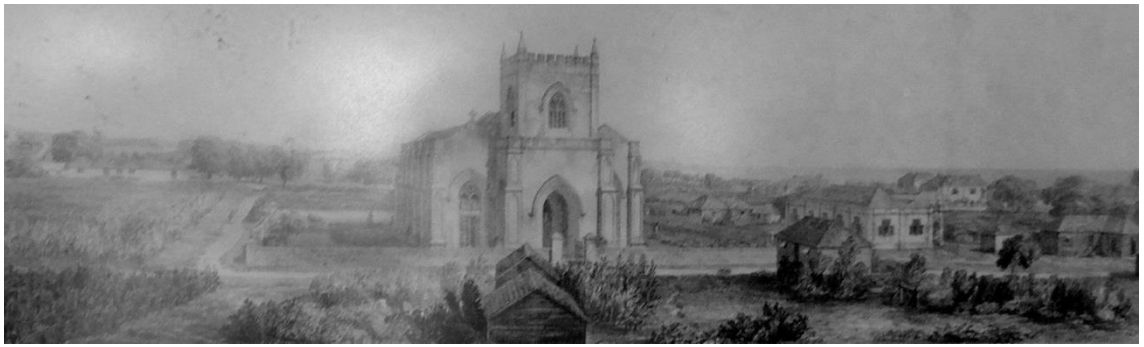
Figure 125 St. Matthias District Church, Hastings, Barbados. Nineteenth-century drawing (reproduced here with permission of St. Matthias Church).

Figure 126 St. Matthias District Church, Hastings, Barbados. Interior.

Figure 127 Monument to HMS Dauntless victims of yellow fever, St. Matthias District Church.
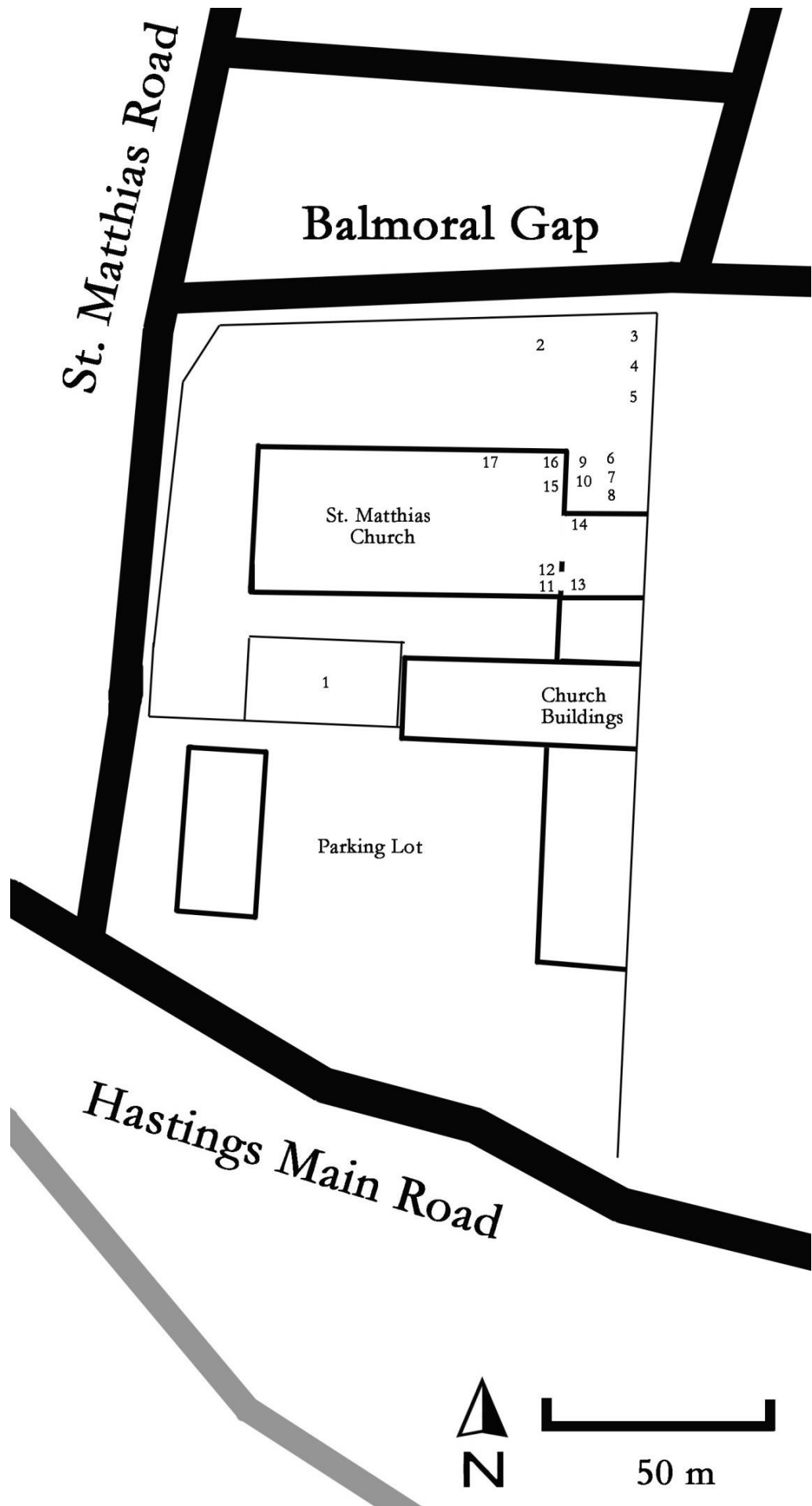
Figure 128 Map of St. Matthias monument locations recorded during 2013 fieldwork.

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St. Michael's Cathedral

The Cathedral of St. Michael and All Angels, as it is formally known, replaced the earlier wooden Church of St. Michael on the site of what is now St. Mary's Chapel. A timber structure was likely built on the site of the present cathedral by the 1660s. This building was updated several times and included a south porch, brickwork, a tiled, timber roof supported by two rows of four stone columns, a castellated parapet, and eventually a church and clock tower (Hill 1984: 25). Following the destruction caused by the 1780 hurricane, the church, which had long been deemed insufficient, the push to build a larger and finer building was intensified. At the cost of £10,000, the cathedral was built of stone and designed to have a maximum seating capacity of 3000 (Figure 129,Figure 130). The new structure was immediately recognized as exceptional, with barrel vaulted and arched ceilings, galleries, and stained glass windows. However it has also received more scathing reviews, with Schomburgk (1848:32) noting that it was, "spacious but destitute of architectural beauty." The exquisitely carved mahogany pulpit and choir stalls add further flourish to this relatively ornate building. Since its initial construction, further modifications were made, including the addition of buttresses to support the massive weight of the building and its elaborate ceiling, as well as a square tower (Hill 1984: 28). The Cathedral's immense nave and ornate detailing continues to inspire awe for its congregation and frequent tourists. However, critics have also complained that it has not been effectively maintained in recent years and that accumulation of signs of disrepair is evident. The conservation of this important site of architecture and heritage was suggested by some locals to be a 'crippling expense' and it is unclear what the future will hold for St. Michaels Cathedral.

The large and very crowded burial ground that surrounds the Cathedral is dominated by large mausolea and covered vaults (Figure 131). This includes more than 649 monuments dating between 1660 and 1950, with just over 400 surviving during fieldwork in 2013. More than a hundred of these occur inside the church, and include extremely elaborate sculptural wall plaques and floor tablets, many of which were ordered from skilled stone masons in Britain (Figure 132). Outside, monuments encircle the north, west and south sides of the church. Many of these are made of marble, coral stone, brick, and concrete, with some of the original iron enclosures surviving (Figure 133). A substantial number of monuments have been broken or shifted by previous hurricanes and have now been laid along paths and courtyards, but the wear of frequent foot traffic has made many of these illegible, accounting for some of the attrition. The prestige of the Cathedral has long attracted an illustrious burial population. It includes Sir Grantley

Adams, the first chief minister of Barbados and Prime Minister of the West Indies Federation, as well as his son, Tom Adams, the second Prime Minister of Barbados.

Figure 129 St. Michael's Cathedral, Bridgetown, Barbados. Interior.

Figure 130 St. Michael's Cathedral, Bridgetown, Barbados. Exterior and eastern churchyard.

Figure 131 St. Michael's Cathedral, Bridgetown, Barbados. Churchyard.
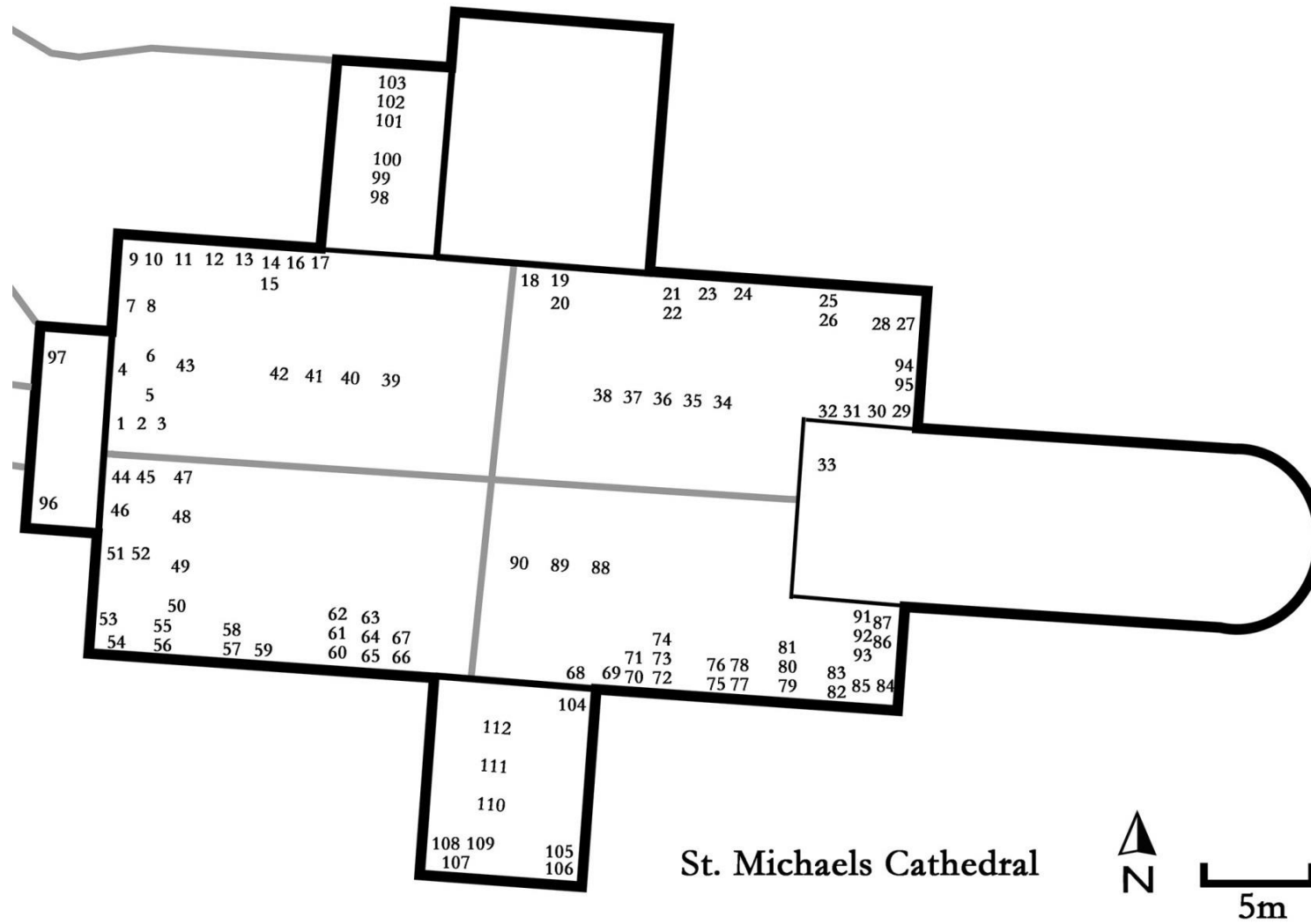
Figure 132 Map of St. Michael's internal monument locations recorded during 2013 fieldwork.

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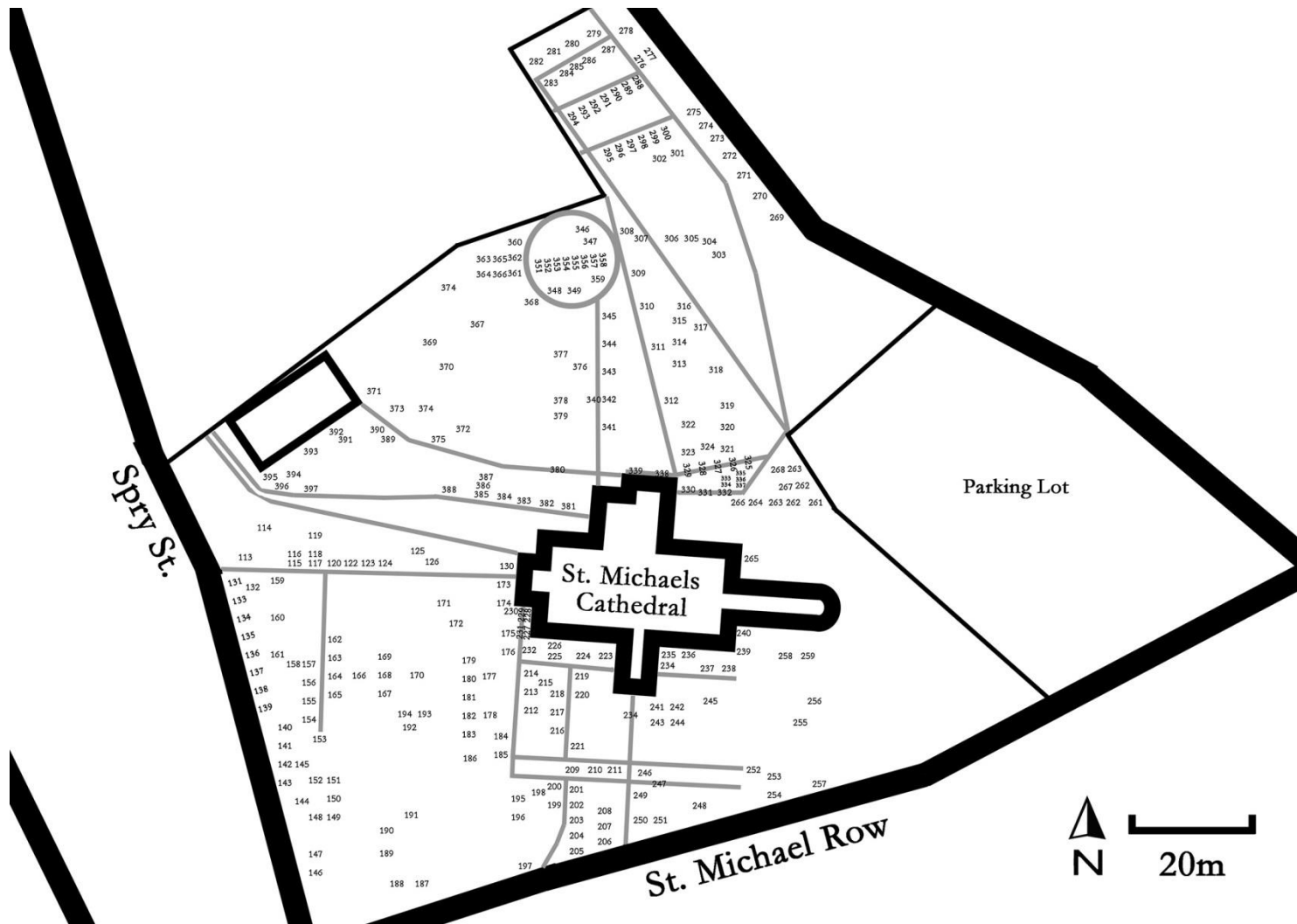
Figure 133 Map of St. Michael's external monument locations recorded during 2013 fieldwork.

St. Paul's Chapel

During the massive church building scheme of Bishop William Hart Coleridge in the first half of the nineteenth century, Coleridge himself purchased three plots of land along Bay Street in Bridgetown and funded the building of an imposing stone church in 1830. Just seven months later, the hurricane of 1831 destroyed the church entirely with a local newspaper reporting that "the Bishop's little chapel… has one window remaining to show where it stood" (Hill 1984: 65). Bishop Coleridge quickly undertook the rebuilding and by 1833 a simpler church had been completed. A chancel was later added to enlarge and elaborate the chapel, which was growing in popularity amongst the urban communities of Bridgetown. The steep gabled roof, buttresses and arched windows of this Gothic Revival-styled church are still considered less impressive than the original 1830 structure, however its ocean views and proximity to governmental offices has made this 'Chapel in the Bay' popular throughout its history. The chapel underwent considerable conservation and upgrading in the 1990s, following the collapse of a section of the roof. Today, the chapel is pristine, painted white and grey, and enclosed by a blue embankment (Figure 134,Figure 135).

