



Challenging Dead

A Look into Foreigners' Cemeteries
in Macau, Hong Kong, and Taiwan

Gotelind Müller

Challenging Dead:
A Look into Foreigners' Cemeteries in
Macau, Hong Kong, and Taiwan

Gotelind Müller

About the author

Prof. Dr. Gotelind Müller-Saini is professor of Sinology at the Institute of Chinese Studies, University of Heidelberg. Her research interests are modern Chinese history and Sino-Japanese-Western cultural exchange.

xasia
Repository

Published at CrossAsia-Repository,
Heidelberg University Library 2018



This book is published under the Creative Commons Attribution-Non Commercial-Non Derivative 4.0 International (CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0).

The electronic Open Access version of this work is permanently available on CrossAsia-Repository: <http://crossasia-repository.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/>
urn: urn=urn:nbn:de:bsz:16-crossasiarep-41457
url: <http://crossasia-repository.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/4145>
doi: <http://doi.org/10.11588/xarep.00004145>

Text and illustrations © Gotelind Müller-Saini 2018

ISBN 978-3-946742-52-4 (PDF)

Introduction¹

The issue of foreigners' burial in Chinese soil is a notoriously problematic one. As one book aptly sums up the baseline with its title: "No foreign bones in China".² In general, the Chinese attitude is summarized in the well-known dictum: "fallen leaves return to their roots" (*luoye guigen* 落葉歸根). Thus, even if a burial needs to be done somewhere else, it is conceived of as only temporary with the ideal of a one-day return "to the roots" – even if not manageable in practice.³ In southern China, where secondary burial is common, this idea of "moving" the dead is not as unusual a thought as it might seem in most Western Christian contexts where the ideal is represented by "R.I.P." (requiescat in pace): to leave the dead to rest in peace without disturbing them any further. Thus, the permanent burial of foreigners posed a challenge of not only a temporary dimension. And even when the living foreigners – who were not necessarily very welcome – might have left, their dead remained. And some of them even represented problematic historical developments: not only of colonialization, but also of dubious trades (opium e.g.), military hostilities etc. Also the missionary endeavours from various sides represented in the eyes of some Chinese rather an unwelcome interference, but on the other Chinese converts integrated the "foreign" into the "self" and by this challenged any easy "nativist" "pure" Chineseness. The still extant tombs, however one views the particular histories, are visible remains of these, and thus a present-day dealing with "heritage" preservation needs to confront also "heritage" of these "others" who have taken part in shaping local experiences and identities: for good or for worse. In this sense, the foreigners' tombs pose a challenge to present-day "heritage politics" – a problem obviously not specifically Chinese but shared with many places around the globe.⁴ Needless to say, foreigners' tombs however also have some potential for touristic exploitation and by nature also involve diplomatic foreign policy considerations.

This paper looks into the issue by focusing on the three cases of Macau – the earliest European permanent settlement since the 16th century by the Roman Catholic Portuguese on Chinese soil –⁵

¹ For help with this research, I would like to thank the staff of the archives in Macau (Arquivo de Macau), Hong Kong (Public Records Office) and Taipei (Archives of the Institute of Taiwan History, Academia Sinica) as well as scholarly friends and local experts: Prof. Au Chi Kin (Hong Kong), Prof. Lam Fat-lam (Macau), Prof. Chang Lung-chih and Prof. Chiang Min-chin (Taipei), Prof. Lin Chia-chi (Tamsui), Prof. Hwang Yu-ting, Mr. Paul (Yuxun) Jiang and Mr. Yu Ming-fa (Keelung). At Heidelberg I am very indebted to Anne Labitzky (librarian). (Technical note: I will stick to the Romanization of names of places and people as most widely (or by the respective person) established, adding Pinyin at the first time. Chinese terms will otherwise be transcribed in Pinyin.)

² Peter Stursberg: *No Foreign Bones in China: Memoirs of Imperialism and its Ending*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press 2002.

³ For a first introduction to the field of Chinese burial practices since late imperial times, see the by now "classical" volume: James Watson and Evelyn Rawski (eds.): *Death Ritual in Late Imperial and Modern China*. Berkeley: University of California Press 1988.

⁴ For just one similar case in South Asia, see Ashish Chadha: "Ambivalent Heritage: Between Affect and Ideology in a Colonial Cemetery" in: *Journal of Material Culture* vol. 11, no. 3, 2006, pp. 339-363.

⁵ Officially, Macau (in English often spelt "Macao") became an acknowledged "colony" of Portugal only in 1887.

Hong Kong – colony since the mid 19th century under the protestant British –, and Taiwan where the foreign permanent presence since the 19th century treaty port system went through the period of Japanese colonialization (1895-1945) (and some in Taiwan would add later on through the “take-over” by the Kuomintang [Guomindang], i.e. Nationalist Party, from the mainland). Thus, in a sense, these three cases are connected by their colonialization experiences, though with three different colonizers (of three different religious outlooks), and all three are in a sense spatially on the “fringes” of the Chinese experience with foreigners. Furthermore, this paper will mainly look into cemeteries that are still extant and thus obviously seen as worth to be kept,⁶ and it will be mostly dealing with “Westerners”, albeit not exclusively. Japanese dead were of course present, too, and with reference to the title of this paper, they were even a more “challenging” “heritage”, given the fact that the “Japanese experience” in Taiwan was rather mixed and under Kuomintang rule was actively sought to be erased,⁷ whereas in Hong Kong the years of Japanese domination during WW II were even experienced by many as traumatic. Portuguese Macau, in turn, was indirectly affected during the war years which locally translated into a wave of refugees fleeing Japanese domination posing a substantial challenge to the neutral tiny colony, whereas Japanese graves can hardly be found there.⁸ The still extant cemeteries of foreigners in the whole area, thus, are mostly de facto “hosting” Western dead.

Macau

When the Portuguese arrived in Macau (Aomen 澳門) in the 16th century, they settled first of all on the Macau peninsula (and only later on the close-by islands). Thus today's UNESCO world heritage site, the Historic City Centre of Macau, is located there where the “city of the name of God” (as it was proud to

⁶ The modern notion of “cemeteries”, often landscaped and with individual burial plots, came up only in the 18th century in the West and replaced the former churchyards. Cf. Philippe Ariès: *Western Attitudes Toward Death from the Middle Ages to the Present*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press 1974. See also Michel Vovelle: *La mort et l'occident de 1300 à nos jours*. Paris: Gallimard 1983. And – with an accent on architecture and landscape – James Stevens Curl: “A short history of the cemetery movement” in: Richard Barnes: *The Art of Memory. Sculpture in the Cemeteries of London*. Kirstead: Frontier Publishing 2016, pp. 7-41.