The well-maintained and serene churchyard that envelopes the Chapel includes 97 monuments dated between its opening and 1950, 50 of which were recorded during fieldwork (Figure 136). Oliver (1915) recorded internal monuments, which were inaccessible during fieldwork, but primarily consisted of white and blue marble wall plaques. Outside, most monuments run down the east side of the church, with some in the western section. These have all been painted white in their maintenance efforts and fitting in with the monochromatic colour scheme overall. These monuments consist of some mausolea, but mainly headstones and chest tombs with some of the original iron gates still maintained. Many of the monuments are connected to the military, including a number of individuals who died of yellow fever in the nineteenth century. For instance Major Robert Noble Crosse, who had served in Buenos Aires, Almeida, Fuentes, and Salamanca, died aboard H.M.S. Hercules along with a number of others due to yellow fever contracted on the island. Connections to Germany and the United States (Philadelphia, Boston), as well as Britain, highlight the cosmopolitan community that were attracted to St. Paul's in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Figure 134 St. Paul's Chapel, Bridgetown, Barbados. Exterior front.

Figure 135 St. Paul's Chapel, Bridgetown, Barbados. Exterior from northeast.
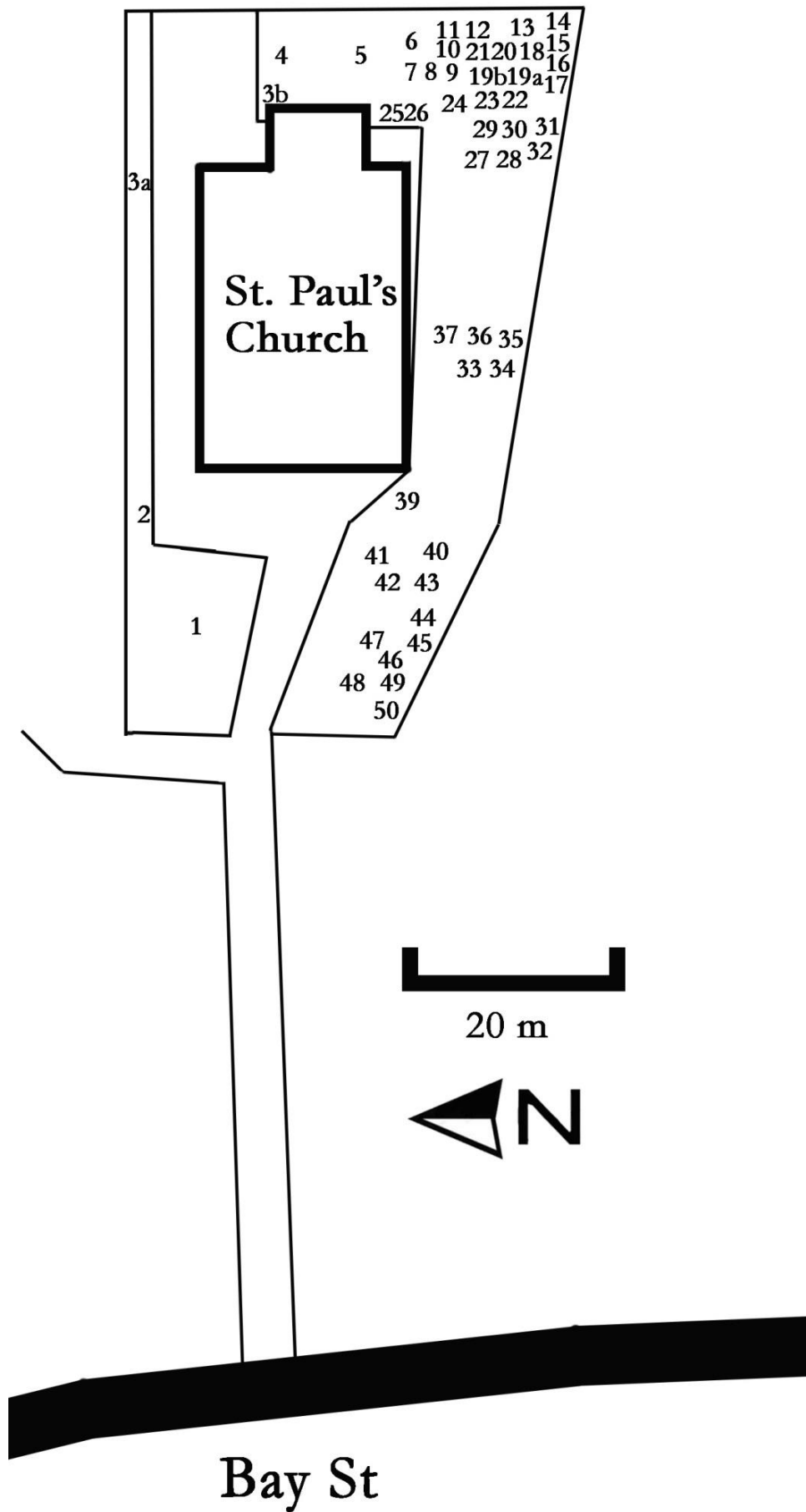
Figure 136 Map of St. Paul's monument locations recorded during 2013 fieldwork.

St. Peter's Parish Church

Located in Speightstown (once known as 'Little Bristol'), St. Peter's Parish Church served the commercial trades-based community in the north of the island. The first church was built in 1629, but the wooden structure did not withstand the battery of its coastal location (Hill 1984: 42-43). All Saints Chapel temporarily served as the Parish church, while a new church was constructed in Speightstown in the 1660s. Surviving the hurricane of 1780, only to be destroyed by the hurricane of 1831, it was once again rebuilt by 1837. The new Georgian style church cost £3000 and was more than 3400 square feet in size. The impressive structure was the pride of St. Peter's, until it was mostly destroyed by a fire in 1980, with the interior suffering the majority of damage. While the reconstruction sought to reflect the former structure, some features could not be restored. Nevertheless, many of the internal commemorative monuments and ornaments (including the baptismal font and carved pulpit) did survive the fire and have been mounted in the new church. Overall, the Georgian style of the building has been maintained, along with the tall clock tower and chancel, and has been given a pristine look in white and cream (Figure 137, Figure 138).

The small churchyard that surrounds St. Peter's (Figure 139) has a concentration of monuments to the west and southeast. This study included 168 internal and external monuments dating between 1677 and 1950, 39 of which were recorded during fieldwork in 2013 (Figure 140). The internal monuments are primarily wall plaques, chiefly of marble, with simple sculptural elements like scrollwork and mantling. Outside, monuments include vaults, mausolea, and chest tombs in marble, coral stone, and brick. With the Speightstown location, unsurprisingly many of the families represented were engaged as merchants in the busy port town. William Bishop (d. 1801) is commemorated in the church with a white marble plaque, inscribed with his role as Member of Council, President and Commander in Chief of the island. Religious leaders are also prevalent, including George May Dalzell Frederick (d.1897), the Archdeacon of Barbados, alongside members of the military stationed in Speightstown and abroad, including Captain E.E. Challenor, of Barbados, who was killed in action in South Africa in 1902 (see also Bowey 2012, Finneran 2012).

Figure 137 St. Peter's Parish Church, Speightstown, Barbados. Exterior.

Figure 138 St. Peter's Parish Church, Speightstown, Barbados. Interior.

Figure 139 St. Peter's Parish Church, Speightstown, Barbados. Southern churchyard.
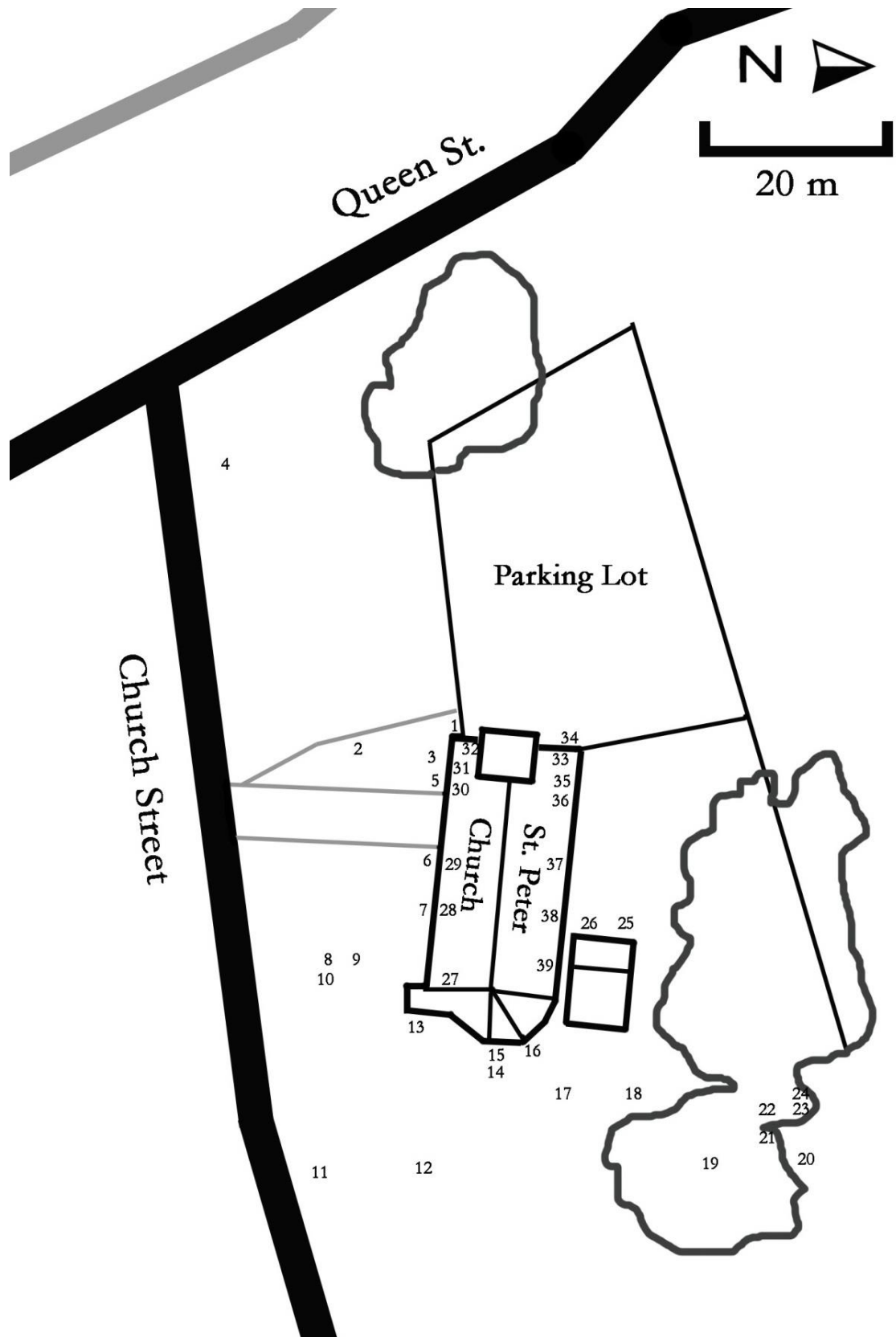
Figure 140 Map of St. Peter's monument locations recorded during 2013 fieldwork.

St. Philip's Parish Church

Cocooned by mahogany and mile trees, St. Philip's Parish Church serves the largest parish on the island. References to "the new chapel of Christ Church parish" and place names like Chapel Plantation, suggest that a chapel of ease was built in what was to become St. Philip's Parish by 1640 (Campbell 1982: 36-37, RB3/2 n.d.: 365). Little is known about the first structure but when it was destroyed by the hurricane of 1780, it was followed by a second stone structure, also destroyed by a hurricane in 1831 (Hill 1984: 35). The third structure was part of the major building efforts of Bishop William Hart Coleridge in the 1830s, and included ornately carved reredos forming the altarpiece, rumoured to have been intended for a church in South America when their ship sank just off the coast of Barbados. This church suffered the tragedy of a major fire in 1977, which partially destroyed the structure and many of its ornaments, including the famous altarpiece. The reconstruction that followed maintained some elements from the original church but incorporated modern features, including exposed stone work, green roof, minimal décor and clean lines (Figure 141) (Hill 1984: 36). The vaulted ceiling and exposed beams is more traditional for Barbadian church structures. Outside, an immense silk cotton tree marks the location of the church that was destroyed in the hurricane of 1831 (Figure Figure 142).

Sheltered beneath the silk cotton tree, many large vaults and mausolea crowd the large churchyard and surround the current church building. This study included 168 monuments dating between 1677 and 1950, with more than 140 recorded during fieldwork in 2013 (Figure 143). The use of coral stone is evident throughout the churchyard, from small grave markers to large mausolea. Marble, granite, and iron are also common, alongside the use of concrete and concrete block in twentieth century monuments. Although the churchyard is well maintained, many of the older monuments are showing their age and are overgrown by foliage. Further off the beaten tourist track, this churchyard is nevertheless filled with important figures in the island's history. John Rycroft Best (d. 1852), president of the island and resident of Blackmans Plantation, St. Joseph, who died when the Royal Mail Steamer "Amazon" burnt at sea, is commemorated in the church, along with his sons who had previously died in Barbados, Calcutta and Ferozeshah, East Indies. Many of the planters of this parish can also be found named on the monuments in this churchyard, including Nathaniel Kirton (d. 1859) of Foursquare and Brewsters Plantations, and Nathaniel Roach Esq. (d. 1819) of White River Plantation, and his family members, commemorated on a low covered tomb under the cotton tree.

Figure 141 St. Philip's Parish Church, Barbados. Exterior views of front and northern side.

Figure 142 St. Philip's Parish Church, Barados. Churchyard and silk cotton tree.
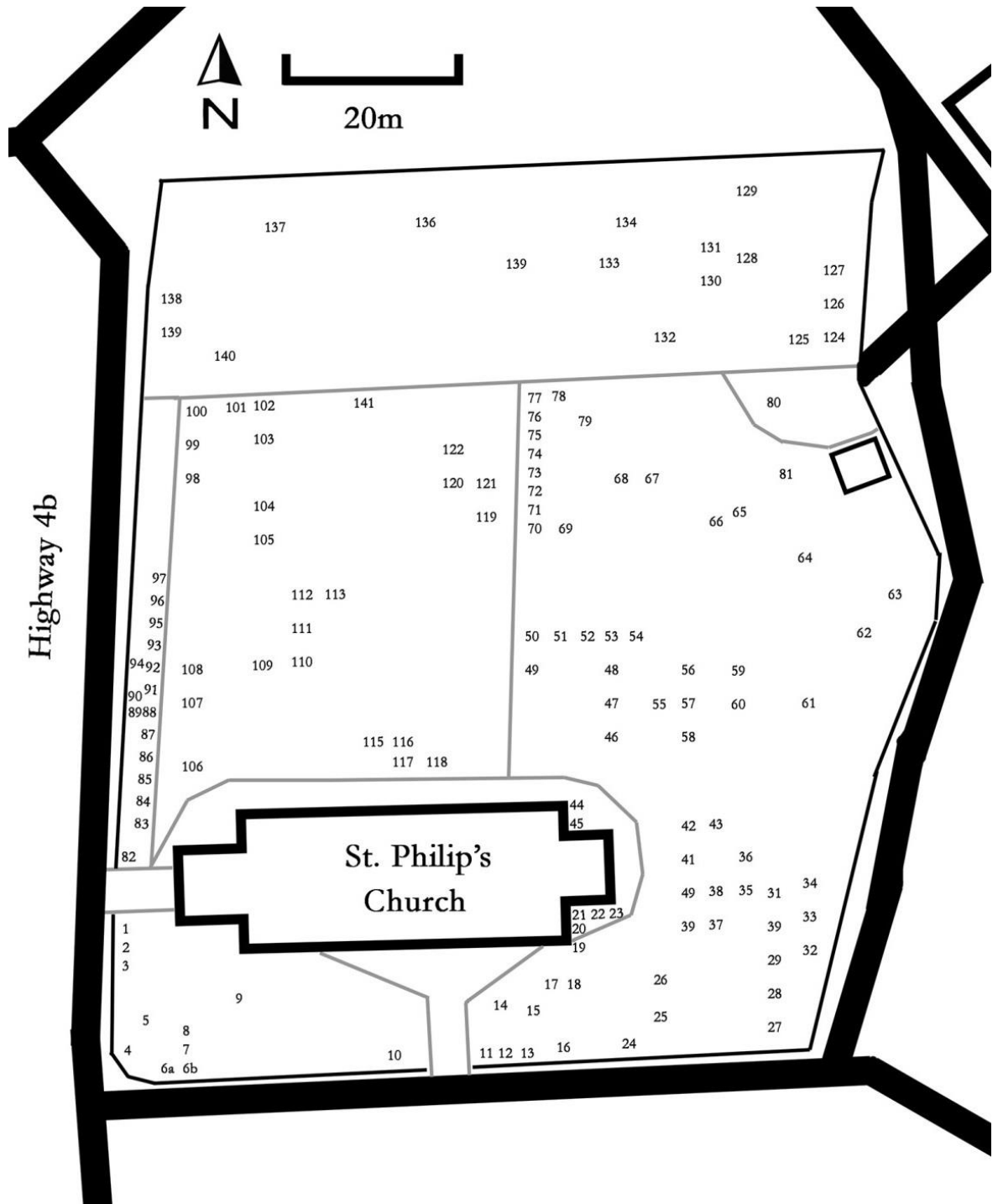
Figure 143 Map of St. Philip's monument locations recorded during 2013 fieldwork.