⁷ Thus, where Japanese built heritage was not destroyed, it was usually “re-used”, e.g. by erasing Japanese inscriptions and placing over them a Chinese one to appropriate it. For a study on Japanese tangible heritage and recent attempts (often with a certain anti-Kuomintang stance) to preserve or re-discover such sites in Taiwan, see Min-chin Chiang: *Memory Contested, Locality Transformed. Representing Japanese Colonial 'Heritage' in Taiwan*. Leiden: Leiden University Press 2012. For the case of cemeteries, it might be added that Japanese dead – usually cremated – are remembered now in Taiwan in the Baojuesi 寶覺寺, a Buddhist temple in Taichung (Taizhong 臺中) also honoring the Taiwanese who served in the Japanese Army; in South Taiwan the Japanese cemetery in Kaohsiung (Gaoxiong 高雄) has recently been moved, leaving the Chaoyin Temple 潮音寺 in Pingtung (Pingdong 屏東) County in the area where Japanese (and Korean) soldiers of the Pacific War are remembered; in the North, Zhonghe Temple 中和禪寺 in Beitou 北投 hosts Japanese remains; and in Hualien (Hualian 花蓮) in East Taiwan the “cemetery” (consisting in one stele) of the Japanese civil colonizers' village Fengli in Shoufeng (壽豐豐裡村日本移民墓園) even made it into a Hualien-heritage site as a „historic building“ in 2009. (See the official heritage item website: <https://nchdb.boch.gov.tw/assets/overview/historicalBuilding/20090813000002>).

⁸ It might be briefly recalled that Macau had earlier, more “positive” connections with Japan, though, most eye-catching with Macau's iconic façade of the ruins of S. Paulo which was mainly built by Japanese artisans.

be called) was placed.⁹ Various Catholic orders started their missionary work, first Jesuits, then Franciscans, Augustinians, Dominicans and the nuns of St. Clare. Macau was established as a diocese in 1576, initially covering a wide part of East Asia, being itself under the direction of Goa. Over time, more and more parts of its original diocese were established as separate dioceses. After the Portuguese hand-over of Goa to India, the Macau diocese was upgraded to an “exempt” status in 1975 but spatially is now only administering Macau itself under its bishop. And politically, as is well-known, Macau – only since the late 19th century formally recognized by the Chinese government as a Portuguese colony – has been handed over to mainland China in 1999 and is now a SAR (Special Administrative Region) of the PRC.

The Catholic Portuguese set up various churches with their churchyards in Macau where Catholics would be buried in consecrated soil and as close as possible to the saints (“ad sanctos”) which might be represented by relics in the church. Their burial practice simply followed European Catholic custom of the time. Although there developed over time a tendency to bury the Portuguese on the peninsula and the Chinese on the adjacent islands, the most important distinction was between Catholic or not and only secondarily between Portuguese (“Whites”) and Chinese.¹⁰ According to Catholic Church Law, burial of non-Catholics on Catholic soil was not allowed. As Macau is rather small, most Chinese anyway would move their dead out of Macau and back to their place of origin – to “the roots” –, so there was obviously for a long time no need to lay down any official laws. As it seems, the Muslims (who as traders were present early on) were quietly accommodated by letting them build a mosque with a cemetery already in 1774.¹¹ They and other non-Catholics, e.g. the Armenians whose cemetery (established 1783/84) is no

⁹ See for the Historic Centre of Macau listing (2005): UNESCO: <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1110>. For the (old) Protestant cemetery (see below) as part of it: <http://www.wh.mo/en/site/detail/24>. (The Historic Centre covers 25 specific items).

¹⁰ As Jesuit Benjamin Videira Pires states for the early burials in churches and churchyards in Macau up to the early 18th century, there seems to have been no basic distinction in terms of nationality or “race”. (The recorded cases are however predominantly clergy as they were buried in the churches and thus remained, while the normal people were buried in the churchyards – and these slots were normally reused after some time.) See Pires: “Um campo santo de Macau” in: *Religião e pátria*, various instalments over the year 1964 (incomplete). (Available in the Arquivo de Macau on microfilm: PPR 028a).

¹¹ Not only the present imam in Macau claims that mosque and cemetery were built in 1774 and thus much earlier than the old Protestant cemetery (see below). (<https://aamacau.com/2015/01/30/%E7%82%BA%E4%BC%8A%E6%96%AF%E8%98%AD%E6%95%99%E6%AD%A3%E5%90%8D/>). See also the governmental survey: <http://stream.icm.gov.mo/PDF/heritage/ra/5.pdf>, p. 3. The cemetery is presently not accessible for outsiders. It seems that the oldest extant graves are from the late 19th century only. According to Pires, who also provides a list of more recent Muslim burials in the cemetery between 1939 and 1946, showing the dead mostly hailed from Punjab, Afghanistan or Goa, but also from Canton and Macau itself, the Muslims had “acquired” the land only in 1859. (Pires: “O cemitério e a mesquita dos Mouros” in: *Religião e pátria*, probably year 1961. Available on microfilm in Arquivo de Macau: PPR 028a). A short general presentation of the cemetery can be found in Liang Jinying 梁錦英 and Xiao Jieming 蕭潔銘: *Aomen fenchang 澳門墳場* (Macau’s cemeteries), Xianggang: Sanlian shudian 2011, pp. 55-58, and in Lin Faqin 林發欽: “Bu tong er he, xiang yi bing cun: cong muyuan kan shijie bu tong zongjiao zai Aomen de chuanbo” 不同而和，相異並存。從墓園看世界不同宗教在澳門的傳播 (Harmony in difference, coexistence of dissimilarities: viewing the propagation of the world’s different religions in Macau from [their] cemeteries). In: Zheng Peikai 鄭培凱 and Chen Guocheng 陳國成 eds.: *Shiji, wenxian, lishi. Zhong-wai wenhua yu*

longer extant,¹² thus could de facto bury their dead, but beyond the walls of the “Catholic city” (walled more strongly since 1622 in the wake of the Dutch attack on Macau), in a kind of “buffer zone” between the city walls and the border to China proper or the sea. This “buffer zone” was populated by some Chinese villagers and – adjacent to the city walls – some “special” foreigners which this way were spatially separated from the “normal” inhabitants inside the walls, e.g. “New Christians” (formerly Muslim or Jewish),¹³ or people with diseases like lepers, some paupers etc., so the area was no uninhabited “no-man’s-land”, but rather a kind of transitory area between the Portuguese walled city and the border of China proper to the north of the peninsula.

The matter of non-Catholic burials, however, came into the spot-light in 1821 when the well-known Protestant (Presbyterian) missionary Robert Morrison who – as “normal” foreigners in general at the time – was not permitted by the Chinese authorities to stay on Chinese soil in Canton beyond the trading season and thus during the off-season resided in Macau,¹⁴ had to bury his first wife. He had already lost a little son ten years earlier, whom he had buried in the “buffer zone”. The place the Protestants had used up to then was called “Meesenberg Hill” (now D. Maria II Hill) after the presumably earliest Protestant, an employee of the East India Company, buried there. The use of land in the “buffer zone” beyond Portuguese control was, however, not secure and in potential conflict with the Chinese inhabitants of the area. As the Chinese were opposed to Morrison’s reopening the grave of his little son to bury his wife together according to her last wish since this went against local burial customs, he felt very dismayed.¹⁵ Morrison who was employed by the East India Company managed to strike a

lishi jiyi 史跡，文獻，歷史。中外文化與歷史記憶 (Traces, documents, history: Sino-foreign culture and historical memory). Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe 2008, pp. 67-75, there p. 72. Lin mentions there are also graves of Pakistani.

¹² Monsignor Teixeira mentions an “old Armenian cemetery”. (Manuel Teixeira: *A voz das pedras de Macau*. Macau: Imprensa Nacional 1980, pp. 21-23). As one likely Armenian grave of 1829 appears in the “new Protestant” cemetery set up only in late 1857 and one of 1857 in the “old Protestant” cemetery (see below), it seems that the Armenian cemetery was soon discontinued and the grave of 1829 obviously shifted. According to Teixeira (ibid. p. 21), the Armenian cemetery was located on what today is Penha Hill. There are two further gravestones left at the Fortaleza do Monte (ibid. p. 22). The Rides (Lindsay and May Ride: *The Voices of Macao Stones*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press 1999, p. 109) date the cemetery’s establishment to 1783/84, though in view of the Muslim one this was not “the first” burial ground for foreigners then as they claim. The small booklet on Macau cemeteries (Liang and Xiao: *Aomen fenchang* 2011) in the popular booklet series on Macau’s various cultural aspects does not even mention the earlier existence of an Armenian cemetery.