St. Thomas Parish Church

The Parish Church of St. Thomas, located in Arch Hall District, dates to as early as 1629. However, like many of the churches on the island, the building has gone through many phases of building and destruction, being hit hard by the hurricanes of 1675, 1780, and 1831 (Hill 1984: 45). The current building, erected after the hurricane of 1831, is close to the original site of the church, and cost more than £2666 to build a structure more than 3700 square feet (Figure 144). In a similar in style to St. Peter's Parish Church, located further north on the island, St. Thomas Parish Church is filled with Georgian symmetry, with few gothic features. Its simple design includes a large square bell tower, elongated knave and apse, and spacious internal gallery to fit its large congregation. Today, through efforts of streaming services live online and providing web-based archives of services, St. Thomas is often considered to be leading the Anglican Diocese into the 21st century.

The grassy and open churchyard that surrounds St. Thomas is walled by a large coral stone enclosure and landscaped with tall palm trees (Figure 145). This study includes 71 monuments dated between 1651 and 1950, 59 of which were recorded during fieldwork in 2013 (Figure 146). Large mausolea and vaults stand alongside small, isolated tombstones. Marble and coral stone abound, in addition to concrete and brick structures. Some of the original iron enclosures survive, which, along with curbs, outline large family plots. Local families, such as the Drayton family of Mollineux Plantation and the Parris family of Ayshford Plantation, are commemorated alongside those who died abroad, including Griffin Bascom Esq. (d. 1852) who had moved to Demerera shortly before death, and Thomas (d. 1870) and Mary Jane Ellis (d. 1856) of Canefield Plantation, who died in London and were buried in Kensal Green. Important figures include Henry Walter Reece (d. 1936), solicitor general and member of the House of Assembly and Legislative Council, and Major General Timothy Thornhill (d.1681) (see Chapter 4 for discussion of Thornhill family).

Figure 144 St. Thomas Parish Church, Arch Hall, Barbados. Exterior, front entrance.

Figure 145 St. Thomas Parish Church, Arch Hall, Barbados. Southern churchyard.
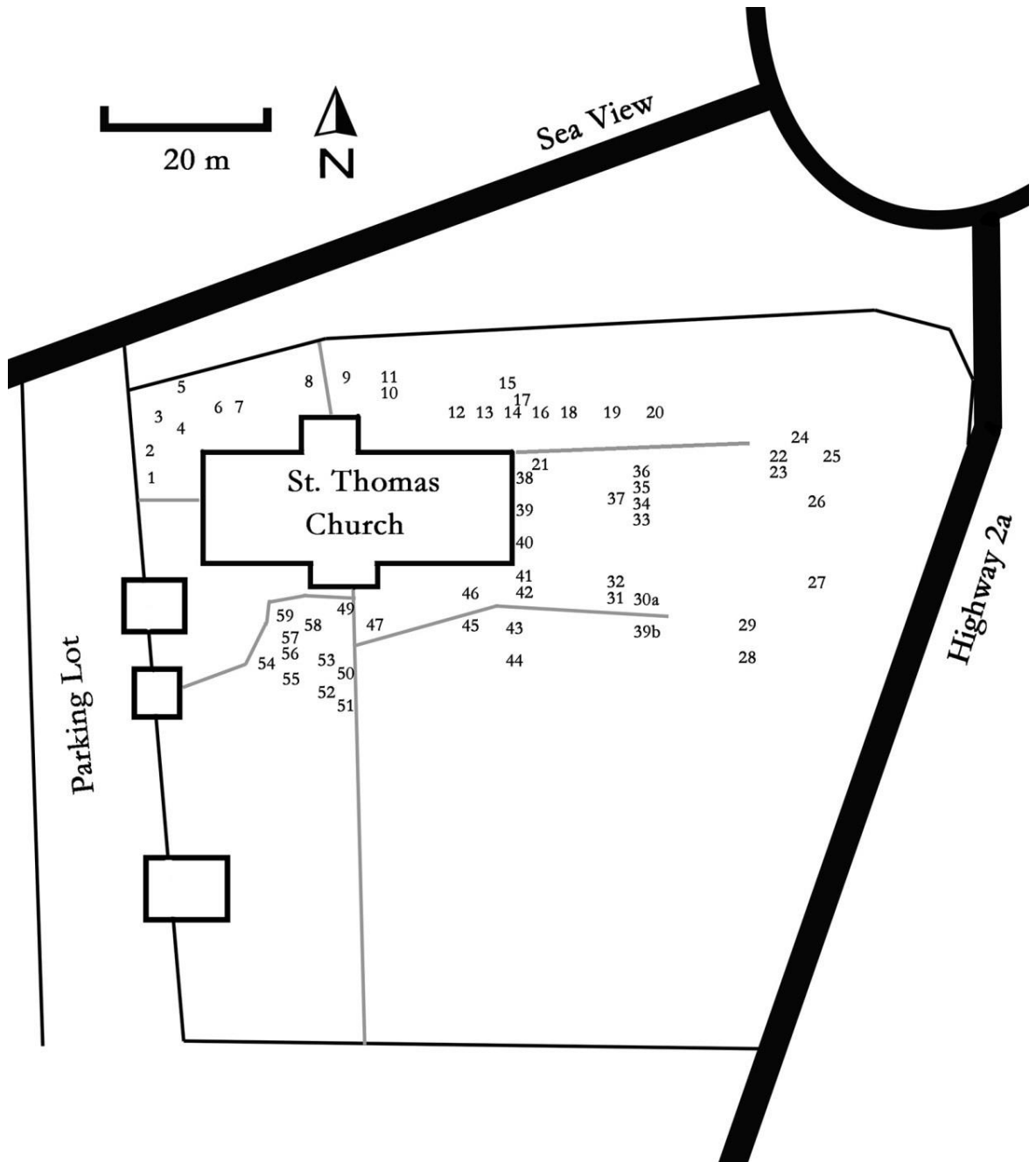
Figure 146 Map of St. Thomas monument locations recorded during 2013 fieldwork.

PLANTATIONS AND PRIVATE BURIAL GROUNDS

Easy Hall Plantation

In the midst of a sugarcane field, not far from the road, a high wall surrounds two large mausolea, two chest tombs, a small, iron-railed plot, as well as a double grave and a single grave (Figure 147, 54). The coral stone wall likely dates to the early twentieth century, as it covers over the entrance to one of the mausolea, and it is suggested that some burials may have taken place in a wider area of the surrounding field. The mausolea were also constructed of rendered coral stone, with white marble used for the surviving commemorative tablets, one on a chest tomb and the other on the Mayers vault. This field is associated with Easy Hall Plantation and can be accessed today via Easy Hall Road (GPS: 13.188013, -59.531596) (Figure 149). With a lengthy period of use, between 1793 and 1921, this burial ground contains the graves of 39 people (Table 7). The burial ground was substantially reconstructed and restored in 2009 by the Barbados National Trust, Barbados Museum & Historical Society, members of the Mayers & Culpeper families, and current owners of Easy Hall Plantation (Mayers 2009: 1). This critical project can certainly be credited with preserving the structures of the vaults, their coffins and remains, and their position in the landscape. However, in the five intervening years, the accumulation of damage and overgrown vegetation demonstrates how quickly the island's environment can take a toll on even the most solidly constructed vaults and mausolea.

Easy Hall Plantation, located in St. Joseph's Parish, has records dating back as early as 1661, when it was owned by James White, a merchant and member of the House of Assembly (Barbados Museum and Historical Society n.d.a). By 1666, James had moved to Boston, New England and had put the plantation in the care of his brother William White, who had lost everything in a London fire, and made his son heir. In 1680, William's wife, Dorothy White, is recorded as owning 87 acres in St. Joseph's Parish, along with 57 acres in St. John's. However, by 1721, the plantation had been bought by the Eaton family, and by the 1790s it had been bought by the Culpepers. This family had left England (primarily Kent) during the reign of the Stuarts due to their political leanings and had settled in Virginia and Barbados, with strong family connections to the Alleynes (Allen 2001: 5-6, BMHS n.d.b). By the nineteenth century, the Culpepers had acquired plantations across the island, including Adventure (St. Peter's), Kirtons (St. Philip), and Locust Hall (St. George), but concentrated in the parish of St. Joseph, with Easy Hall, Industry, and Clement Rock plantations (Hughes and Queree 1998).

The Mayers family arrived in Barbados around the 1650s, when John Mayers moved from Anwick, Lincolnshire and acquired a plantation in St. Philip's parish (Mayers 2009: 11). In the 1700s and 1800s, the Mayers family was primarily based in St. Joseph parish, and along with the Massiah family, with whom they shared many connections, came to own Horsehill, Tamarind Hall, Union, Joes River, Buckden, Auburne, Fisher Pond and Rose Villa plantations. In addition to this small monopoly of St. Joseph plantations, the Mayers/Massiah family can also be seen commemorated in St. Joseph's Parish Church and played important roles in the community. Easy Hall Plantation shared a boundary line with Horsehill, where James Benjamin Mayers (b. 1826, d. 1888), his wife Dorothy (née Massiah, b. 1821, d. 1905) and their twelve children lived in the nineteenth century.

By 1793, a tomb had been built on the Easy Hall plantation, with a 1600 square foot enclosed area near the plantation yard (JBMHS 1933-1934: 26). The earliest commemoration is a lengthy inscription on a chest tomb to the memory of Elizabeth (née Pollard, b. 1761 in St. Philip), wife of Abel Alleyne Culpeper, who died in 1793 of small pox (JBMHS 1957-59: 61). Soon after, the Culpeper mausoleum was constructed in the north-eastern corner of the burial ground. By the 1840s, Easy Hall had expanded to nearly 200 acres, and was owned by William Culpeper. At the same time, an additional family mausoleum had been constructed for the Mayers family, the Culpeper's neighbours who may have also been distantly related through the Pollard family. It is not clear why the Mayers family began burying their dead on Easy Hall Plantation, but it may have resulted from their close relationship as neighbours and the destruction of nearby St. Joseph's Parish Church as a result of the hurricane of 1831 (Mayers 2009: 13). The Culpepers used this burial ground at least until 1868 and the Mayers until 1921.

Figure 147. Exterior view of Easy Hall Plantation burial ground.

Figure 148 Interior of Easy Hall Plantation burial ground, a) before restoration 2009 (Mayers 2009); b) immediately following restoration 2009 (Mayers 2009); c) 2014 fieldwork.

Table 7 Names, ages and dates of individuals known and believed to have been buried in Easy Hall Plantation burial ground.

Mayers Vault	Chest tomb
Sarah Mayers (57), 1841	Elizabeth Culpepper, (33), 1793
Dorothy Mayers (59), 1853	**Unmarked Graves & Nearby Field**
James B. Mayers (62), 1854	*Known*
Charlotte M. Woodroffe (25), 1854	Elizabeth Culpeper (33), 1793
Susan Armstrong (26), 1864	Abel Alleyne Culpeper, 1798
William B. Mayers (48), 1871	*Believed*
Dorothy J. Mayers (28), 1871	Mercy Alleyne Culpeper, 1795
W.F.H. Massiah (0.2), 1861	Nathaniel Henry Culpeper, 1798
John Mayers (67), 1887	John Milward Walcott, 1801
James B. Mayers (62), 1888	Elizabeth Farnum, 1802
Dorothy Mayers (84), 1905	William Francis Gill, 1803
Elizabeth R. Mayers (77), 1908	Sarah Jane McClean, 1803
Harriet Mayers (90), 1917	Jane Ann Massiah, 1805
Martha Hendy (89), 1921	Deborah Massiah, 1817
William B. Massiah (73), 1833	Mary Alleyne Culpeper (infant), 1815
Joseph Mayers (67), 1895	Mercy Alleyne Culpeper (infant), 1817
Culpepper Vault	William Francis Culpeper Sr., 1817
Nathaniel T. Culpepper, 1795	Richard Halls, 1823
Francis Culpepper (27), 1813	Dr. William Francis Culpeper, 1828
John Wood (86), 1829	Sarah Mayers, 1917
Benjamin Gegg (72), 1834	
Dr. Parris Greaves (69), 1837	
Margaret C. Culpepper (89), 1868	
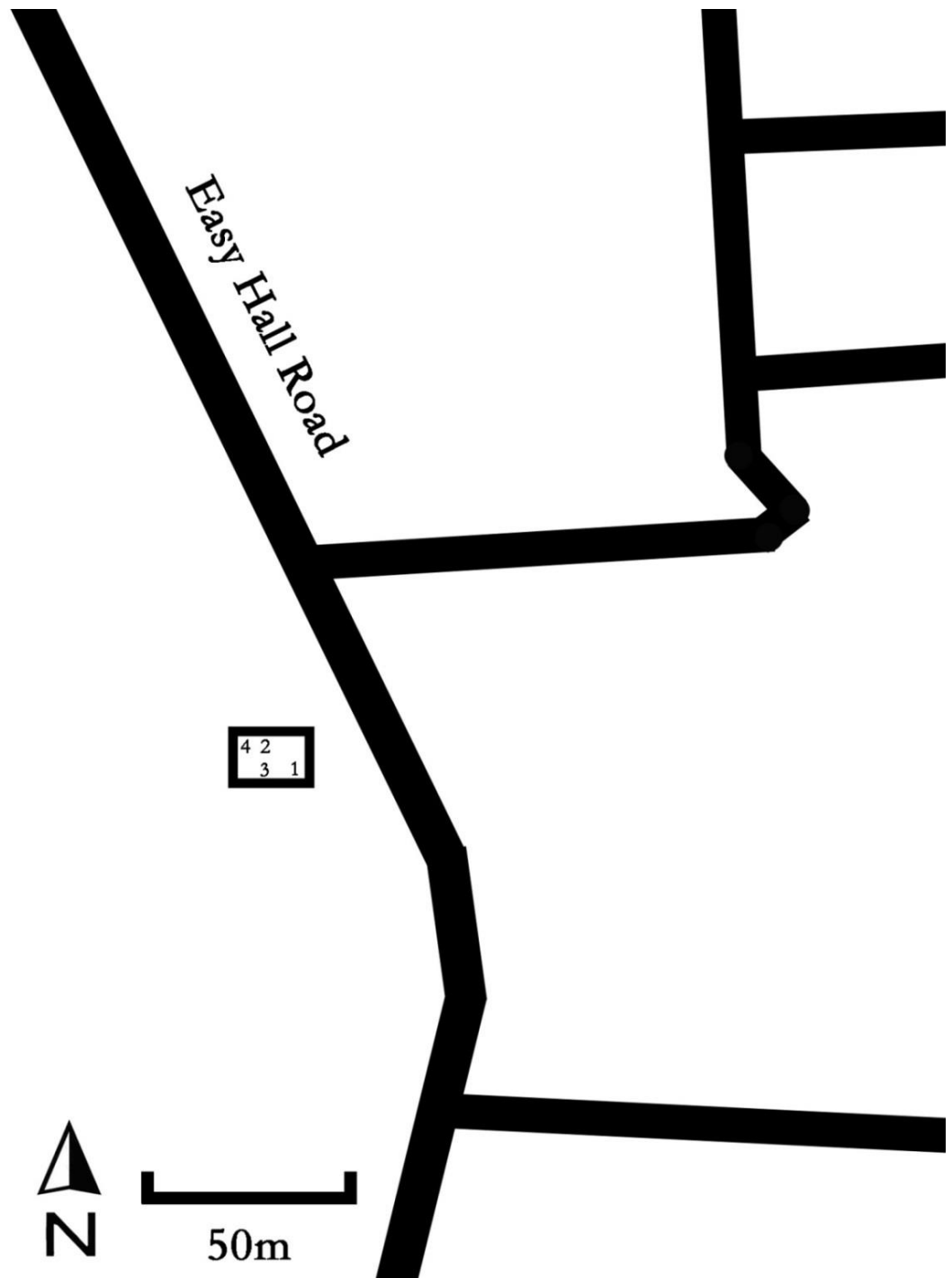
Figure 149 Map of location of Easy Hall Plantation burial ground. 1) Mayers mausoleum; 2) Culpepper chest tomb; 3) Culpepper vault; 4) small child's tomb.

Malvern Plantation

At the edge of Hackleton's Cliff, the burial vaults on Malvern Plantation have some of the best views on the island, looking over the east coast and Atlantic Ocean. Three brick and coral stone vaults were built side by side (approximately 11m by 3m), only just visible in the grass from the south side (Figure 150), but fully exposed on the north side (FigureFigure 151). The vaults likely date as early as 1685, and some burial records have suggested at least nine individuals were buried here between 1685 and 1826 (Table 8). Today the vaults can be accessed via a residential laneway (GPS: 13.201315, -59.524070) (Figure 152). A bench on top of the vaults, to take in the view of the east coast, is paired with a sign that asks visitors to spare a thought for the individuals buried below. These vaults are known to have been broken into on many occasions, and Handler (1999: 33) reports that in 1987, one contained an unopened lead coffin whilst the others contained scattered bones, with one lead headstone, inscribed to "Isaac Thorpe Forster, died May 20, 1775, aged 40." The break ins, the rumours that some tourists have been robbed whilst visiting the vault, and the fact that many taxi drivers do not like to take people to see the vault as a result of the poor condition of the roads that access it have all contributed to a lack of use of the space, and recently local residents have complained about the lack of maintenance.