¹³ See Pedro Dá Mesquita: *Mian huai zhi yuan: Sheng Weiji [Cantonese pron.: Meigei] fenchang* 緬懷之園: 聖味基墳場 / *Memórias de um campo santo: Cemitério de S. Miguel Arcanjo / The memorial garden: S. Michael Arcanjo Cemetery*, Macau: Min zheng zong shu 2008, p. 86. There seems to have been some fear that conversions to Christianity might not be “sincere”.

¹⁴ As van Dyke has pointed out, such Chinese policy rules, however, were not always sharply enforced in practice. (See Paul van Dyke: *Merchants of Canton and Macao: Success and Failure in Eighteenth-Century Chinese Trade*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press 2015, e.g. p. xxii). The representatives of the various trading nations or companies usually stayed on to look after the factories in the off-season.

¹⁵ Morrison continuously complained about the Chinese (who did not let him stay in Canton) as well as the “papists” (Portuguese) in his private correspondence. See citations in José Maria Braga: “Some old tombstones in Macao: the East India Company’s Cemetery” in: *Anuário de Macau*, 1940-41, pp. 273-312, citations on pp. 274-277.

deal with the Portuguese in spite of their legislation which basically prohibited foreign ownership of land in Portuguese territories:¹⁶ a Portuguese aristocrat would hand over some of his own land to the East India Company against money, and the latter would set up a cemetery there for their company (which at the time mainly traded in tea officially, but was indirectly involved in paying for Chinese goods more and more with opium) and other non-Catholic Christian Westerners.¹⁷ Thus the “old Protestant cemetery” – as it is called today – came into being [ill. 1], and some dead that had been buried in the “buffer zone” were moved there.¹⁸ Therefore, the earliest death documented in the “old Protestant cemetery” is even before the set-up of the cemetery with the death of Mr. Morrison’s first wife. In 1857 at a time when the Portuguese wanted to move burials in general outside of the city, reflecting new trends and legislations in Europe, and the East India Company running this cemetery having become dysfunctional, the cemetery was basically closed but remained together with the chapel built adjacent to it in the hands of the British via a board of trustees who had invested in it. This, in turn, also means that although the Anglican Hong Kong bishops took some interest in the site (and currently provide for religious services in the so-called “Morrison chapel”) [ill. 2], no single Protestant church body is officially responsible even for the chapel!¹⁹

The “old Protestant cemetery”, today part of the UNESCO world heritage site “Historic Centre of Macau”, covers various nationalities, mostly Britons but also Americans, Dutch, Germans, Swedes, and Danes and

¹⁶ Braga suggests this readiness on the side of the Portuguese also reflected Anglo-Portuguese diplomatic considerations. José Maria Braga: *Hong Kong and Macao*, Hong Kong: Graphic Press 1960, p. 45-49. It is not quite clear whether the Portuguese merchant “sold” it (together with the adjacent park) to the British (as is claimed in most English sources: the on-spot World Heritage description even says it was “acquired” by the East India Company “from the government”) or only “leased” it to them (as is claimed, e.g., by the present Macau government, which would also explain why property rights shifted back to the city government after the East India Company became dysfunctional in the mid 19th century). Braga, however, stresses that only the adjacent park went back to the Portuguese (Braga: “Some old tomb-stones...” 1940-1941, p. 279). According to Lindsay and May Ride, the slot of the adjacent chapel was the one potentially “endangered” (Lindsay and May Ride: *An East India Company Cemetery. Protestant Burials in Macao*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press 1996, pp. 62-63).

¹⁷ See <http://www.culturalheritage.mo/en/detail/hrtID89>. The tombstones cover several languages and non-Catholic denominations, including one Armenian tomb (Dishkoone Seth). Cf. also John P. O’Regan: “The Tombstones of the English East India Company Cemetery at Macao: a Linguistic Analysis”. In: *Journal of the Association of Gravestone Studies* 2009, pp. 88-119. (This article is not always accurate in facts, however).

¹⁸ There is no unanimity about the details: the most used reference is Australian-born Lindsay Ride who has researched the old protestant cemetery early on (and reserved himself a burial spot there in spite of the cemetery’s being officially closed): Lindsay Ride: *The Old Protestant Cemetery in Macao*, first published in 1963. But Macau priest Manuel Teixeira has pointed out some factual errors and published his own study: Manuel Teixeira: *The protestant cemeteries of Macau*. Macau: Dir. Serviços de Turismo 1972 (see there esp. pp. 1-3). Ride’s widow who had joined in the research of her husband, then had an updated version of theirs published as: Lindsay and May Ride: *An East India Company Cemetery...* 1996. This volume provides closer details for the individuals lying in the cemetery. See also John P. O’Regan: “Foreign Death In China: Symbolism, Ritual And Belief In The Old Protestant Cemetery In Macau” in: *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Hong Kong Branch*, Vol. 47 (2007), pp. 127-164, for a sensitive look into the burial practices and relationships between the buried.

¹⁹ For the chapel’s history, see the leaflet there, also online on its website, maintained by the Anglicans: <http://morrisonchapel.com/history/>.

one Armenian [ill. 3],²⁰ mostly men but also women and children. As mentioned, “normal” foreigners were officially allowed to stay in Canton only during the trading season and without their families. Thus, Macau was the usual place of residence of the families, if they were in the Far East at all. In terms of professions, sailors, traders, missionaries, medical doctors, an engineer and of course representatives of the military can be found. Aside from missionary families like the Morrisons, other notables once included William John Napier who unsuccessfully tried to push China into open trade in 1834 when the trade monopoly of the East India Company had expired, and played an indirect role in the choice of Hong Kong a few years later for British occupation to use force after diplomacy had failed. (In fact, a formerly disappeared memorial column for him found by chance in the 1950s was set up in the Hong Kong “Colonial Cemetery” (see below) which has in recent – post-handover – years been tellingly removed to the Hong Kong Museum of History.)²¹ After his failure, Napier had succumbed to illness and died in Macau in 1834. He first was buried in this East India Company’s “old Protestant cemetery”, however, his remains were later repatriated to Scotland,²² thus taking away one potentially “problematic” figure in Sino-Western relations. The First Opium War as the first major war between Britain and China is represented in the cemetery, most eye-catching by two large monuments of Captain Le Fleming Senhouse of the Royal Navy,²³ and Lieutenant Edward Fitzgerald,²⁴ however since Hong Kong was occupied at that time, casualties of this war started to be buried also there (see below) as this was now “British” territory with no need to further bother the Portuguese. At the time of the Second Opium War, the Macau “old Protestant cemetery” was already about to be closed. This means that in terms of present-day Chinese sensibilities, the “old Protestant cemetery” hosts not many well-known “controversial” figures,²⁵ but its image is rather connected to Morrison or the artist George Chinnery best known for his many painted views of Macau who are rather associated with a peaceful image of Sino-Western relations. And it includes names of interest because of family ties to famous historical figures like the second and the sixth US presidents Adams or former British premier Winston Churchill whose relatives are lying there.²⁶

As mentioned, in 1857 at the time the East India Company had become dysfunctional and the Macau government wanted to move burials in general outside the city centre, the city walls having been torn down in 1848, the “old Protestant cemetery” was basically closed and another Protestant cemetery was

²⁰ There is one French-language tombstone in the cemetery which is, however, of a British wife of a French-speaking Swiss husband. (Ride and Ride: *An East India Company Cemetery...* 1996, pp. 187-188.)

²¹ See http://hk.history.museum/en_US/web/mh/exhibition/gallery05.html.

²² See Ride and Ride: *An East India Company Cemetery...* 1996: pp. 259-262.

²³ Ride and Ride: *An East India Company Cemetery...* 1996, pp. 220-222.

²⁴ Ride and Ride: *An East India Company Cemetery...* 1996, pp. 212-214. A third, somewhat less prominent leading figure in the war was Captain Duff (ibid. pp. 225-226.)

²⁵ Minor opium traders were, of course, represented. Cf. Ride and Ride: *An East India Company Cemetery...* 1996, p. 4, p. 32, and various single entries (e.g. pp. 151, 166-167, 174, 208, 253, 258).

²⁶ Cf. Dá Mesquita: *Mian huai zhi yuan...* 2008: p. 111.

opened,²⁷ nowadays adjacent to the larger public “new cemetery of Mong Ha / Nossa Senhora da Piedade” (established in 1942 during war time, asking the British Consul for the part of territory still unused by the Protestants)²⁸ slightly northeast in the old “buffer zone”. This was called consequently the “new Protestant cemetery” [ill. 4] (even though it contains also tombs of people died in the late 18th century which suggests again some tombs having been included from earlier “Meesenberg Hill” burials,²⁹ and probably not all being necessarily “Protestant” but rather “Christian non-Catholic”).³⁰ (That “protestant cemetery” often meant a cemetery for all not accommodated elsewhere, will be seen below for the case of Hong Kong.) The most recent burials in the “new Protestant cemetery” – alternatively also called Cemitério Protestante da Bela Vista³¹ – are of the 1970s.³²

This use of land in the Mong Ha (Wangxia 望廈) area, place of a Chinese village in the „buffer zone“, was quite controversial at the time. Today the place name is connected mainly to the “unequal treaty” the US signed there with China in 1844 as it used to host a Chinese official representation and the Chinese Customs. Following the establishment of Hong Kong as a colony of the British in 1842, the Portuguese wanted to step up Macau’s competitiveness, trying to force a stronger grip of Portugal of the whole territory south of the border gate to China, i.e. including the Mong Ha area, during the times of controversial governor Ferreira do Amaral. When he built a road to the Chinese border gate cutting through the villagers’ ancestors’ tombs, tensions climaxed and he was assassinated by Chinese villagers with his body mutilated in 1849.³³ Nevertheless, the Portuguese went on to take de facto possession of

²⁷ At the time, the “old Protestant cemetery” comprised some 160 tombs. In 1971, several tombs were shifted from the “new” to the “old” one, thus today there are around 190 tombs or memorials in the “old” one, and the “new” one comprises today some 70 tombs.

²⁸ See *Dá Mesquita: Mian huai zhi yuan...* 2008: p. 108. According to him, the slot was only officially sold by the Protestants to the governing body of Macau, the Leal Senado, in 1971. (Ibid. p. 110). During war, “neutral” Macau received a host of refugees which made for a rise in death figures, too.

²⁹ According to Ride and Ride (*An East India Company Cemetery...* 1996, p. 265), the hill was later levelled to provide fill for land reclamation projects, necessitating the complete removal of all remaining tombs or memorials.

³⁰ See, e.g., the grave of C. Cachatoor, a “native of Isfahan” in Iran, who was likely an Armenian and unlikely a protestant. (He might have been transferred here from the earlier Armenian cemetery – see above. One may note, that also in Hong Kong – see below – Armenians rather frequented Anglican Churches for lack of their own.) The “new Protestant” cemetery contains also one tomb of a probably Russian lady (“Katherina Nicholaevia Serebriakoff”, died 1961) who might not have been Protestant either. For some comments on the shifting of older graves from the “buffer zone” to either Protestant cemetery, see the speech of the (Anglican) Bishop of Hong Kong, Charles Duppuy, at the 1922 re-opening of the chapel at the “old Protestant cemetery”, cited by *Anuário de Macau* 1922, pp. 221-226. And according to *Dá Mesquita (Mian huai zhi yuan...* 2008: p. 110), further relocations to there were done in 1938.

³¹ See Teixeira: *A voz...* 1980: p. 225 and pp. 299-320.

³² Photographs of the single tombstones can be conveniently checked on the “Find a Grave” website: <https://www.findagrave.com/cemetery/2160886/memorial-search?page=4#sr-14198348>. An English (pre-handover) explicatory on-spot stele cited in Chinese translation in Liang and Xiao (*Aomen fenchang* 2011: pp. 51-52) which I did not encounter in place in early 2018 stated that the cemetery was administered jointly by the Consuls of Britain, the US, Germany, the Netherlands, and the Anglican diocese of Hong Kong-Macau.

³³ See for a brief account: Henry d’Assumpção: “Amaral and Mesquita”, <http://www.macaneseibrary.org/PublicE-o/uiamaral.htm>. The rather “hagiographic” treatment in Lindsay and May Ride: *The Voices of Macao Stones* 1999, pp. 44-49, does not address directly the issue of his road-building disturbing the villagers’ graves.

more and more land in the “buffer zone”. Some slots in the area were assigned for new cemeteries by the Leal Senado, the governing body of Macau, and later for further urban constructions.

Besides the Muslims and the Protestants, there was another group which needed accommodation for burials beyond the “Catholic city”. Thus, also the once influential minority group of Parsees, mostly merchants, who believed in Zoroastrism, was allowed a separate cemetery which was opened in the 1820s, very likely encouraged by the precedence of Morrison.³⁴ It was first used for a funeral in 1829 and has this date on its half-demolished gate, is no longer in use today, and is a classified heritage site in Macau.³⁵ As it seems, in the late 19th century most Parsees moved to Hong Kong where there is another Parsee cemetery, and thus the Macau one fell into disuse.³⁶

This curiously leaves only the Catholics, i.e. the Christian majority among the foreigners, without their proper “own” cemetery today. Since the governing body in Macau, the Leal Senado, had decided to close the smaller Catholic churchyards inside the city proper, in view of local problems above all with the overcrowded burial space in the ruins of São Paulo’s – Macau’s icon to this day which had been destroyed by fire in 1835 – and following new legislation in Portugal, it set up a big new cemetery further away, i.e. the Cemitério São Miguel Arcanjo in 1854 [ill. 5], by this de facto claiming authority over this part of the “buffer zone”. This decision, however, also meant that the ownership of this big new cemetery was not any longer in the hands of the Catholic Church but of the municipality, and thus it could not be any longer exclusive for Catholics.³⁷ Thus, although the name São Miguel Arcanjo sounds Catholic and although there is a chapel,³⁸ the diocese and the religious orders only have their specific burial areas, but the property is municipal as is the management since 1874 (after some quarrels

³⁴ According to the website of iranica online, the Parsee one was established in 1822, i.e. one year after Mary Morrison’s death. (<http://iranicaonline.org/articles/parsi-communities-ii-in-calcutta>).