Malvern Plantation, also known as Rowley's, overlaps St. John's and St. Joseph's parishes. The earliest records of the plantation relate to the paying of debts on the death of Richard Ellis in 1652 through bequeathing a quarter of a plantation of 195 acres on Hackleton's Cliff to Seth Rowley, of London, along with 25 indentured servants and 2 slaves (Handler 1999: 33, Hughes and Queree 1998). In 1656, this same Seth Rowley, now recorded as a merchant of Barbados, sold 195 acres in St. Joseph Parish to Edward Binney, another merchant on the island. Binney eventually bequeathed the estate to his heir and executor William Gallop at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Records for the eighteenth century are patchy, however, in 1721 the Hill family are recorded as proprietors. In 1802, on the death of Henry Stewart, the estate was sold to Francis Shorey Bayley, who was the manager of Sir Philip Gibbes' Springhead Plantation in St. James. At this point, Malvern consisted of 314 acres and 19 slaves. Bayley died soon afterwards, and his son Sir Francis Shorey Bayley Jr. inherited the plantation in 1806, along with 160 slaves. The property eventually passed to another Bayley in the middle of the nineteenth century.

The vaults on Hackleton's Cliff are associated with the Forster, Stuart, Mayers, Harper, Cox, and Culpeper families (Archer 1875: 348; Handler 1999: 33; JBMHS 1910: 28; Oliver 1915). Isaac Thorpe Forster, buried in one of the vaults in 1775, owned Foster

Hall plantation, which shared a boundary line with Malvern, but below the escarpment in Scotland District. Early maps suggest that the Culpeper family also owned plantations in this area in the eighteenth century, potentially what was to become Malvern or at any rate bordering it. The sparse records make it impossible to make firm conclusions about who was buried here, when, and most importantly why. As discussed in the above section on Easy Hall, the Culpeper and Mayers families were closely linked and have histories of burial on private property. Their connection to the Forsters, Stuarts, and Harpers is less clear and may relate solely to neighbouring plantations and potentially the acquisition of vaults as new families moved into the region.

Figure 150 South side of Malvern Plantation burial ground, including a public bench and lookout.

Figure 151 North side of Malvern Plantation burial vaults.

Table 8 Individuals believed to be buried in Malvern Plantation's burial vaults.

Individual	Date
Mrs. Thomas Forster	1885
Thomas Forster	1885
Thomas Hackleton	c. 1690
Isaac Thorpe Forster	1775
Margaret Cox	1793
Alexander McClean	1798
Elizabeth Harbin Harper	1795
James William Cox	1795
Mary Wooddards	1826

Hackleton's Cliff

N 20 m
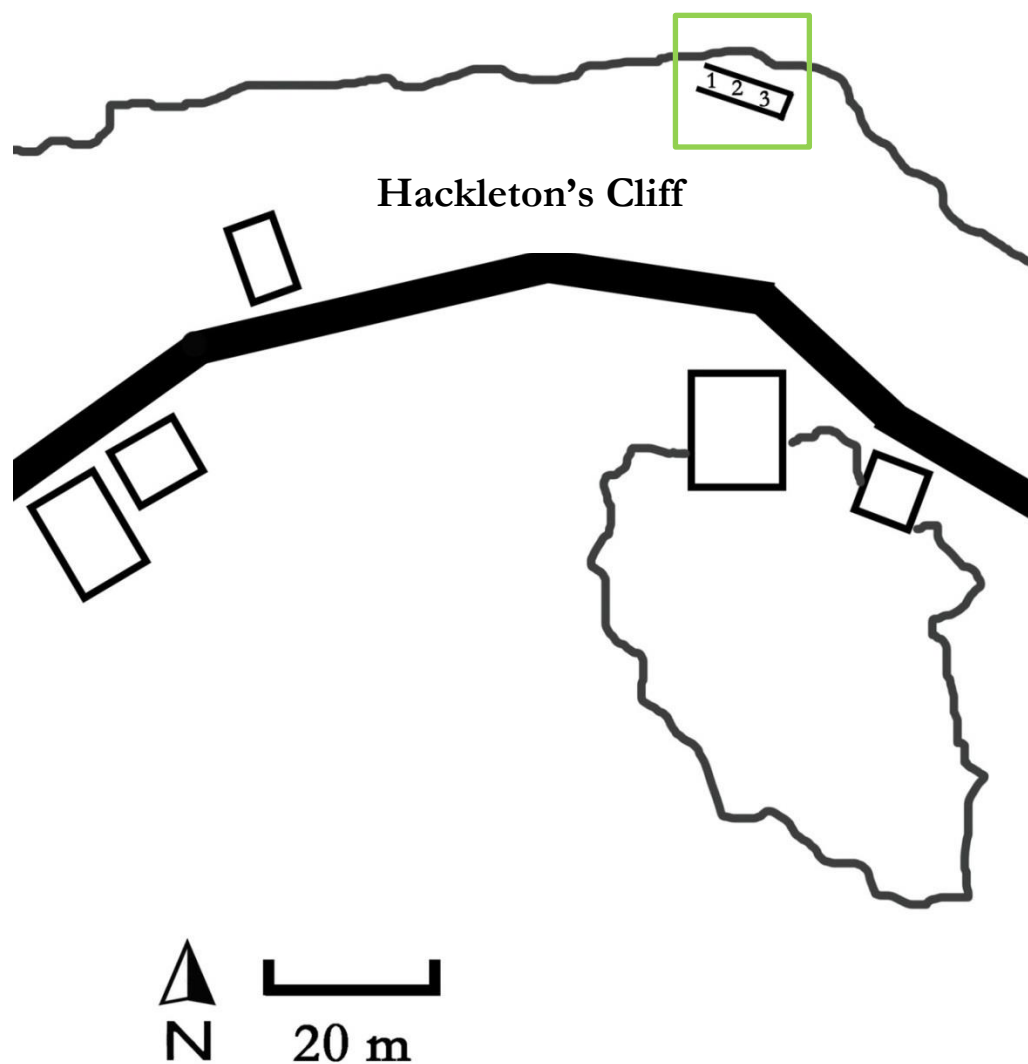
Figure 152 Location of three unmarked Malvern Plantation burial vaults.

Quaker Burial Ground

The St. Philip's Quaker Burial Ground includes a high walled enclosure, with stairs leading down to six family vaults, labelled P, RW, G, and P (Figure 153,Figure 154) (Thorne n.d.: 267). Due to persecution, Quaker records of members are scarce and therefore it is difficult to associate individuals with these vaults, except where evident in marriage certificates and wills (Table 9) (cf. Cadbury 1941, 1942, 1946/7, 1971). Today, the Quaker Burial Ground can be accessed via a residential laneway off of Highway 4b, north of St. Philip's Parish Church (GPS 13.138562, -59.489043) (Figure 155). It was restored between 2003 and 2006, with the support of donors in Barbados, England and the United States. Some local community members have embraced the opportunity to encourage tourism and have been known to greet visitors and provide pamphlets on the site. Clear signage and well-maintained landscaping are further evidence of the ongoing connections between the living community in St. Philips and this small burial ground. A modern window has been inset into the sealed entrance of the R. Weekes vault, revealing the interior of the vault and lead coffin inside. A flat area to the southwest of the enclosure is believed to be the burial ground used for non-plantation owners.

Three of the marked vaults have been associated with the Weekes, Gittens and Pilgrim families, with burials taking place here in the 17th and 18th centuries. It has been suggested that Richard Taylor, stepson of Richard Settle, constructed a vault in the coral stone cliff, along with John Gittens, Ralph and Gay Weekes, Robert Pilgrim, and the Jones, Toppin, Griffith and Weatherhead families, establishing this as a Quaker burial ground, c. 1670. This soon became known as the 'Cliff Burial Ground' and was not far from the Thickets Meeting House in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was paralleled by Quaker burial grounds in Bridgetown (established by Thomas Pilgrim, today marked by a monument on Belmont Road), Heathcott's Bay, Speightstown (today part of St. Peter's Public Cemetery), Pumpkin Hill, St. Lucy, Windward (location unknown today), and Porey's Spring, St. Thomas Parish, along with a number of private burial grounds on plantations across the island (see Chapter 6; Dailey 1991). These five burial grounds, all established around the 1690s, served more than 1200 Quakers alongside at least six meeting houses. However, many of these fell into disrepair by the 1780s, as a result of persecution, dwindling membership, and the impact of the hurricane of 1780. Although Benjamin Jones is recorded to have been buried at the Cliff Burial Ground in 1792, the burial of E. Weekes, wife of Lt. Col. Ralph Weekes, in 1783 in St. Philip's Parish Church rather than in the Weekes vault in the Quaker burial ground where her family had previously been buried, suggests that use of the vaults were dwindling at this time.
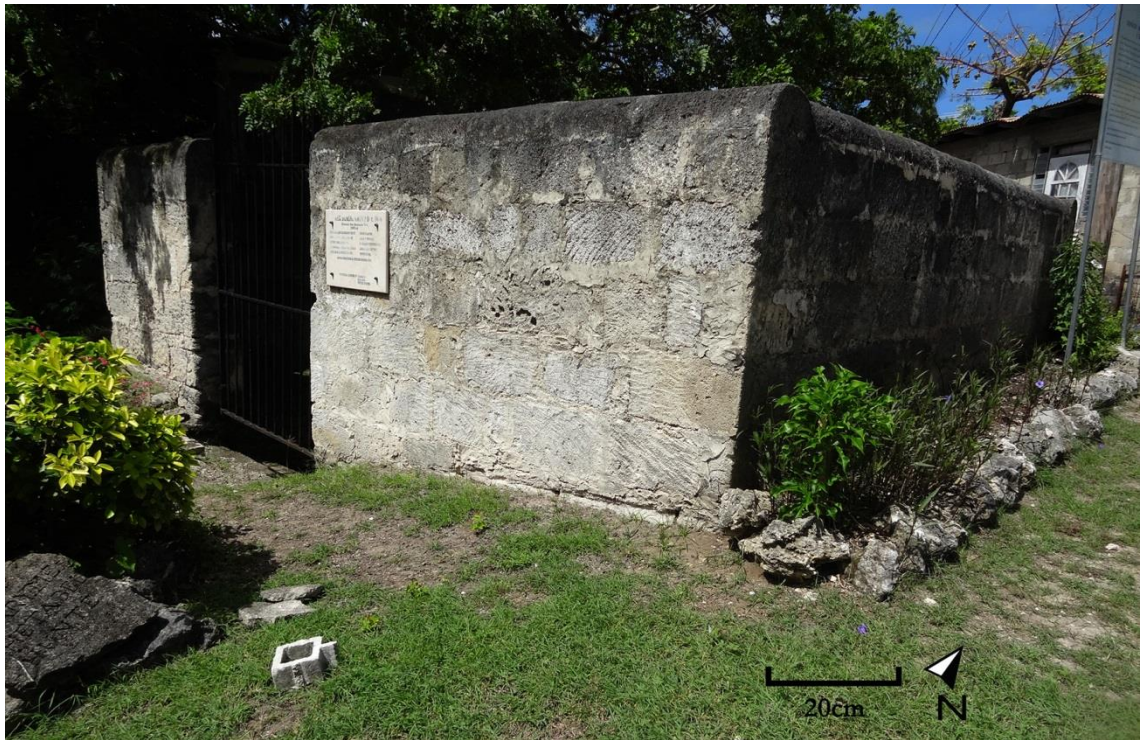
Figure 153 Exterior view of Quaker Burial vault in St. Philip's Parish.

Figure 154 Interior of Quaker Burial vault in St. Philip's Parish.

Table 9 Indviduals believed to be buried in the vaults, St. Philip's Quaker Burial Ground.

Individual	Date
Ralph Weeks	1700
Gay Weekes	n.d.
Robert Pilgrim	1761
Benjamin Jones	1792
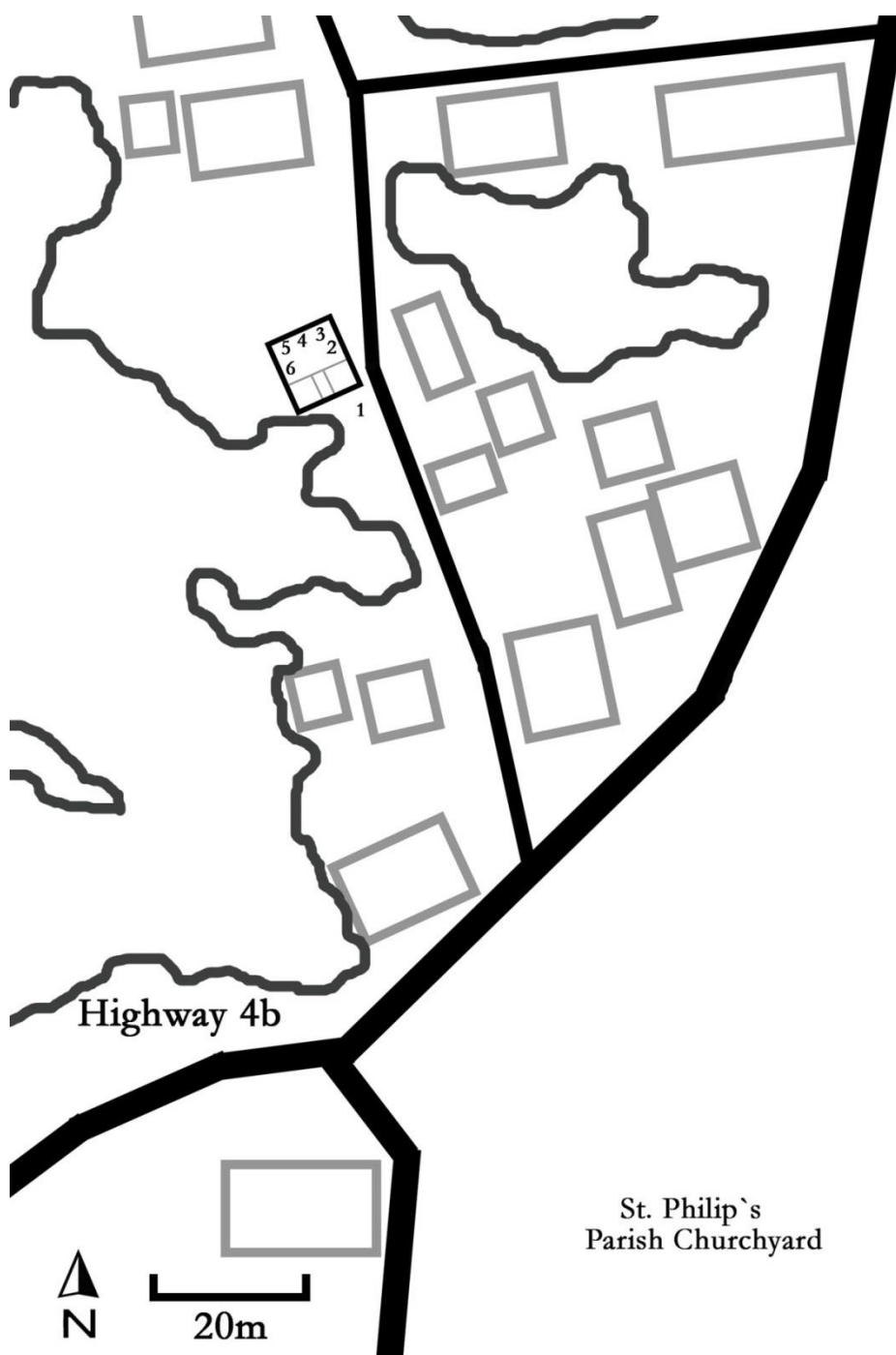
Figure 155 Location of Quaker Burial Ground in St. Philip's Parish. Included: 1) small loose stone for Mary Hetabel Hunt (1799); and interior vaults labelled 2) 'P'; 3) 'G'; 4) 'R.W.'; 5) 'P'; 6) unmarked.

Welchman Hall Plantation

At the edge of Welchman Hall Gully, bordering a sugar cane field, the Williams Vault remains a testament to the Williams family and their plantation (Figure 156,Figure 157). Today, the vault is in a small residential area, and can be accessed via Vault Road (GPS: 13.191244, -59.576736) (Figure 158). The association of the vault with popular tourist attraction Welchman Hall Gully attracts some visitors (cf. Romaine 2005: 144), alongside rumours of supernatural activity (cf. Curran 2014: 34). Legend has it that in the eighteenth century, one of the Williams sons married an Italian Roman Catholic that the traditionally Anglican family had strong objections to. When she died, her coffin was placed in the family vault on the plantation. The next time the vault was opened, all the coffins had shifted, with the coffin of General Williams standing upright. The coffins were put back to their original places, but again were found in the same state upon the next opening (JBMHS 1962: 71). The woman's coffin was then removed from the vault and there were no further issues.