³⁵ See <https://archive.is/20160709100413/http://www.macauheritage.net/cn/HeritageInfo/PointContent.aspx?t=O&hID=76>). See also the general description in Liang and Xiao: *Aomen fenchang* 2011: pp. 59-63.

³⁶ For some photos and plans of this publicly inaccessible site, see Chen Zecheng 陳澤成: “Aomen baitou fenchang de baohu” 澳門白頭墳場的保護 (Protection of the Parsee Cemetery of Macau) in: *Wenhua Zazhi* 文化雜誌 (“Review of Culture”), summer 2003, pp. 139-146. See also the short description in Teixeira: *A voz...* 1980: pp. 220-222.

³⁷ In fact, Benjamin Videira Pires, a Jesuit who wrote much about Macau’s culture, religion and history, complained about this. See his series of articles on Macau cemeteries in his journal *Religião e pátria* (incomplete copy in the Arquivo de Macau on microfilm: PPR 028a), for the catholic ones: in 1961: “Cemitérios católicos”, part 5 (pp. 229-233). He also states there was a special “Chinese Catholic cemetery” (ibid. p. 230: no place given) which would speak for an introduction of “race” distinctions à la Hong Kong (see below) which only later was opened for all sorts of Chinese, i.e. also non-Christians. The Chinese Catholics were then moved to São Lázaro (re-introducing the basic distinction “Catholic or not”), and another “Catholic cemetery” was opened on Taipa island (which commonly was used by Chinese). Such “Catholic-exclusive” cemeteries, in any case, do not exist any longer today.

³⁸ According to Monsignor Teixeira, the cemetery was opened as a public one but was nevertheless consecrated by the Bishop and also walled by the diocese (Teixeira: *A voz...* 1980: p. 181). The chapel was built later in 1871. *Dá Mesquita (Mian huai zhi yuan...* 2008: p. 96) points out that only parts of the cemetery were consecrated to leave space for the Non-Catholics.

between the Church and the Leal Senado).³⁹ Finally in 1912, following the momentous changes in Portugal from monarchy to Republic with a new style of legislation, the cemetery was declared “secularised”. The Church insisted on the further exclusive use of the chapel and offered to consecrate graves individually to make sure the Catholics were properly buried.

Today’s S. Miguel cemetery is an impressive mix of all sorts of creeds and tomb fashions [ill. 6] and covers also all sorts of nationalities.⁴⁰ Thus, one may look at the tombs of former Catholic bishops of Macau while hearing a Daoist celebrate a funeral some rows ahead. It also is no longer a “Western cemetery” (as the São Miguel Arcanjo and the new Mong Ha cemetery Nossa Senhora da Piedade are usually called in Chinese) (*xiyang fenchang* 西洋墳場), while the (above all non-Christian) Chinese had been assigned their cemeteries on the islands off the peninsula.⁴¹ However, there were other distinctions, namely 4 classes of burials, depending on the invested sum, with the fourth for the paupers,⁴² and some areas were sold as permanent graves whereas others were for temporary use only. The municipality ran the place which wanted to provide service to all, but also to shore up the government’s revenue. Thus, the cemeteries were an important factor in the government’s finances. A critical situation arose when the Portuguese and the Chinese governments set up a formal treaty in 1887 which acknowledged Macau as a Portuguese colony, however, the interpretation of the treaty differed as to what “Macau” exactly meant: the Chinese understood the granted territory basically as the former walled city which meant the “buffer zone” areas would not be covered. This, in turn, endangered the cemeteries which had been, as mentioned, moved beyond the former city walls in the mid 19th century.⁴³ The dispute was only solved when the Chinese accepted to pragmatically leave the cemeteries and further extant Portuguese buildings unmolested in place without further talk about property rights.⁴⁴

³⁹ For more details with a pro-Macau government stance, see *Dá Mesquita: Mian huai zhi yuan...* 2008: pp. 92-96. Background to this was the referred-to new legislation in Portugal which established municipal responsibilities for cemeteries.

⁴⁰ For some Portuguese and French tombstone inscriptions and their background, see Teixeira: *A voz...* 1980: pp. 181-219.

⁴¹ Unsurprisingly, the oldest extant Chinese graves in the S. Miguel cemetery are of Catholic Chinese who up to 1873 were buried in S. Lázaro and after that in S. Miguel. For more information on the extant cemeteries on the islands of Taipa and Coloane, see the last chapter of the already named overview of Liang and Xiao: *Aomen fenchang* 2011.

⁴² Archival record of burials is kept in Arquivo de Macau: MO/AM/DA/06/03/001, starting in 1881. The entries covered name, age, family status, burial time and class of burial. Later, profession was added and which doctor testified to which cause of death. The record also shows that some families had their hereditary plots. And it shows that there were even Chinese from mainland China (usually Catholics) buried there. (MO/AM/DA/06/03/018).

⁴³ The same, understandably, held true also for temporary cemeteries established during acute crises as the cholera epidemic or the bubonic plague.

⁴⁴ See *Dá Mesquita: Mian huai zhi yuan...* 2008: p. 98.

Since Macau's return to mainland Chinese rule in 1999, there is of course even less reason to keep up any division in cemeteries according to "race" – apart from the fact that the overwhelming majority of inhabitants of Macau has always been Chinese anyway, and non-Christian for that.⁴⁵ Thus, the "old Western cemetery" (in Chinese popular parlance) São Miguel Arcanjo has become a multi-cultural and multi-religious cemetery in use for the citizens of Macau as is the "new Western cemetery" (in Chinese popular parlance) in Mong Ha (in Portuguese again with a Catholic sounding name: Nossa Senhora da Piedade, as mentioned), and this also means that only some old (permanent) tombs are preserved, whereas the more common practice would be to pay for a rental slot for some years – a practice that was also actively encouraged by very high prizes for "permanent" burials when it was realized that space would run out otherwise. São Miguel Arcanjo, however, hosts several important historical figures whose graves are still extant. The most prominent foreign figures of Macau's history, namely the Portuguese governors themselves, were not buried in Macau but transferred back home to Portugal – the same as we will see in Hong Kong for the British elites (see below).⁴⁶ This, however, also means that only few foreign graves that could rouse Chinese ill-feelings remained. The most outstanding controversial figure, one-armed (because of battle invalidity) Governor Ferreira do Amaral who clashed with the Chinese several times and was killed (see above), was sent back to Portugal when his head and other arm cut off during the incident and triumphantly displayed in Canton had been returned by the Chinese. However, one remaining "problematic" figure from a Chinese point of view is the Macanese Colonel Vicente Nicolau de Mesquita since he fought against the Chinese in 1849 to avenge Ferreira do Amaral's death – and to secure Portuguese authority over the "buffer zone". For this "service to Macau" he was posthumously honoured as a "hero" and reinterred in 1910 in the cemetery with full military and ecclesiastical honours. (Background to the need to do this was that he had at first been denied a burial in consecrated ground because he had killed his wife, a daughter and himself in 1880 – a sin preventing a proper Catholic burial. However, his deed was rumoured as caused by a fit of psychic crisis partly triggered by his feeling not adequately rewarded for his services because he was no "pure" Portuguese but "only" a Macanese, and thus he was finally "rehabilitated").⁴⁷ His extant tomb memorial is also noteworthy in so far as the large public statues of both, the Portuguese Amaral and the Macanese Mesquita, are no longer in Macau: these statues were set up in 1940 to celebrate the 800th anniversary of the foundation of Portugal, but the one of Amaral had to be removed before the hand-over of Macau to the PRC as the Chinese made clear they could not tolerate such an "anti-Chinese" statue.⁴⁸ Thus it was transferred to Lisbon, and the place in Macau is now dominated by the Bank of China. The statue of Mesquita had already been destroyed earlier during the critical time of 1966 when the Cultural

⁴⁵ For the present-day situation of cemeteries in Macau, see the website of the municipal office: <http://www.iacm.gov.mo/e/grave/scope>.

⁴⁶ See *Dá Mesquita: Mian huai zhi yuan...* (2008: p. 107).

⁴⁷ Cf. the somewhat elusive treatment in *Dá Mesquita: Mian huai zhi yuan...* 2008, pp. 103-104. Henry d'Assumpção: "Amaral and Mesquita", <http://www.macaneseibrary.org/PublicE-o/uiamaral.htm>, provides some more details on the assumed concrete circumstances of his murder and suicide. See also Ride and Ride: *The Voices of Macao Stones* 1999, pp. 49-54.

⁴⁸ See Grant Evans and Maria Tam (eds.): *Hong Kong: The Anthropology of a Chinese Metropolis*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press 1997, p. 115. For a brief presentation of the inscriptions on the statue's basement and of Amaral's role in Macau, see Teixeira: *A voz...* 1980: pp. 10-11.

Revolution in the neighbouring PRC spurred also riots in Macau.⁴⁹ Thus, Mesquita's tomb memorial in the S. Miguel cemetery is the lonely testimony of all this history now still in place [ill. 7].

In short, the two Protestant cemeteries are basically now historical cemeteries in no longer use as is the (publically inaccessible) Parsee one, preserving the tombs already there, whereas the others, including the Muslim one, are still in use and therefore in part changing. In terms of "heritage management", Macau has at least classified the Parsee cemetery, but only the "old Protestant" cemetery is listed as part of the UNESCO world heritage of the Historic Centre of Macau which focuses on city parts *inside* of the former city walls. As mentioned, due to the new policies since the mid 19th century, the cemeteries were moved out of town but for the closed "old Protestant" one. Thus, location seems to be part of the explanation for the special treatment of this particular cemetery. It, however, also suggests it is difficult to assign a cemetery still in use as a "heritage site" the conservation logic of which goes counter to any possible changes unavoidable if still in use.⁵⁰

Hong Kong

Whereas the Portuguese had largely let things develop, the British in Hong Kong (Xianggang 香港) had a very clear regime of how to organize the dead. First of all, the British themselves were very keen on separations: along faiths and along "race". Thus, there are a fairly great number of cemeteries on Hong Kong Island, the area handed by the Qing to Britain "in eternity" in 1842 (but occupied by them already in 1841). Thus, Hong Kong Island became also the main "resting place" for the dead: an early graveyard option was in Wanchai (Wanzi 灣仔) with one burial ground for the Protestant Britons in 1841 and in 1842 one adjacent for the Roman Catholics (e.g. the Irish which made up a sizeable portion of the common soldiers).⁵¹ Due to the extremely high mortality rate, mainly because of diseases (malaria, dysentery, cholera etc.), very quickly the Wanchai burial grounds were overcrowded and the area was soon also needed for other constructions, and thus "Happy Valley"⁵² was chosen for establishing

⁴⁹ See Ride and Ride: *The Voices of Macao Stones* 1999, pp. 53-54. See for photos of both statues: Henry d'Assumpção: "Amaral and Mesquita", <http://www.macaneseLibrary.org/PublicE-o/uiamaral.htm>.

⁵⁰ Due again to location, however, the S. Miguel cemetery is now covered at least by a "potential protected belt" nomination of the area and as such is appointed a "historic site". See Liang and Xiao: *Aomen fenchang* 2011: p. 26.

⁵¹ Already in 1843 a further Catholic burial ground had to be requested in West Point. (See *Migao yu elong: shijiu shiji tianzhujiao fenchang yu Xianggang* 米高與惡龍。十九世紀天主教墳場與香港 (Michael and the evil dragon: the 19th century Catholic cemetery and Hong Kong), Hong Kong: Centre for Catholic Studies at the Chinese University of Hong Kong 2008, [p. 3]. Available online: http://catholic3.crs.cuhk.edu.hk/ch/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2016/04/Michael_Dragon_1296551526.pdf.) Catholic Portuguese and Macanese from Macau also started to move over to Hong Kong for business, soon in increasing numbers.

⁵² "Happy Valley" was – according to Scottish heritage practitioner and scholar Ken Nicolson – a name for cemeteries in Victorian Britain. (See Nicolson, Ken: *The Happy Valley. A History and Tour of the Hong Kong Cemetery*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press 2010, p. 2). The present-day Chinese name is *paomadi* 跑馬地 (horse race court) as the race court (first reference appears in 1846) is just aside the cemeteries. Patricia Lim however mentions that the name "Happy Valley" can be found already before the official opening of the

permanent cemeteries.⁵³ Here alone, roughly from South to North, there is a Jewish (opened 1855, financed by rich Baghdadi Jew David Sassoon),⁵⁴ a Parsee (granted 1852),⁵⁵ a (basically) Protestant (see below) (since 1845), a Catholic (St. Michael's, since 1848, see below),⁵⁶ a Muslim (granted 1870)⁵⁷ and a small Hindu/Sikh one (since the 1880s). As for the Jewish cemetery [ill. 8], most early burials were single men since at the time the men often did not bring along their families and conceived of their stay in Hong Kong as temporary. After the Sephardim, later also Ashkenazim (often from Russia, fleeing the Communist Revolutions first in Russia and then in China) came to Hong Kong. The cemetery is laid out on several levels, the Sephardim mostly being at the first level. After 1949 a variety of Jews came to Hong Kong for business, making for further tombstone inscriptions in Dutch, French, German and English. As for the Parsee cemetery, Macau Parsees (see above) mostly were buried in this new cemetery as many moved to the fledgling British colony, and the Macau Parsee cemetery finally fell into disuse. Hong Kong became the centre of Parsee activities, and to this day, the Hong Kong Parsee cemetery is the only one still in use in the area and well kept [ill. 9].⁵⁸

The "Chinese Christians" (meaning the Protestant ones) later had their own cemeteries, e.g. in Pok Fu Lam (since 1882: the *Huaren jidujiao fenchang* 華人基督教墳場) [ill. 10].⁵⁹ And the "Eurasians",

cemeteries there. (Patricia Lim: *Forgotten Souls: A Social History of the Hong Kong Cemetery*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press 2011, p. 5). Nicolson concludes that thus there was probably an ad-hoc military graveyard in "Happy Valley" where early British barracks were located, then the Protestant and Catholic Wanchai burial grounds, and finally the permanent Colonial Cemetery (and those of the Catholics etc. following) again in "Happy Valley" (p. 65).

⁵³ For an overview drawn from the available information on the early years of the colony, see Ko Tim-Keung: "A Review of Development of Cemeteries in Hong Kong: 1841-1950". In: *Journal of the Hong Kong Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. 41, 2001: pp. 241-280. A Chinese version of the same article (Gao Tianqiang 高添強: "Xianggang fenchang fazhan shilue: 1841-1950" 香港墳場發展史略。1841-1950) with some photographs appeared in: Liang Meiyi 梁美儀 and Zhang Canhui 張燦輝 (eds.): *Ningshi siwang: Si yu renjiande duoyuan xingsi* 凝視死亡：死與人間的多元省思 (Gazing at death: death and human manifold reflections), Xianggang: Zhongwen daxue chubanshe 2005, pp. 209-247. Besides the "permanent" cemeteries, in times of crisis, also temporary solutions were developed, e.g. with the ad-hoc graveyards for victims of plagues that swept the area several times.