The Welchman Hall Plantation, in St. Thomas Parish, was owned by General William Asygell Williams by 1638 (Hughes and Queree 1998). The Williams family had a long history with the location, until 1825 when Thomas Williams sold the 177-acre property with mansion house, mill, boiling house, and 67 slaves to William Grant Ellis for £19,500. Oral histories suggest General Williams, of the Welch Fusilier Regiment who went against Cromwell, was amongst 2000 Royalists sent to the West Indies as punishment (JBMHS 1962: 66). Early records identify the Williams as 'gents', merchants, planters, and masters of vessels, originally from Wales, Gloucestershire and Bristol, who were buying and selling land and merchandise on the island by 1640 and having acquired as much as 406 acres in Christ Church/St. Thomas by 1679. General Williams established a house and vault on his plantation by 1660, before marrying Dorothy Grant in 1675 in St. Michael. They had at least one daughter, Isabella, baptised in 1677, and potentially four sons, though Williams also likely had children from a previous marriage (JBMHS 1962: 67). The earliest recorded burial in the plantation vault dates to 1741, with the burial of Captain Thomas Williams (b. 1681, d. 1741), assumed to be the son of General William. His son, John Williams, is recorded to have been 'buried in private lands' in 1769, likely referring to the Welchman Hall vault (JBMHS 1962: 73). Other family members are buried and commemorated in churches, including James Thomas Williams Sr. (great grandson of Captain Thomas Williams, b. 1769, d. 1815) mentioned on a memorial tablet in St. George Parish Church. The vault was used by the Williams family even after the property was sold to the Ellis family. In 1826, General Thomas Williams, who died at his residence Woburn,

St. George, was buried in the family vault alongside his wife, Elizabeth Prescod, who had been buried there in 1809. Their granddaughter Malvina Williams (b. 1786, d. 1854), of Woburn, was also buried in the family vault at Welchman Hall, as her brothers, Thomas (aged 27) and Samuel Hinds (aged 21), had been when they drowned at Bathsheba in 1819 (JBMHS 1962: 101). There are no further records of burials in the vault, and by the 1930s most of the Williams descendants had emigrated to the United States.

Figure 156 Williams Vault, from Welchman Hall Plantation.

Figure 157 Detail of inscription from vault: 'Built in 1660 By Gen. William Asycell Williams'.
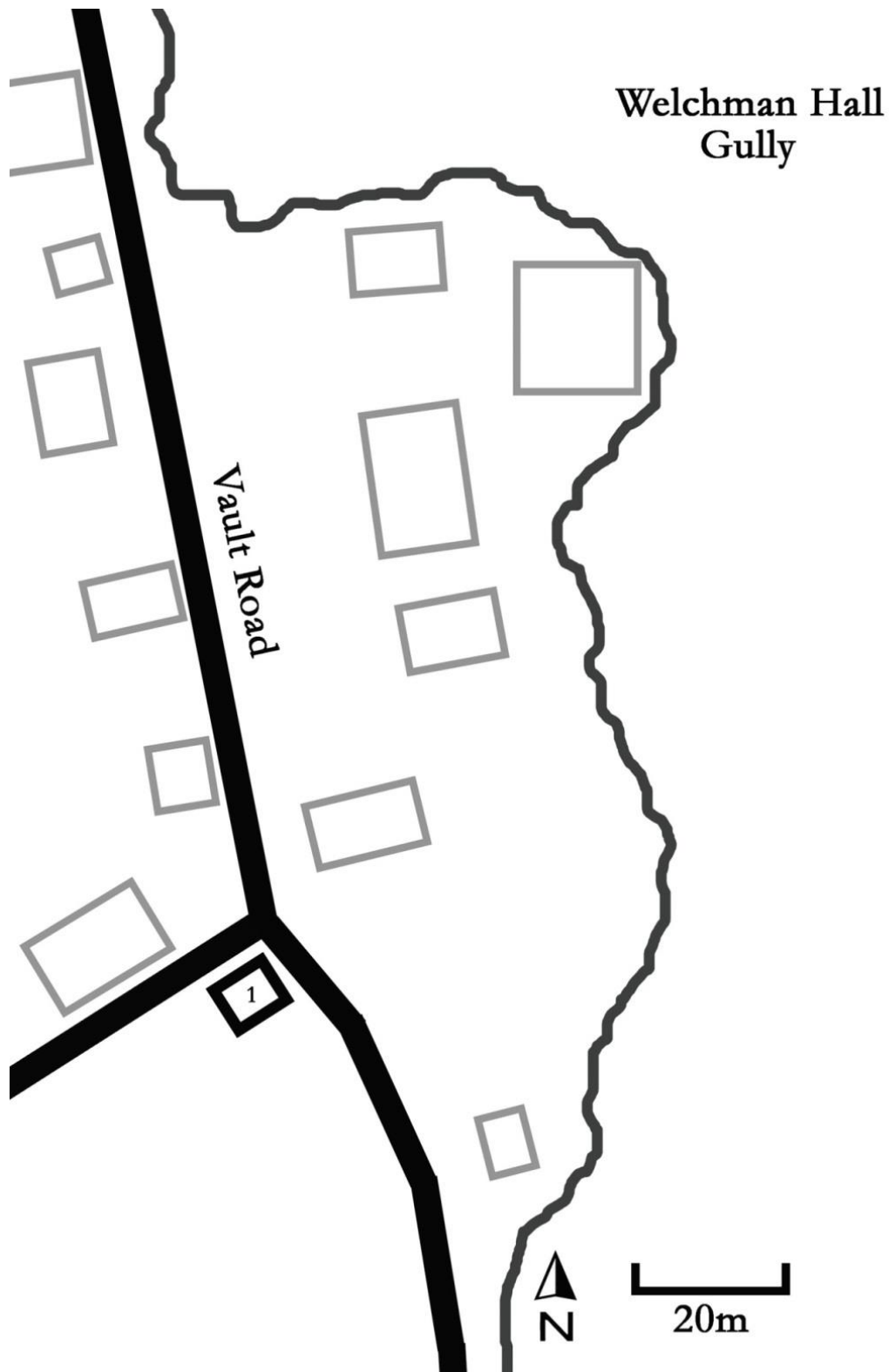
Figure 158 Location of Williams vault (1) from Welchman Hall Plantation.

Family Heraldry

The right to bear arms, typically limited to the gentry and inherited through male lines of descent, was used on commemorative monuments in Barbados as an indicator of family relationships and status/position. While some families in Barbados could trace their lineage to French nobility at the time of the Norman conquest, others had much looser pedigrees and may have taken the opportunities of fledgling communities to invent lineages, status, and heraldry (Table 10 **List of families with monuments with heraldry (crests/arms) and their pedigrees.**). This variability highlights the commemorative strategies of diverse families, their sense of identity, and the social development of the colony of Barbados between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (see Chapters 4, 6).

Table 10 List of families with monuments with heraldry (crests/arms) and their pedigrees.

Family Name	Date of Monument	Location	Arms/Crest	History
Alleyne	c. 1749 1774 1852 1870	Christ Church St. James St. James St. Lucy	Incised crest and arms Arms in decorative framework Crest and arms on scroll Crest, arms, motto	Baronetcy from 1769 for role in Barbados
Allinson	1815	St. Philip	Arms, crest, motto	Pedigree unclear
Ashehubst	1718	Christ Church	Arms and crest	Possible relation of Ashehurst baronetcy
Aynsworth	1723	St. Philip	Arms and crest on Jacobean shield	Pedigree unclear
Barrett	1665	St. Michael	Arms and crest on shield	Thornhill relative, baronetcy 1682-1693
Bayne	1683	St. Michael	Arms and crest	Pedigree unclear
Bayne	1699	St. Michael	Arms and crest	Pedigree unclear
Beckles Norfolk	1804	St. Michael	Arms and crest	Gentry family of
Bishop	1715	St. Philip	Arms	Gentry family of Yarmouth
Bostock to	1785	St. James	Arms and crest on shields	Cheshire gentry dating Norman period
Briant	1756	St. Thomas	Arms and crest	Pedigree unclear
Briant	1757	St. Thomas	Arms and crest	Pedigree unclear
Brown	1728	Christ Church	Arms on Jacobean shield	Pedigree unclear
Buckworth	1711	St. Michael	Arms and crest on Jacobean shield	Buckworth-Herne-Soame baronetcy but arms is Hall's (owed money/intermarried)
Butcher	1856	St. Mary	Arms	Scottish gentry family

| Cadogan | 1896 | St. Lucy | Arms and crest | Gentry family of Northumberland |

Table 4 continued

Family Name	Date of Mon	Location	Arms/Crest	History
Carter	1796	St. George	Crest and arms on decorative scrollwork	Alleyne crest/arms, related by marriage
Challenor	1887 1907	St. Peter St. Peter	Arms Crest and motto	Welsh gentry family but not their crest
Chamberlaine/ Butler	c. 1690s (d. 1673)	St. Michael	Arms and crests	Both gentry families, Chamberlaines knighted in 1695
Clarina (Lord)	1810	St. Michael	Crest and coronet	Baronetcy c. 1800 for military role; 2nd Baron
Clarke	1898	St. Michael	Arms and crest	Gentry family of Exeter
Coleridge	1841 1849	St. Michael Christ Church	Arms and crest Arms	Modest background; established in Barbados
Collins	1697	Searles Pl.	Arms	Pedigree unclear
Crosse	1838	St. Paul	Crest	Military
Cunningham (with Bayne, Pike, Hamilton)	1679	St. Michael	Four arms/crests	Four gentry families of England and Scotland
Dodsworth	1723	St. Michael	Arms and crest	English gentry family
Duke	1750	St. Michael	Arms and crest	Gentry family of Devonshire (pre-1630)
Elliot	1724	Christ Church	Arms and crest	Walrond and Elliot: English gentry families
Frere	1792	St. George	Arms and crest	Baronetcy 1620-1630; gentry family of Suffolk
Gibbons	c. 1752 (d. 1750)	All Saints	Arms and crest	Baronetcy from 1752, in Middlesex (but for role in Barbados)
Gibbs	1780	St. George	Arms and crest	Baronetcy from 1774; role/wealth in Barbados
Gidy	1726	St. Lucy	Arms and crest on Jacobean shield	Pedigree unclear
Gittens	1859	St. John	Arms and crest on Jacobean shield	Modest English origins and accumulated wealth but no titles in Barbados
Gooddall	1690	St. Philip	Arms on Jacobean shield	Does not bear Gooddall arms, unclear origins
Griffith	1897	St. Michael	Arms and crest	Baronetcy in relation to role in Barbados
Hall	1686	All Saints	Arms and crest	Arms/crest of Halls of Gloucester, relationship to Barbados unclear
Hall	1729	St. Philip	Arms	Pedigree unclear
Hall	1810	St. George	Arms and crest	Hall arms of Donegal, Ireland granted 1810
Hamilton	1705	St. Michael	Arms and crest	Pedigree unclear
Harman	1816	St. Michael	Arms and crest	Suffolk gentry family, with links to Antigua and Barbados

Table 4 cont'd

Family Name	Date of Mon	Location	Arms/Crest	History
Harrison	1669	St. James	Arms and crest on Jacobean mantling	English gentry from Cromwell's time
Haynes	1851	St. John	Arms, crest and motto	Royalist gentry family of York, England
Holder	1726	St. Philip	Arms and crest on Jacobean shield	Cambridgeshire gentry, arms granted 1575
Irvine	1743	St. Michael	Arms and crest on Jacobean shield	English gentry family
Jones	1731	St. Michael	Arms and crest	Merchants but no trace of right to bear arms
Jordan	1787 1791	St. James St. James	Arms and crest Arms	Pedigree unclear
Jordan	1799	St. James	Arms	Pedigree unclear
Keane	1796	St. Michael	Arms and crest	Irish gentry family
Lear	1688	Lear's Pl	Arms and crest on shield	English gentry family
Leslie	c. 1676	St. John	Crest and motto	Irish gentry family (young son of baronet)
Louis	1862	St. Michael	Arms, crest and motto	English gentry (2nd son of baronet)
Lyte	1687	St. George	Arms and crest in Jacobean shield	English gentry family of Somerset (Lytes Cary)
Mahon	17th C n.d.	All Saints St. John	Arms Arms and crest in Jacobean shield	Irish gentry family
March	1678	St. Michael	Crest	English gentry family of Kent
Maynard	1777	St. Michael	Arms	English gentry family of Suffolk
Maynard	1781	St. Michael	Arms and crest	English gentry family
Moffat	1844	St. Paul	Crest and motto	Pedigree unclear
Myers	1805	St. Michael	Arms and crest	Baronetcy created 1804 for West Indies role
Nicholls	1807	St. Michael	Arms and crest (?)	English gentry family
Payne	1809	St. Michael	Arms and crest in Jacobean shield	Pedigree unclear
Peers	1740	St. George	Arms and crest	English gentry family (of Surrey), baronetcy
Pemberton	1736	St. Michael	Arms	Pedigree unclear
Perratt	1729	St. Philip	Arms and crest	English gentry family (of Somerset)
Pickring	1715	St. Lucy	Arms and crest in Jacobean shield	English gentry family (baronetcy from 1661)
Pike	n.d.	St. Michael	Arms and Crest	Pedigree unclear
Pile	1876 1898	St. Peter St. Peter	Arms and crest Crest	English gentry family (of Exeter)
Prettejohn	1803	St. George	Arms and crest	Married into aristocracy

Table 4 cont'd

Family Name	Date of Mon	Location	Arms/Crest	History
Rainsford		St. Michael	Arms and crest	English gentry family (Northamptonshire)
Rokeby/ Thompson	1666	All Saints	Two arms	Two English gentry families
Rokeby	1666	St. John	Crest and Arms	English gentry family
Salter	1776	St. George	Arms and crest in shield	Relationship to English Salters/origins unclear
Scott	1720	Welches Pl	Arms and crest in Jacobean shield	Pedigree unclear
Seawell	1728	Christ Church	Arms and crest	Pedigree unclear
Senhouse	1863	St. Philip	Crest and motto	English gentry family
Sharp	1840	St. John	Arms, crest and motto	English gentry family
Shaw	1713	St. Michael	Arms and crest on shield	Scottish gentry family
Shene	1709	St. Joseph	Arms and crest	Pedigree unclear
Sidney	1698	St. Michael	Arms and crest	Pedigree unclear
Skeete	1912	St. Lucy	Arms and crest	Likely English gentry before Barbados
Sparke	1672	St. James	Arms and crest	Pedigree unclear
Thomas	1721	St. Michael	Crest on Jacobean shield	English gentry family
Thompson	1659	St. Thomas	Arms and crest on Jacobean shield	English gentry family
Thorne	1814	St. John	Arms and crest	English gentry family (Somerset)
Thornhill	1682	St. Thomas	Arms and crest on Jacobean shield	Baronetcy 1682-1693 in Kent (and Barbados)
Tyler	1842	St. Paul	Crest and arms, flags	Pedigree unclear
Wadeson	1723	St. Michael	Arms and crest	English gentry family
Wanton	1721	St. Michael	Arms	English gentry family (Norfolk)
Ward	1713	St. Michael	Arms on shield	Norman gentry family
Wardall	1667	Andrews Pl	Arms	Norman gentry family
Warren	1730	St. Michael	Crest on Jacobean shield	Norman gentry family
Woodbridge	1739	St. James	Arms	English gentry family, distant relation
Worrell	1758	Sturges Pl	Arms and crest on Jacobean shield	Acquired position in Barbados
Yellings	1718	St. Michael	Arms and crest	No origins found
	1651	Lear's Pl	Arms	
	1679	St. Michael	Arms and crest	
	1701	St. Michael	Arms and Crest	
	1758	Lear's Pl	Arms	
	n.d.	St. James	Arms and crest	
	n.d.	Malvern Pl	Crest	
	n.d.	St. Michael	Crest and arms	

APPENDIX II: UK SITES

CHURCHES AND CEMETERIES

As a comparative sample for the primarily Anglican Barbados database, Church of England sites were selected from Liverpool, Lancashire, and Cambridgeshire, including rural and urban churches and cemeteries. Although these regions all faced the changes brought by Reformation and the shifting philosophies and regulations of the Church of England, the local development of religion, congregations, and commemoration varied as a result of diverse economic, social, and political contexts. The variations in involvement in and experience of colonial endeavours and early globalisation, as well as the wealth and opportunities that was associated with the British Empire, introduced further diversity in the commemorative records of these sites.

The British comparative sample included three churches and one cemetery from Liverpool, one church and one cemetery from Lancashire, three churches and one cemetery from Cambridge, and four churches from rural Cambridgeshire parishes. Monument inscription records were obtained from local historical societies and community members who have previously undertaken their recording (Anfield Cemetery n.d., Cambridge Family Historical Society n.d.a, n.d.b, n.d.c, Gibson 2007), and where possible monument style and material records were also included. Some fieldwork was undertaken at surviving sites in Liverpool and Cambridge to provide additional resources. Full scale fieldwork was not possible within the constraints of this thesis project, however the monument inscription records provide a detailed account for comparison with the Barbados sample. This appendix outlines the history of the churches/cemeteries, alongside maps and photographs to provide the context for the data analysed in Chapter 5.

LIVERPOOL

St. Nicholas Church

In the centre of the business district of Liverpool, and adjacent to the river Mersey, St. Nicholas Church has always had strong connections to maritime communities. Once the tallest building in Liverpool, it was the last building sailors saw as they departed Liverpool, and the first building visible upon their return. With medieval origins, a chapel can be traced near this site by 1257, then known as the Chapel of St. Mary del Key. As a growing market centre and port for trade, a new chapel of St. Mary and St. Nicholas (the patron saint of sailors) was built between 1355 and 1361. A burial ground was licensed in 1361 and remained an active burial ground until 1849. By the 15th century, the church had been extended through the addition of an aisle and three chantry altars, doubling its size to reflect the growing population. Despite continued modifications, by 1775, the state of the building and the ever-growing population lead to a decision to rebuild. In the face of opposition, existing pews and galleries were left in place, surrounded by a new classical Georgian Gothic church. Piecemeal rebuilding led to structural issues, contributing to the tragic death of 25 people when the heavy wooden steeple added to the old masonry tower toppled in 1810. A new tower was built in a slightly different position, taking a decorated Gothic style, with four buttresses, crocketed finials, flying buttresses and the famous open lantern and ship weathervane (Historic England 2015). In 1891, the churchyard was cleared and re-landscaped as a garden of memory, with walkways and ornamental plants (Figure 159). Air raids of the Second World War, and the fires that followed, destroyed much of the church, leaving only the nineteenth century tower and twentieth century office block. Many of the intramural memorials were lost at this time, along with some of the stained glass windows. It was not until 1952 that a new church was consecrated on the site (Figure 160, Figure 161). Today, the church continues to be used and the old churchyard is a rare greenspace in urban Liverpool and is frequented by residents and workers.