⁵⁴ See leaflet: "The Hong Kong Jewish Cemetery" by the Jewish Historical Society of Hong Kong, Hong Kong 2014.

⁵⁵ Ko Tim-Keung: "A review..." 2001: p. 246. See also the on-spot entrance plaque. (This publicly inaccessible cemetery contains one Commonwealth War Graves Commission tomb.)

⁵⁶ See the leaflet: *Paomadi tianzhujiao Sheng Mi'eer fenchang* 跑馬地天主教聖彌額爾墳場 (The Catholic Happy Valley Cemetery St. Michael's) by the Centre for Catholic Studies at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong 2008. A more ample version is online, cited above: *Migao yu elong* 2008.

⁵⁷ According to Ko Tim-keung, there was a predecessor about which not much is known. Ko: "A review..." 2001, p. 246.

⁵⁸ For a historical contextualisation of Parsee trading activities in the Pearl River Delta, see Guo Deyan 郭德炎: *Qingdai Guangzhou de Basi shangren* 清代廣州的巴斯商人 ("Parsee Merchants in Canton During the Qing Period"), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 2005. The book briefly addresses also the preserved Parsee cemeteries in Macao and Hong Kong in relation to the remains of the one in Guangzhou.

⁵⁹ According to Ko, there was a second one granted at the same time. See Ko: "A review..." 2001, p. 248. For the various Protestant cemeteries in Hong Kong in general, see Xing Fuzeng 邢福增: *Cishi yu tashi zhi jian: Xianggang jidujiao fenchang de lishi yu wenhua* 此世與他世之間：香港基督教墳場的歷史與文化 (Between this world and

meaning people of “mixed” ancestry, usually a Western father and a Chinese mother, finally got their own one on Mt. Davis as well (in the 1890s: the “Chiu Yuen Cemetery” [Zhaoyuan fenchang] 昭遠墳場) [ill. 11,12], as they neither qualified as “foreigners” nor as “Chinese” and were looked down upon by both.⁶⁰ The Chiu Yuen Cemetery slot was requested by the most famous of all Eurasians in Hong Kong, Sir Robert Ho Tung 何東, who had buried his (Chinese) mother there and requested the site for further family members and other Eurasians.⁶¹ His half-brother Ho Kom-tong 何甘棠 (with a Chinese father and thus no “Eurasian”) set up his family grave adjacent to it on an extension slot [ill. 13], since the Chiu Yuen Cemetery (not open to the public) was basically designed for Eurasians in general and hosts various Eurasian families who mostly married amongst each other.⁶²

The British were keen on “racial” distinction also in death, most tangibly in their regulations for the “main” cemetery in “Happy Valley”, the Protestant/Colonial one today called simply “Hong Kong cemetery”. As late as 1954 an official note cited a “pre-war” “standing instruction” that “no persons of Chinese race are allowed to be buried in the Colonial Cemetery” (and Eurasians also only if with a European surname, Christians, and with a special permission).⁶³ And this in spite of the fact that there

the other world: history and culture of Hong Kong’s Protestant cemeteries). Xianggang: Jidujiao wenyi chubanshe 2012.

⁶⁰ Ko Tim-keung has provided a handy list of cemeteries in an appendix. See Ko: “A review...” 2001, pp. 260-263. Ko gives “early 1890s” as the granting date. According to the on-spot stele of the Eurasian cemetery, it was opened 1897, and there is archival record of 1899 stating the lease of land was granted “2 ½ years ago”. (Public Records Office: HKRS No. 58, D-S No. 1/14 (44)). This is supported by the findings of Eric Peter Ho: *Tracing My Children’s Lineage*. Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong Centre of Asian Studies (Occasional Papers and Monographs) 2010, p. 337. On the cemetery see also http://www.hkums.com/sub_current_activities.php?id=408/?subject=ChiuYuenCemetery%E6%98%AD%E9%81%A0%E5%A2%B3%E5%A0%B4WithDr.JosephTing,AndrewTseandDavidHo.

⁶¹ Eric Peter Ho who has written a detailed account of the extended Ho family provides the striking information that the gravestone Ho Tung set up for his mother, a poor girl from the Shanghai area sold repeatedly to finally become the mistress of his father, the Dutch Jewish businessman Charles Bosman, purported not only that the father was interred there, too (although he was interred in England), but that he had been an official and his wife a lady of rank, and the sons and grandsons given as having built the grave included fictive names of grandsons “hoped for”. (See Eric Peter Ho: *Tracing My Children’s Lineage*, p. 51.) Eric Peter Ho states that the area had been used already for scattered burials and other Eurasians and the Chinese mother of the Hos were buried there, on the basis of which Ho Tung then requested the strip of land for an official Eurasian cemetery to provide burial space also for other family members (ibid. pp. 336-338). This would explain why the earliest Eurasian burials now in the cemetery were of the early 1890s, the Chinese mother of the Ho’s tomb dates from 1896, and the official granting of the Chiu Yuen Cemetery for Eurasians was of 1897.

⁶² Eric Peter Ho who has been on the board of the Chiu Yuen Cemetery for years however stressed (against assertions of Ho Kom-tong’s descendants) that also the slot of Ho Kom-tong’s family is legally within the boundaries of the Chiu Yuen territory. See Eric Peter Ho: *Tracing My Children’s Lineage*, p. 339. The book traces the various intermarriages between the Eurasian families who obviously considered their origins as somehow shameful.

⁶³ See Public Records Office: HKRS no. 41, D-S no. 1-8141. The latter rule is striking in that although the category “Eurasian” was created for “mixed” people, the “European surname” rule suggests if the father was European (the more common case, given the frequent pattern of Western traders and their local so-called “protected women” during their stay in the East), it would be graded differently than if the mother was. However, as the case of famous Sir Robert Ho Tung shows whose father was European, but left the family early on, he did not opt for his father’s surname “Bosman” (though interestingly one of his younger brothers did) but still was buried in the

were already many Chinese buried there (see below). The British government tried to convince also the Catholics of maintaining a separation according to “race”, but it seems that the Catholics were successful in refuting the interference as can be gleaned from an interesting archival record on a later application of the Catholics for extension during the 1920s due to the shortage of space: this the Colonial officials obviously thought to use for urging them again to use the space more “economically” instead by not admitting any more non-Europeans. As one Colonial official put it in an internal note, the Catholics wanted to “bury all of that faith irrespective of race or nation together” simply for “sentimental reasons” and thus should be persuaded to change this for economizing space. If only “Whites and Portuguese” (!) were buried there, the space would be enough for 15 years. Other officials deemed any such attempt to convince the Catholics as “hopeless” (and argued it was already not easy to define “European” – borne out by the above statement on “Whites and Portuguese”). The Catholic Vicar, in fact, bluntly replied in 1927 that “the custom of having Chinese and European R. Catholics buried in the same Cemetery without any discrimination whatever dates back to the very beginning of the Colony and could hardly be done away with”.⁶⁴ In short, the Catholics continued to bury whatever Catholic in their cemetery in Happy Valley, St. Michael’s, i.e. including the Chinese [ill. 14,15].⁶⁵ Thus, whereas there are, as mentioned, extra cemeteries for “Chinese Protestants”, there is no extra one for “Chinese Catholics”.⁶⁶ However, the Catholics were strict about all buried being proven Catholics. Thus, when it was discovered in 1947 that during wartime some “unauthorized” burials had happened, they requested those not Catholic to be exhumed and transferred.⁶⁷ The further extant “faith-specific” cemeteries on Hong Kong Island were set up much later (mostly post WW II), namely on Cape Collinson: “Christian” (i.e. Protestant), Catholic, Buddhist, Muslim.