This study included 173 monuments recorded by Gibson (2007) dating between 1639 and 1869. The prominence of this church in Liverpool's history is reflected in the commemoration of many elite members of the community. The Cleveland family, for instance, was commemorated with a large epitaph in 1715, detailing its origins in York, move to Liverpool to become merchants, and later its role as bailiffs, mayor, and members of Parliament, alongside the acquisition of properties like Birkenhead. This story is a familiar one in the inscriptions of the church; William Clayton's monument (circa 1714) relates the move from Lancaster to Liverpool to engage in trade, eventually gaining the

wealth and power necessary to become mayor, and representative in Parliament. His wife Elizabeth (d. 1745) is also commemorated in the church, detailing her lineage and that of her four daughters (three married to merchants/esquires in Liverpool and Lancaster), with two sons and three daughters having died in childhood. Religious and military leaders are well represented, alongside academics and medical professionals. Commemoration highlights links to Lancashire, England more broadly, Ireland, and even the colonies. For instance, Esther Lewis (d.1758), was the wife of Reverend Edward Lewis, rector of the parish of Hanover in Jamaica, whilst Ellin Mather (d. 1770) was widow of Captain Francis Mather, Commander in the African trade. Themes of wealth and achievement are evident throughout commemorative inscriptions, alongside piety, mortality, virtue, and lineage.

Figure 159 Garden of memory of St. Nicholas Church, Liverpool (2015).

Figure 160 Exterior of St. Nicholas Church (2015). **Figure 161** Interior of St. Nicholas Church (2015).

St. Peter Church

In the process of making Liverpool a separate parish from Walton, a new church was established to address the growing population of the flourishing port town. The building cost £4000 and was dedicated to St. Peter. It was the first parish created after the reformation, and was consecrated in 1704. The unique style of the church, however, suffered critique, with *Picture of Liverpool: A Stranger's Guide* (1834) describing it as, "proof how little good taste or architectural beauty was understood at that time in this town." The square tower is topped by an octangular steeple, and the four portals that surrounded the church were each modelled on a different style of architecture (Figure 162). Inside, large galleries rested on carved oak pedestals, with an ornately carved altar, and stained glass in the east window (Figure 163). Modifications to the church included the addition of a theological library in 1715, gas lighting in 1831 and the removal of 200 bodies from the churchyard in 1868 to be reburied in Anfield Cemetery. The church has records for baptisms from 1704 to 1919, marriages from 1804 to 1919 and burials from 1704 to 1853. Established as Pro-Cathedral in 1880, after Liverpool gained its first bishop and before the construction of the Cathedral in the twentieth century, its prominence in Liverpool was notable. Nevertheless, it was closed in 1919 and demolished in 1922, the last in a series of closures of Anglican churches in central Liverpool since the turn of the century. The sale of St Peter's valuable real estate (to American-chain Woolworths' first British venture) helped to fund St. James's Mount. Now all that marks the location of this church is a brass maltese cross at the former Woolworth's building on Church Street.

This study included 107 monuments recorded by Gibson (2007), dating between 1704 and 1844. The commemorative inscriptions reflect the range of Liverpool's community that frequented St. Peter's. Connections to the colonies are evident in the commemoration of merchants, sea captains, and colonists, including the commemoration of Samuel (d. 1754, aged 9), the son of Richard Barrett Esq. of St. James's, Jamaica, and Captain William Torbett, who was killed at Kingston, Jamaica in 1759. The connection to the mariners' community is evident in the numerous individuals lost at sea, such as Thomas Woold (d. 1757, aged 22) of Bosham, Sussex, whose monument included the inscription, "Tho Boreas storms & Neptunes waves, have tost me to and fro, yet I at last by God's decree am harboured here below, when at an anchor here I lie, with many of our fleet, but once again I shall set sail, my Saviour Christ to meet." A small Quaker community is also commemorated, including Dr. John Rutter (circa 1798), described as a

member of the Society of Friends and a physician. This has some parallels for Quakers who were commemorated in Anglican churches in Barbados.
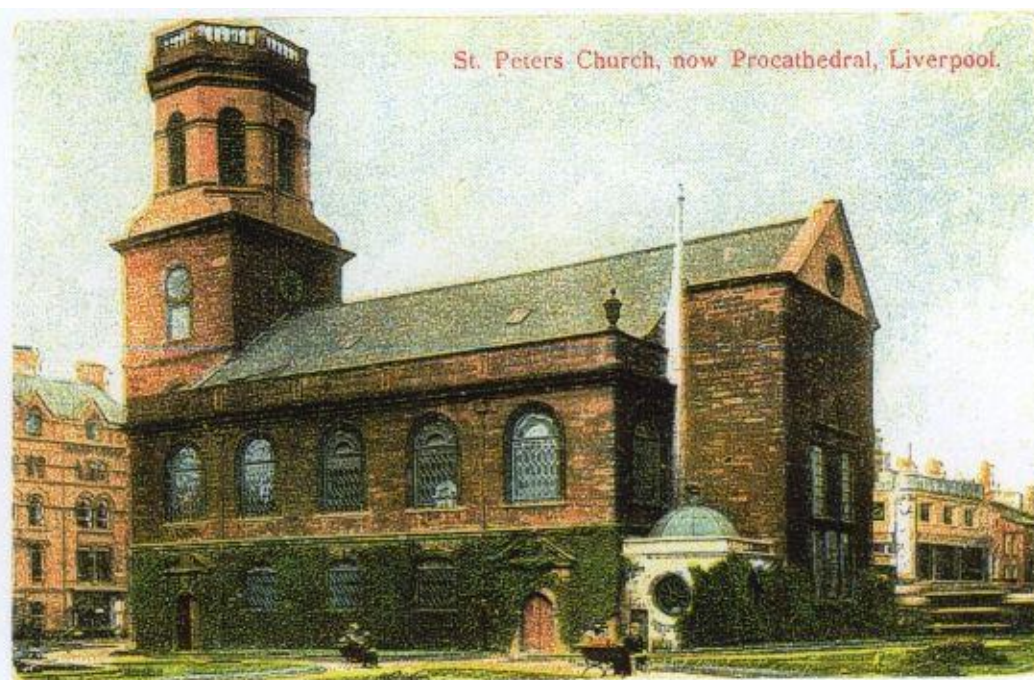
Figure 162 Exterior of St. Peter's Church, Church St., Liverpool (Lancashire Parish Clerks).

Figure 163 Interior of St. Peter's Church, Liverpool (The Black & White Picture Place, n.d.).

St. John's Church

In 1767, a small chapel and burial ground was opened and consecrated in Old Haymarket, serving the ever-growing Anglican congregations of Liverpool. By 1784, a larger Gothic-style church had been completed, designed by architect Timothy Lightoler. The community it served was one of the poorest and most-crowded areas of the city, highlighted by the fact that one in four burials were of paupers and only one in four funerals were completely funded by the individual or their family. In 1854, St. George's Hall was constructed against the rear of the church, in a Neo-classical style (Figure 164). This stylistic clash, along with plans to construct the Anglican Cathedral nearby, stimulated discussions of demolition. By 1865, 82, 491 bodies had been interred in the churchyard; it was closed and landscaped as public, neo-baroque style gardens (Figure 165). More than 2000 bodies were removed to a new cemetery near St. Martin-in-the-Fields in northern Liverpool. By 1897, the church itself was closed as a result of the Liverpool City Churches Act, with the final service occurring in 1898. St. John's Church was demolished in 1899, along with St. George's Church (Derby Square). Criticised as 'crude Gothic' and considered to be universally disliked, there was not a great deal of opposition to its demolition. At the time, Peet wrote that, "for more than a century this unsightly structure has been allowed to disfigure the landscape… as an example of ecclesiastical art the church of St. John has not a single redeeming feature" (Liverpool Record Office 1970). Today, St. John's Gardens remain an attraction as a sculpture park and urban greenspace.

This study included 212 monuments recorded by Gibson (2007) and dating between 1767 and 1878. Despite the poverty of the majority of the community, there were a range of commemorative monuments erected, primarily recording tradespeople, including carpenters, drapers, joiners, surveyors, brewers, and ship builders, though some merchants, military men, and religious leaders are also evident. Connections to the wider world are evident in the commemoration of David Harris (d. 1856, aged 24 years) who died in Lima, Peru, and Lieutenant George Simpson (d. 1792, aged 29) of York, who died on his return passage from Barbados on board the Susannah of Liverpool. Close ties to Ireland, Lancashire, and further afield in England were also common. A high infant and child mortality rate was recorded in this burial population, and many monuments commemorate young children, for instance the inscription to Sarah Hubert (d. 1786, aged 2 years), who was "the last of three all of one name that never liv'd to either sin or shame." Sarah Helsby (d. 1810, aged 14 years) was also commemorated at St. John's, having been

"crushed to death by the fall of the spire of St. Nicholas Church." Many inscriptions are concerned with virtues and piety, as well as lineage, status and places of origin.

Figure 164 St. John's Church, Old Haymarket, Liverpool (Liverpool Picturebook n.d.).

Figure 165 St. John's Gardens, Liverpool (April 2015).

Anfield Cemetery

Also known as the City of Liverpool Cemetery, Anfield Cemetery is located in Liverpool, to the northeast of Stanley Park (Figure 166, Figure 167). Overcrowding of burial grounds in the town centres in the nineteenth century resulted in the opening of new cemeteries, starting with Toxteth Park Cemetery in 1855-6, and soon followed by Anfield (Pollard and Pevsner 2006: 304). A design competition was held in 1860, but eventually the commission was given to Edward Kemp and building started in 1861. At the cost of over £150,000, the cemetery included three chapels, and entrances/entrance lodges designed by architects Lucy and Littler of Liverpool. In 1894, a crematorium was built in the southern section of the cemetery, and a columbarium was added in 1951. Two of the chapels and one of the entrance lodges have since been demolished. The remaining chapel, originally for Nonconformists, and the catacombs that flank it, are now unused and in a state of disrepair, resulting in a listing on the Heritage at Risk Register (Historic England 2015). The cemetery is known for a communal grave of 554 individuals killed in the Liverpool Blitz in 1941, and the burials of artist William G. Herdman, four Victoria Cross recipients, and numerous football players, singers/musicians, and business tycoons (Pye 2011: 200).

This study included 435 monuments from the Church of England section of Anfield Cemetery (Figure 168), dating between 1863 and 1950 (Anfield Cemetery, Liverpool n.d.). Occupations include the expected range of mariners, military personnel, dock workers, ship builders and related trades, but also more unusual occupations, such as John Raphael Bowring (d. 1869, aged 80) who was a miniature painter and William Bibby (d. 1900, aged 63 years) who was a founder and manger of gold mines in Singapore. References to geographical connections throughout Britain, particularly Lancashire and port towns such as Southampton, are common in addition to more transatlantic connections, particularly the United States. For instance, Nellie Hughes (d. 1916, aged 30 years) died in Virginia and Arthur and Alice Thomas died in the San Francisco earthquake of 1905. Canada, Australia, the Caribbean, South America and Asia were also represented. There were a number of inscriptions that included cause of death, particularly accidental deaths and drownings, in addition to deaths from illnesses, such as George P Knight (d. 1876, aged 17 years) who died of yellow fever in South America, and his brother Thomas A. Knight (d. 1900, aged 24) who died of enteric fever in South Africa.

Figure 166 Chapel and grounds of Anfield Cemetery, Liverpool (Liverpool Cemeteries n.d.)

Figure 167 Anfield Cemetery North Catacomb, Liverpool, c.1999 (Liverpool Cemeteries n.d.).
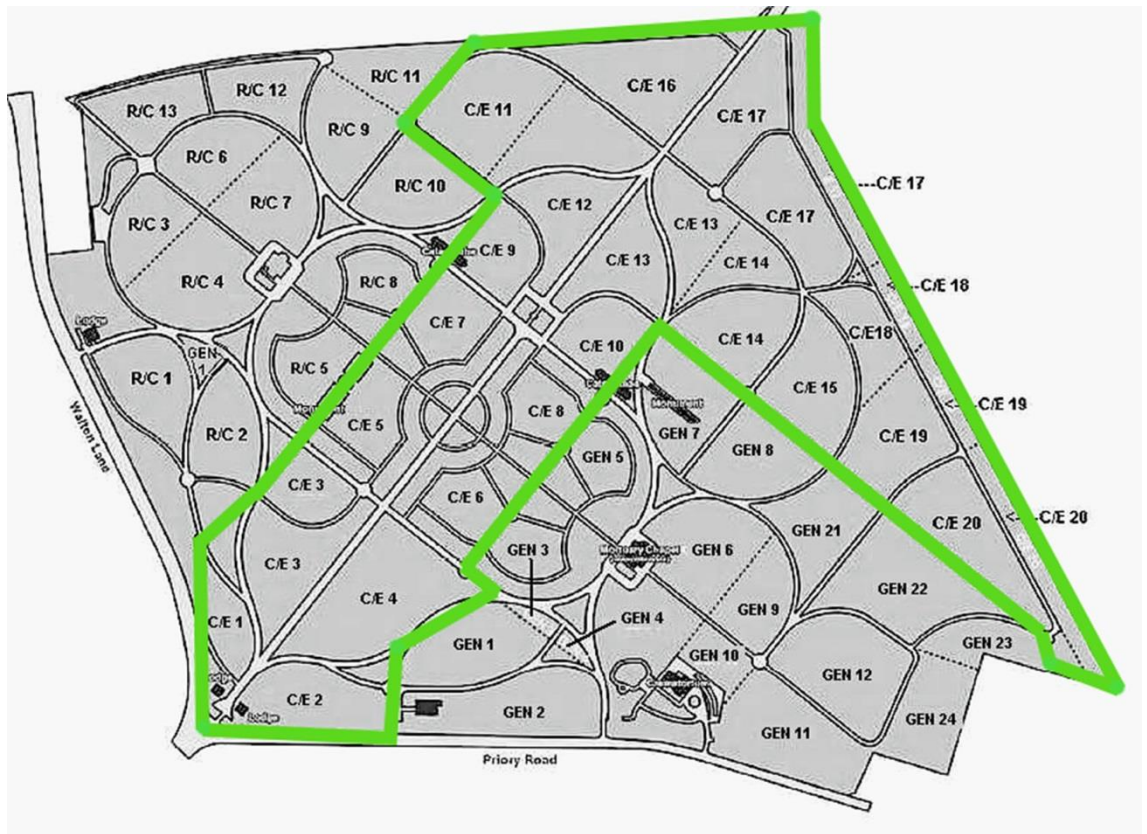
Figure 168 Church of England Sections (outlined in green), Anfield Cemetery, Liverpool (modified from Liverpool Cemeteries n.d.).

LANCASHIRE

Whittington: St. Michael Church

The Anglican parish church of St. Michael's, located in Whittington, Lancashire, is a Grade II listed building today (English Heritage). Located on the site of a former castle, a church at this location can be traced to the thirteenth century. A series of building phases means that the stout tower with parapet is the oldest section of the church, dating to the 16th century. Lancaster architects Paley and Austin designed the Gothic-styled rebuild of the rest of the church in 1875, funded by Colonel D.C. Greene of Whittington Hall (Hartwell and Pevsner 2009[1969]: 698). Constructed of sandstone ruble, the four-bay nave includes a clerestory, south porch, chancel with organ chamber and northern vestry (Historic England n.d.) (Figure 169). Octagonal piers with pointed arches support the arcades, with an open timber roof and ornate chancel screen. Outside, a sandstone and brass sundial dating to 1641 sits on a mound that is possibly Norse in origin.

This study included 240 monuments dating between 1730 and 1950, as recorded by the Lancashire Family History and Heraldry Society (2007). The prestigious North family, of Whittington Manor and Thurland Castle, are well represented in the commemorative record of St. Michael's Church, particularly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Some monuments commemorate virtues, achievements, and philanthropy, such as William Margisson (d. 1761) who left £820 "for the poor of the parish and for the building and endowment of the school for their use." Another highly celebrated individual is William Sturgeon (d. 1850, aged 67), who was born in Whittington to 'humble life', served as a private for the Royal Artillery before studying Physical Sciences and discovering "the soft iron electro-magnet, the amalgamated zinc battery, the electro-magnet coil machine and the reciprocating magnetic electrical machine." Other occupations represented include teachers, ministers and clerks, military personnel, and farmers. The geographical connections are varied, from nearby Liverpool, Docker and Ireland, to Callas, South America (Richard Russell, d. 1852), Jamaica (George Herdman, d.1839) and the United States (for instance Edward Baines who died of Asiatic cholera in 1832).

Figure 169 St. Michael Church, Whittington, Lancashire (Lancashire Parish Clerks n.d.).

Accrington: Accrington Cemetery

The town of Accrington, near Blackburn, was built on cotton manufacture, calico printing, iron foundries, chemical works and other branches of industry (Lancashire Parish Clerks n.d.). Development stimulated the growth of the town between 1858 and 1878. This contributed to the establishment of a municipal cemetery in 1864, as churchyards became crowded with interments. Accrington Cemetery, previously known as Hillock Vale Municipal Cemetery and Huncoat Cemetery, consists of 20 acres, of which 13 have been laid out. The first burial was William Barnes (d. 1864), a cotton manufacturer who had been a strong advocate for the cemetery during his life. Originally, the main entrance was accessed by a curving tree-lined avenue, with a large lodge, but this has since been converted to a burial ground and the main entrance has been moved to Burnley Road. It is bordered by residential areas and an industrial estate now, where it once stood quite a distance away from the town. There are three mortuary chapels for the Church of England, Nonconformists, and Catholics. The Nonconformist chapel was converted into a crematorium in 1954, and the other chapels were demolished (Figure 170). To date, more than 61,450 interments people have been buried here with at least 3,495 monuments commemorating 13, 285 people. The cemetery is laid out in an unusually linear grid for the time period, and includes a war memorial, a garden of remembrance, and an infant memorial area. The Church of England sections account for the southern half of the cemetery, with the Nonconformist section towards the centre, and a small Catholic section to the north (Figure 171).

This study included 800 monuments from the Church of England Section of Accrington Cemetery, dating between 1864 and 1950, as recorded by the Lancashire Family History Society (Gibson 2007). From manor owners and solicitors to publicans and tradespeople, the community commemorated in Accrington cemetery is diverse. So too is the diversity of geographical connections represented, from Richard Ingham (d. 1886), who was interred in the English Cemetery in Brazil, to John Grimshaw (d. 1891) who died in Boston, United States, to Corporal Benjamin Wilkinson (d.1900, aged 20) who died in East India. In the twentieth century, many of the individuals commemorated as dying or being buried abroad were casualties of the First and Second World War. Inscriptions tended to focus on recording names, family relationships and geographical connections, rather than occupations/status, virtues, and life histories relative to other commemoration in Liverpool and Lancashire.

Figure 170 Accrington Cemetery, Lancashire. Nonconformist chapel/crematorium (Geograph 2010).
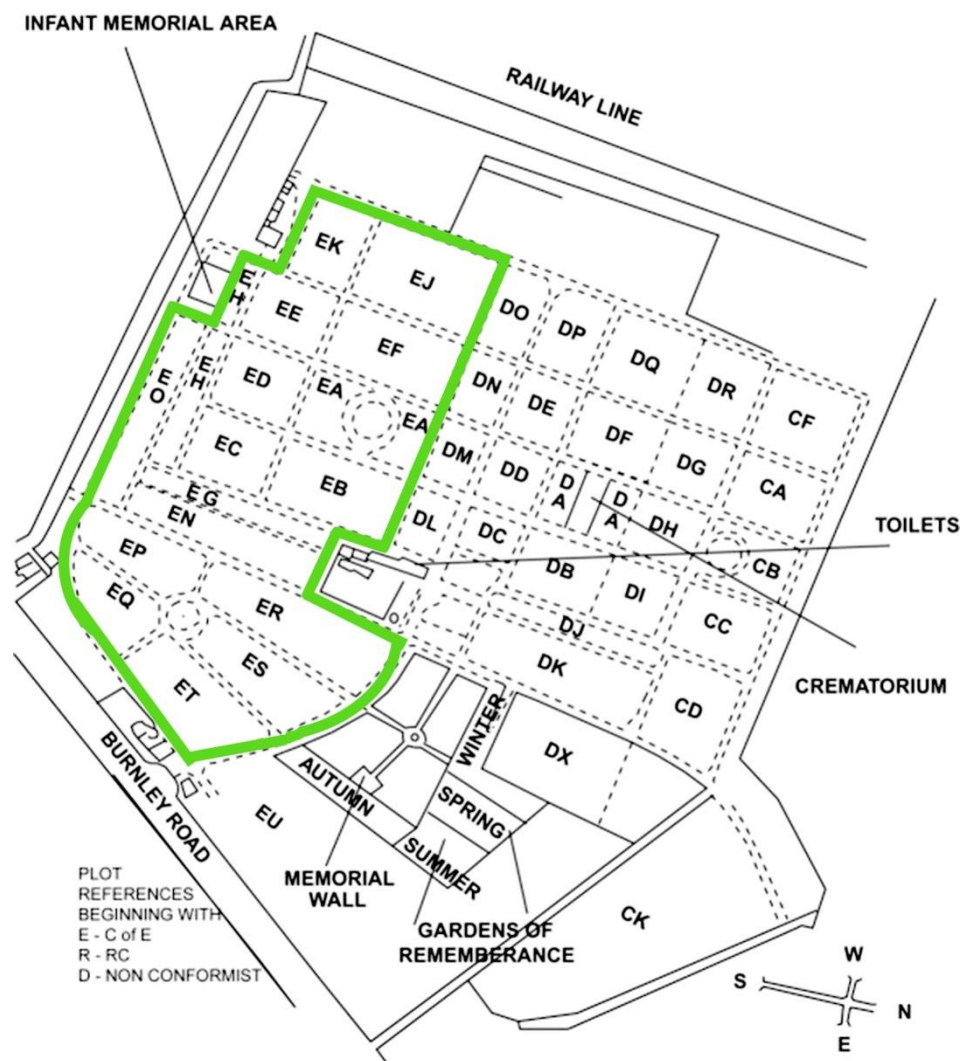
Figure 171 Church of England sections of Accrington Cemetery, Accrington, Lancashire (modified from Cemsearch UK 2002).

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CAMBRIDGE

St. Mary the Great Church

Also known as Great St. Mary's, this church in central Cambridge is a parish church for the Diocese of Ely. As the university church for the University of Cambridge, it also hosts university sermons, houses the university organ and clock, and serves as the landmark for university legislation, which requires undergraduates to live within three miles of the church, and university officers to live within 20 miles of it. A church at the site can be traced to the thirteenth century, known as Church of St. Mary the Virgin or St. Mary-by-the-market, but was destroyed by a fire in 1290 (Cooper 1866). A new church was consecrated in 1351, by this time affiliated with Trinity College, and it quickly became the gathering place for the university until the Senate House was built in 1730. The building as it stands today (Figure 172,   Figure 173) was originally constructed between 1478 and 1519, with the tower completed in 1608, partially funded by levying taxes on every property in the parish and benefitting from the fact that this was one of the wealthiest parishes in Cambridgeshire (Pounds 2004: 69, 140). The style of the church is Perpendicular Gothic, with the typical emphasis on vertical lines and large windows with elaborate tracery (Historic England 2015d). A series of restorations were necessary in the middle of the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with additions including the galleries in 1735 (to accommodate large university audiences), the stained glass windows added in the 1860s, and the south porch in 1888. Notable burials include Martin Bucer (d. 1551), a leading philosopher of the English Reformation, whose corpse was later burnt in the market place by Queen Mary. The dust from the place of burning was later restored to the church under Elizabeth I, and still lies under a brass plate in the south chancel (Venables 1855: 342). The church has recently received a 3-year grant of nearly £300,000 from the Heritage Lottery Fund to support a new heritage programme, including building an education space, with interactive touch screens and video facilities, and stimulating further research (Great St. Mary's Ministry 2015).

This study included 59 monuments dating between 1766 and 1915, as recorded by the Cambridge Family History Society (n.d.a). Many of monuments survive both within the church and in the narrow churchyard that remains along the north and south sides (Figure 174). Many are white and black marble, though some other stones are also represented, and include elaborate scrollwork, heraldry and other decoration. The wealth of the parish is also evident in the commemorative inscriptions, which record the lives of gentlemen, vicars, university professors, and other powerful people in the community. There is a lot of emphasis placed on the respectability and virtues of the dead. For instance,

Sarah Bowman (d. 1816), wife of a rector from Norfolk, was commemorating for having been on, "an active course of admirable benevolence and unaffected devotion" while Elizabeth Goodall (d. 1814), her sister, was described as "a most respectable maiden lady of this town and full of faith and hope." Geographicalally, monument inscriptions record connections throughout Cambridgeshire, but also London, Norfolk, and Yorkshire.

Figure 172 St. Mary the Great Church, Exterior (2014).

Figure 173 St. Mary the Great. Interior (2014).

Figure 174 Churchyard at St. Mary the Great Church, Cambridge (2014).

St. Edward Church

The church of St. Edward King and Martyr, on Peas Hill, Cambridge, is rumoured to be the location of the first sermon of the English Reformation at the Midnight Mass, Christmas Eve 1525, giving it the name of 'Cradle of the Reformation'. Its origins, however, date to the 13th century, likely on the site of an earlier Anglo-Saxon church. The present building incorporates an arch at the base of the tower from this original building, with the chancel and arches of the nave dating to a period of rebuilding around 1400 (Historic England 2015e) (Figure 175,Figure 176). In 1445, St. Edward's church was granted to Trinity Hall, to replace the demolished church of St. John Zachary in the process of constructing King's College (St. Edward King and Martyr n.d.). In the 15th century, two side-chapels were also constructed, one used by Trinity Hall and the other by Clare College (Pounds 2004: 36). During the reformation, it was regularly used by reformers openly preaching evangelicalism and criticising the Catholic Church. Since then, St. Edward's has become a bit hidden, with the construction of the Guildhall and 16th century urban building. Small pedestrian alleyways surround the very compact churchyard. Restorations occurred in the middle of the nineteenth century, including the addition of the east stained glass window. In the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, St. Edward's continued its reputation of radical views on Christianity, with Chaplain F.D. Maurice's (1870-2) liberal views about hell and Christian socialism, and the 1930s association with Toc H, an international Christian movement based on social service, reconciliation and unification of diverse denominations. The church continues to hold a weekly Gothic Eucharist, and plays an active role in the community.

This study included 48 monuments dating between 1699 and 1870, as recorded by the Cambridgeshire Family Historical Society (n.d.a) (Figure 177). The compact churchyard retains many historic monuments. These include large tablets that have been inset into pathways, but likely stood elsewhere previously. Many are made of marble or limestone, with elaborate scrollwork, cherubs, flowers, and other relief work, but most are illegible today. Because the small churchyard closed so early, there are also individuals who were buried in Mill Road Cemetery, but commemorated at St. Edward's with their family. For instance, Robert Sadd was commemorated on a monument with his wife Elizabeth (d. 1848), their grandsons Frederick William and Charles Edward (d. 1851), who had already been buried in St. Edward's. The inscriptions tend to include minimal detail, however the commemorated community includes military personnel, religious leaders, and individuals associated with Cambridge University. For instance, James Donne (d. 1817)

was curate of the Botanic Gardens of the university, praised for his 'practical and theoretical abilities'.

Figure 175 Exterior of St. Edward Church, Cambridge (2014).

Figure 176 Interior of St. Edward's Church, Cambridge (Photos of Churches n.d.).

Figure 177 View of churchyard, St. Edward Church, Cambridge (2014).

St. Michael Church

The earliest records of St. Michael's Parish Church date to 1217, though it is suspected that it dates back as early as the city of Cambridge. Substantial rebuilding produced a church that could serve both the parish and the college of Michaelhouse (later merged with King's Hall to form Trinity College in the 16th century), with a long chancel and stunted nave, common for college chapels, with an unusual off-centred tower (Pounds 2004: 105, 110) (Figure 178). After the dissolution of Michaelhouse College in 1546, St. Michael's was used during Trinity College's chapel construction, finished in 1565. It remained as a parish church, and was used for the episcopal and archidiaconal visitations and the diocesan confirmation services for the Diocese of Ely into the nineteenth century. However, in 1849, just before worship, the church roof caught fire and necessitated substantial rebuilding and restoration. A new stone porch was added on the north side of the church, but otherwise the design sought to recreate the previous roof and building. In the 1870s, the push to design a new east window resulted in complete remodelling of the sanctuary, the creation of a new, taller altarpiece, and new frescoes on the ceiling and arches by F.R. Leach. However, the parish was too small to sustain a congregation. As early as 1550, there were concerns with the size of the parish and discussions about merging it with neighbouring parishes. In 1908, it was finally united with St. Mary's the Great, and the congregation was moved there for services. Between 2001 and 2002, St. Michael's was renovated and established as the charitable trust of Michaelhouse Centre Cambridge, to serve as a weekday church, community centre, art gallery and café (Great St. Mary's Ministry n.d., Michaelhouse Café n.d.) (Figure 179).

This study included 42 monuments dating between 1698 and 1908, as recorded by Cambridgeshire Family History Society (n.d.a). The churchyard has been consumed by urban development, however some headstones have been laid flat to form the entrance path to the church. The ornate square column monument with carved cherub, commemorating William Pace (d.1800), his wife and children, remains an exception, and stands near the north porch. Like many of the churches in Cambridge, the commemorated population includes titles like baronet and esquire, but also occupations such as surgeons and doctors, religious leaders, military personnel, and the university community, such as Thomas Ellis (d. 1759, aged 22), gentleman of Clanywell, Denbigh and scholar from Trinity College. Most geographical references are to other areas of Britain, including Devonshire and London, but also as far afield as Sierra Leone, in the case of Navy Captain and Deputy Governor Robert Bones (d. 1813).

Figure 178 Exterior of St. Michael Church, Cambridge (2014).

Figure 179 Interior of Michaelhouse Centre, previously St. Michael's Church (Michaelhouse Café n.d.).

Mill Road Cemetery

In the 1830s and 1840s, thirteen of the city parishes, whose churchyards were overcrowded and facing the threat of cholera epidemics and competition from expanding Nonconformist burial grounds, united to open a new burial ground (Historic England 2015f). The parishes included: All Saints, St. Andrew the Great, St. Andrew the Less, St. Benedict, St. Botolph, St. Clement, St. Edward, St. Mary the Great, St. Mary the Less, St. Michael, St. Paul, Holy Sepulchre, and Holy Trinity. In 1845, they bought about 10 acres of land in the Petersfield area of Cambridge, southeast of the city centre. The area within the cemetery was allocated to each parish based on anticipated needs and the design was laid out by Andrew Murray, influenced by John Claudius Loudon's garden-like cemeteries. As a result, Mill Road has a curved outer path with internal axial paths that led to a central Gothic-style chapel (Mill Road Cemetery n.d.). The design also included a Gothic-style lodge at the Mackenzie Road entrance. The cemetery was consecrated in November 1848, though the chapel was not completed until 1858. By 1904, some parish sections of the cemetery were already full and the rate of burial slowed. All sections were closed in 1949 and the chapel, damaged by a fire, was demolished in 1954. Today, the cemetery is maintained by the Cambridge City Council and all plots are closed for burial, with more than 3,500 monuments surviving. In 2009, an archaeological investigation of the mortuary chapel discovered that the floorplan was still relatively complete and there have been discussions about restoring it as an educational feature (Mill Road Cemetery n.d.).

This study included 153 monuments dated between 1848 and 1950, as recorded by the Cambridgeshire Family History Society (n.d.a), from sections corresponding to the three Cambridge churches also used in this thesis (St. Edward, St. Mary the Great, St.Michael) (Figure 180-Figure 183). The monuments include primarily marble and limestone headstones, some with curbing, with only a few altar or chest tombs represented. There are many similarities to with the parish churches, including the commemoration of titled families and elite occupations. The religious community is well represented, including Reverend Thomas Brocklebank (d. 1878), senior fellow at King's College and son of a vicar in Lancashire. However, lower and lower-middle class occupations are also represented. For instance, German-born Gretchen Ursula Aumuller (d. 1915) was commemorated as the domestic servant of the Dunlop family and Sarah Barlow (d. 1855) was the relict of a cook from Clare College. Most geographical connections fall within Britain, and are concentrated in Cambridgeshire and Norfolk. Some individuals buried in the original parish churchyards are also commemorated Mill Road Cemetery, particularly during the middle of the nineteenth century, highlighting overlap in places of memory.
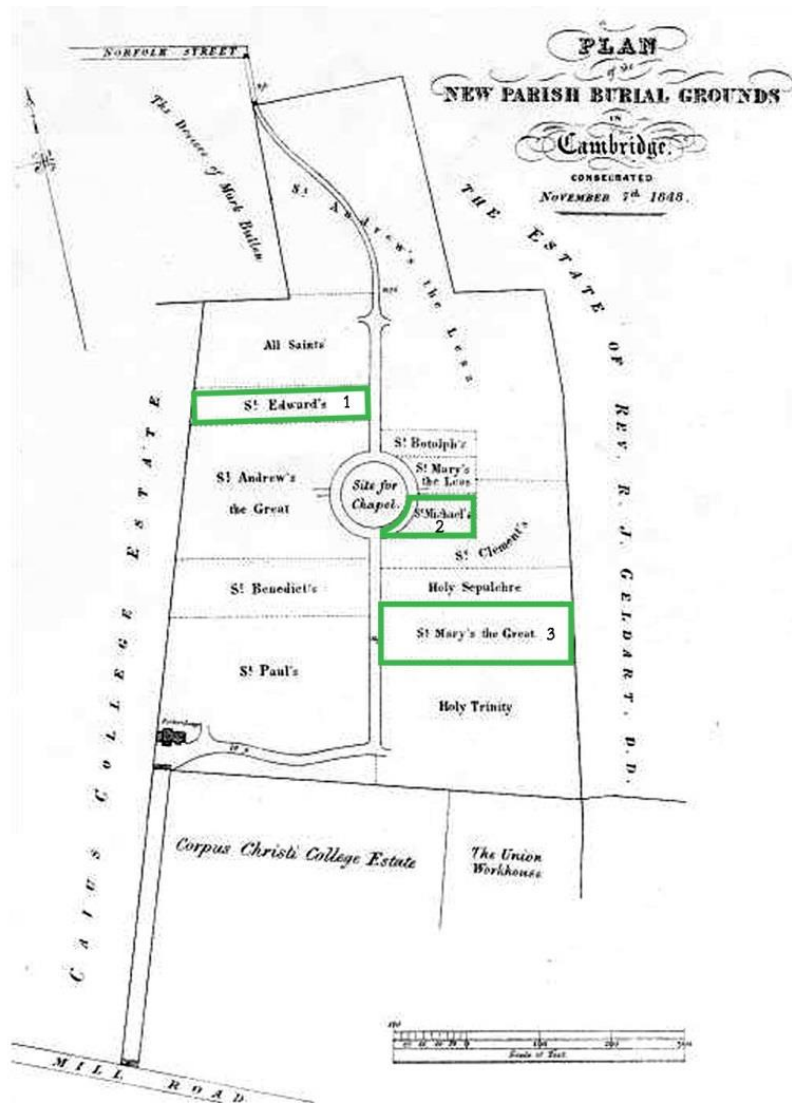
Figure 180 Sections of Mill Road Cemetery: 1) St. Edward's; 2) St. Michael's; and 3) St. Mary's the Great (modified from Mill Road Cemetery n.d.).
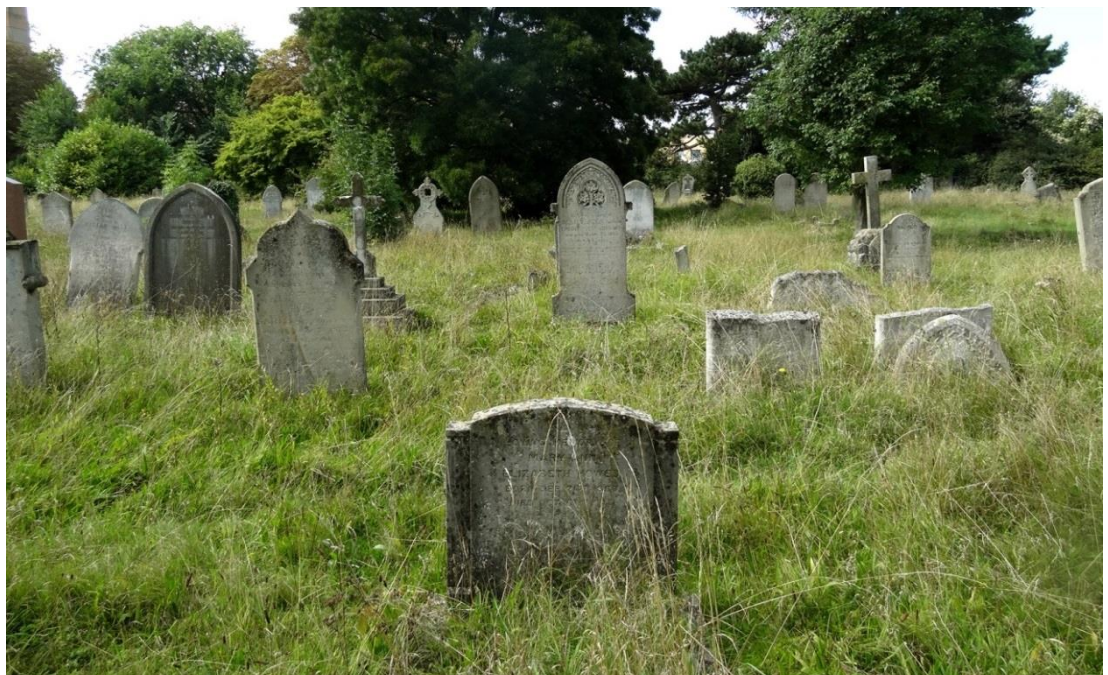
Figure 181 St. Edward Section, Mill Road Cemetery, Cambridge (2014).

Figure 182 St. Mary the Great Section, Mill Road Cemetery, Cambridge (2014).

Figure 183 St. Michael Section, Mill Road Cemetery, Cambridge (2014).

CAMBRIDGESHIRE

Hinxton: St. Mary and St. John Church

Located in the village of Hinxton, South Cambridgeshire, St. Mary and St. John parish church is a medieval flint and rubble church, though records suggest there was a church on this site from 1092. The chancel and nave from c. 1200 were preserved in 14th century rebuilding, which added the south aisle and chapel (Historic England 2015g) (Figure 184, Figure 185). The western tower with embattled parapet is topped with a lead and timber octagonal spire with bells, dating to 1903. In 1930, it joined with neighbouring Ickleton parish, however due to a lengthy period of opposition, the decision was reversed in 1955. The church is still actively used by the community today, and the Friends of Hinxton Church have been engaged in raising funds for its maintenance since 1983. Straddling the River Cam, Hinxton village was also home to a large corn mill that was in use from the eleventh century to the middle of the twentieth century and acted as a focal point for the agricultural community, alongside the public house, town hall and Hinxton Hall.

This study included 154 monuments, dating between 1756 and 1950, as recorded by the Cambridgeshire Family History Society (n.d.b). Monuments were primarily headstones, some with footstones, of marble and limestone, with short and simple inscriptions. The occupations and status indicators on monuments included religious leaders (John Graham, Fellow of St. John's and Jesus College, Cambridge and Vicar of Hinxton), in addition to references to owners of property, such as William Spencer of Lordship Farm (d. 1805), and many esquires. Some monuments commemorated virtues and contributions of individuals to their families and communities, including a stone cross "erected by the Trustees, the Inhabitants of Hinxton & others in the year 1903 to mark the graves of Ann Howsden & her sisters in gratitude for the great charity which she founded for the poor of the Parish in the year 1831." Geographical references were primarily related to nearby Cambridge, Duxford and Swavesey, but also included connections to Suffolk, Yorkshire and Surrey, as well as India (Ollyett Woodhouse, advocate General of Bombay, d. 1822).

Figure 184 Exterior of Church of St. Mary and St. John, Hinxton (British Listed Buildings n.d.).

Figure 185 Interior of Church of St. Mary and St. John, Hinxton (British Listed Buildings n.d.).

Harston: All Saints Church

The parish church of All Saints, in the village of Harston, largely dates to the mid to late 14th century; however there is evidence for an earlier church on the same site. The Perpendicular Gothic style church is built of flint clunch rubble, pebblestone, and dressed limestone, with a slate roof (British Listed Buildings n.d.) (Figure 186). The bell tower has three stages with an embattled parapet and buttresses. Some restoration occurred in the 15th century, at which time a number of the windows were modified with elaborate vertical tracery and the clerestory was restored with five windows. The chancel dates to 1853 and is Victorian in style. The interior is simple but elegant, with little decoration along the inner walls of the arcades (Figure 187). Today, it is an active parish church and a centre for the community. The village of Harston, located 5 miles from Cambridge, was primarily occupied by agricultural labourers and coprolite diggers, but it was also the site of an eleventh-century water mill on the River Rhee and a sixteenth-century inn.

This study included 146 monuments, dating between 1714 and 1970, as recorded by the Cambridgeshire Family History Society (n.d.b). Primarily a collection of simple headstones, the commemorative inscriptions tend to be relatively short and simple. Nevertheless, the commemorated community ranges from Godfred Theodore Balwin (d. 1904), son of the vicar, to farmer George Golding (of Moat Farm, Essex). Even Sukey Jobson (d. 1798, aged 32), described as a vagrant in the burial records, is commemorated with a small headstone. There are a number of families that demonstrate relatively long sequences of commemorative traditions in the churchyard. Geographical connections are primarily based in Britain, including Ireland, Scotland, and northern England, however some references to Europe and South Africa also occurred.
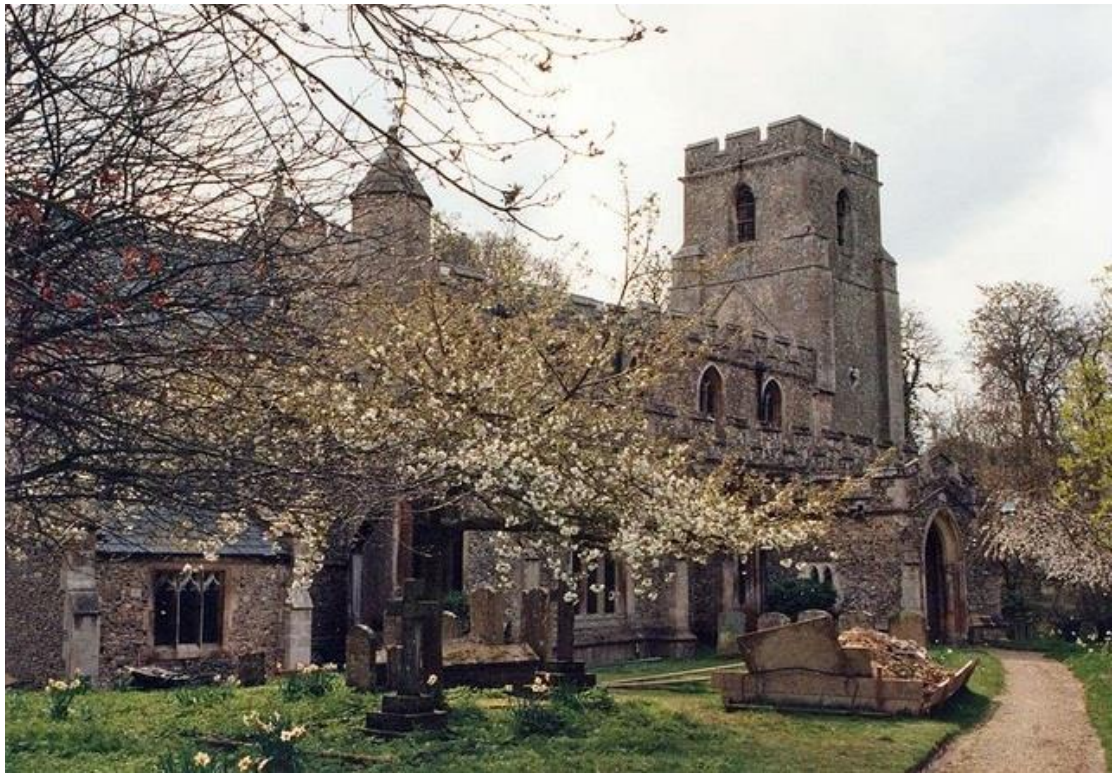
Figure 186 All Saints Church, Harston (Geograph 2010).

Figure 187 Interior of All Saints Church, Harston (Geograph 2010).

Bourn: St. Mary and St. Helena Church

The village of Bourn is located 8 miles from Cambridge and had Roman, Danish and Norman settlements, attracted by the brook and woods that once dominated the area. The origins of Bourn's grand St. Mary and St. Helena Church can be traced to a wooden structure that was built on the site following the Norman Conquest; however the stone church dates from the 12th and 13th centuries. Although a large parish, its valuation was considerably lower than average Cambridgeshire parishes (Pounds 2004: 72). Nevertheless, the church is elegant and impressive. In Perpendicular Gothic style, the cruciform building with square tower mounted with lead spire is a mixture of styles due to many periods of building and restoration (Pevsner 1954: 13-15) (Figure 188). The clerestoried nave has six bays and tall arches give the interior a light and airy feel (Figure 189). A number of features date to the sixteenth century (sedilia, chancel), including wood carvings, with major restoration in the late nineteenth century (nave), and the twentieth century (tower, bells). It also has two transepts, both used as chapels, and two niches off the south aisle that may also have served as chapels at one time.

This study included 333 monuments dating between 1727 and 1950, as recorded by the Cambridgeshire Family History Society (n.d.b). The monuments have relatively short and simple inscriptions, and tended to focus on expressing great loss, as well as the piety and virtue of the deceased. Sudden deaths and deaths due to illness were also common themes in commemorative inscriptions. The commemorated community included a range of occupations, from Susan Edwards (d. 1836, aged 52), who had been a servant for 32 years, to Sarah Moore (d. 1848, aged 77), "teacher of 500 children", in addition to military and religious personnel. Titles were almost non-existent in the commemorative record, with the exception of Sir Alfred Leigh Briscoe, Baronet, (d. 1931, aged 52 years). Geographical connections were concentrated in Cambridgeshire, including nearby Comberton, Kingston and Caldecote, but also other areas of England, including London and Bedfordshire.

Figure 188 Exterior of the Church of St. Mary's and St. Helena's (Miller n.d.).

Figure 189 Interior of the Church of St. Mary's and St. Helena's (Churches of Britain and Ireland n.d.)

Comberton: St. Mary Church

St. Mary's Church serves the large parish of Comberton and sits on the highest ground in the village (Comberton Church n.d.). Comberton village is recorded as early as the eleventh century and while the current church building dates to the thirteenth century, a church on this site likely predates it (Gardner-Smith n.d.: 1). The well-proportioned chancel and nave are balanced with a western tower, and a south porch (largely reconstructed in the twentieth century) (Figure 190). The north and south sides of the nave, however, date to different periods and thus take different styles, one is Early English (12th-13th C) in the south, with pointed arches on octagonal pillars, and the other is Perpendicular style (14th-15th C) in the north, with flat-topped arches. A clerestory also dates to the building of the north side of the nave, with additional windows to bring more light into the church. The tower dates to the fourteenth century, housing the bells, with quaintly carved corbels and ornate windows (Gardner-Smith n.d.: 2). The unique patchwork of styles highlights the regular building and restoration phases, however by the end of the 15th century, the church was considered very fine, with elaborate gilding and paintings, stained glass, and furniture. Decay slowly crept in, and the western section of the roof was rebuilt in 1767, with further restorations in the nineteenth century and twentieth century. Today, it continues to play an active role as a parish church and community focal point.

This study included 186 monuments dating between 1773 and 1980, as recorded by the Cambridgeshire Family History Society (n.d.b). The monuments are primarily headstones, but also altar tombs, urns and pillars, largely out of marble and other stone, with some metal detailing. Inscriptions are typically short and simple, with exceptions focussing on virtues and loss. For instance, James Wootten (d. 1853) was described as, "an affectionate husband & father whose strict integrity & benevolence secured him the esteem & confidence not only of his mourning relatives but of all who knew him." Causes of death were also common on more elaborate inscriptions, for instance Joshua Mann (d. 1809) who "fell jumping St. Ives tollgate at midnight... [on] the 33rd anniversary of his birthday" and Private Henry John Day, "prisoner of war [who] died in the Currach Hospital Ireland." Most references to geographical connections were concentrated in Cambridgeshire (Swavesey, Cottenham, Cambridge), though other parts of England were also represented, (Northampton, Hull, Waterloo). Occupations represented in inscriptions included builders and tradespeople, but also military and religious personnel and city councillors. A number of individuals with ties to Cambridge University highlights the close relationship that this parish has with Cambridge due to proximity, including Reverend Peake Banton (d. 1935), scholar, and Arthur Gray, college master, both of Jesus College, Cambridge (d. 1940).

Figure 190 Exterior of St. Mary's Church, Comberton (Geograph n.d.).

Great Eversden: St. Mary Church

St. Mary's Church is located in the parish of Great Eversden, though the parish has close ties to Little Eversden. The Church of Eversden likely served both communities from 1092 into the twelfth century, before it became the church of Great Eversden, with a church of Little Eversden (St. Helen) built by 1229 (Bolton et al. 1973: 59-68). A fire meant that most St. Mary's had to be rebuilt in the later 15th century. The new field stone and clunch building included a nave with a north porch, a chancel, and a tower to the west, following the design of St. Helen's but on a larger scale in order to seat about 175 people (Figure 191). Like many of the churches from this period, in this region, it follows the Perpendicular style, with an embattled tower and wood and lead spire. The church was later restored in 1864, again matching St. Helen's, and again in 1920. In 1916, the Great and Little Eversdens' congregations were permanently joined, resulting in the disuse of St. Mary's church and its placement on the Heritage At Risk Register (English Heritage), particularly with subsiding causing structural problems.

This study included 107 monuments dating between 1737 and 1977, as recorded by the Cambridgeshire Family History Society (n.d.b). The monuments were almost exclusively headstones, with short and simple inscriptions. More elaborate inscriptions focussed on family relationships, virtues and loss, as well as cause of death. Occupations and titles ranged from an ''eminent solicitor' (John Finch Esq., d. 1827) to religious leaders, including the relict of Reverend William Gillson, '17 years independent minister in this parish' (Elizabeth, d. 1856). Commemorated geographical connections focussed on links to other parishes in Cambridgeshire, including Cambridge, Great Eversden and Burwell, however also included Huntingdonshire and Surrey, and as far afield as Rhodesia, where Hilda Barnes died in 1920, aged 34 years.

Figure 191 Exterior of St. Mary's Church, Great Eversden (English Heritage n.d.).

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