In terms of “race-specific” cemeteries, in the south of the island the “Chinese permanent cemetery” (*huaren yongyuan fenchang* 華人永遠墳場) [ill. 16,17] for (upper-class) Chinese (usually non-Christians) stands out and hosts some influential figures, e.g. China’s first prime minister Tang Shaoyi 唐紹儀, or “China’s educator” Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培. This cemetery was set up in Aberdeen only in 1913.⁶⁸ There had

Colonial Cemetery. His brothers, however, were buried on Mt. Davis (but for the “Bosman” brother who was buried in South Africa). On the other hand, the post war bureaucracy discussed the case of a burial “by mistake” of a Eurasian with Chinese surname in 1948. (Public Records Office: HKRS no. 41, D-S no. 1-8141).

⁶⁴ Public Records Office: HKRS No. 58, D-S No. 1/42 (16).

⁶⁵ See *Migao yu elong* 2008: [21] for an example of the extant 32 pre-20th-century Chinese tombs. Thus, there were Portuguese (the largest group), Irish, Italians, French etc. and Chinese. This mix was reflecting the similar approach in life as seen from the intermingling of “races” in Catholic church services vis-à-vis the “graded” seating in the Anglican ones. (Lim: *Forgotten Souls...* 2011: 85-86).

⁶⁶ The Colonial bureaucracy nevertheless repeatedly attempted this, e.g. when further cemeteries in Kowloon were to be opened to not only grant a requested slot for “Roman Catholics”, but terming it “European Roman Catholics”, prompting the Catholics to ask back where then the Chinese should be put. (Public Records Office: HKRS No. 58, D-S No. 1/104 (56)).

⁶⁷ See the respective application of 1947, concerning the Catholic cemetery on the Kowloon peninsula opposite Hong Kong Island. (Public Records Office: HKRS No. 58, D-S No. 1/104 (56)).

⁶⁸ See the booklet *Gaoshan jingxing. Xianggangzai Huaren yongyuan fenchang de jianli yu xiangguan renwu* 高山景行 – 香港仔華人永遠墳場的建立與相關人物 (Hill Scenery: the establishment of the Chinese permanent cemetery in Aberdeen and the people connected to it) of the board of management running the cemetery to this

been earlier burial areas for “normal” Chinese – mostly single men who flooded into Hong Kong since the 1850s either to flee from the upheavals in mainland China, to earn a living in the fledgling colony, or with the intention to leave from there to overseas.⁶⁹ When they happened to die in the colony, they often had no one to look after them, prompting the establishment of the Tung Wah (donghua 東華) Hospital and Coffin Home set up by wealthier Chinese,⁷⁰ and some burial areas assigned by the Colonial Government. But these earlier Chinese burial areas were not run by Chinese and thus were closed or relocated at the whims of the Colonial government, a situation the upper-class Chinese who now lived with their families in Hong Kong and identified themselves with the place did not want for themselves. Thus the new “permanent” cemetery was set up and run by them. This nicely shows that the Chinese elite also started out with the endeavour by taking over the British approach to distinguish between the dead (as between the living), here according to “class”.⁷¹ By that time it was finally recognized that not all Chinese would only temporarily live in Hong Kong (as was common in the early days of the colony) and would transfer their dead “back to home” where the family would tend to the tombs. Thus they needed a “permanent space” in Hong Kong. And one needs to add that the whole idea of “cemeteries” was a Western one, as the traditional Chinese mode of burial was to have single graves which in fact also had dotted the landscape of Hong Kong until the British reclaimed the land for other usage. Whereas for the “Christian Chinese” the issue was to be buried in consecrated soil (which presupposed a marked “graveyard”), for the non-Christian Chinese, the setting up of a “Chinese permanent Cemetery” was a novel idea. In tendency, these Chinese cemeteries also chose some grouping criteria, usually according to the place where people came from.

To complete the picture of cemeteries on Hong Kong Island, in Stanley as well as at Cape Collinson the Commonwealth War Grave Commission maintains two military cemeteries to this day, mostly connected to WW II and Hong Kong’s short fight to resist Japanese invasion in 1941. In Stanley [ill. 18], it also includes some graves of the very early years of the colony, when troops and their families were

day which can be accessed also online: http://www.bmcpc.org.hk/filemanager/common/doc/resource_center/hill_scenery/hill_scenery_accessible.pdf. An English translation was published as Ko Tim Keung, transl. by Ashley Cheng Shui Wah: *Lofty and Laudable. The Founding and Relevant Figures of Aberdeen Chinese Permanent Cemetery*. Hong Kong: The Board of Management of the Chinese Permanent Cemeteries 2012. (It is not available on the general book market but accessible, e.g., in the Public Records Office.)

⁶⁹ Ko: “A review...” 2001, pp. 248-254. These upheavals included most notably the Taiping Rebellion. See also Ko: *Lofty and Laudable...* 2012: 19.

⁷⁰ For this important institution, see Elizabeth Sinn: *Power and Charity: The Early History of the Tung Wah Hospital, Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Oxford University Press 1989.

⁷¹ One may note that only a part of those promoting this cemetery were themselves choosing it for their own burial. (See Ko: *Lofty and Laudable...* 2012, chapter 4 for the individual cases). E.g., Sir Kai Ho Kai (He Qi 何啓) who was Christian and Chinese (first married to a British wife, then an American Chinese one) opted for being buried with his first wife in the Protestant/Colonial Cemetery, not for the “Christian Chinese” or the “permanent Chinese” one, suggesting there was still an aura of superiority attached to the Colonial Cemetery (and it demonstrates the possibility to get into the Colonial cemetery also for some Chinese). At present, the Board of Management of the “Chinese permanent cemetery” runs three further cemeteries for Chinese in Hong Kong. (Ko: *Lofty and Laudable...* pp. 64-65).

stationed there, before the cemetery was closed to be reopened during WW II;⁷² and also graves of civilians who had been interned together with the POWs by the Japanese during WW II and either died in this camp or were outright executed by the Japanese.⁷³ Here, as the military (and the police) covered different “races”, also “non-Whites” (namely Indians and Pakistani) are buried – which also means non-Christians in terms of religion, and since some non-Commonwealth people (e.g. French) joined the British and Canadians in their fight against the Japanese during the attack on Hong Kong, their graves are cared for by the Commission as well.⁷⁴ Chinese were usually not buried here, but for some Hongkongers who helped during the Japanese attack, but there are now at least some generic memorial walls in Stanley which include names of Chinese to honour their contribution to British war efforts [ill. 19].⁷⁵ The main cemetery to commemorate the defence of Hong Kong is the one on Cape Collinson (Sai Wan War Cemetery) [ill. 20] with 1.578 graves, including Indians and Hongkongers, and commemorating also 144 Hindus and Sikhs whose remains had been cremated, as well as 72 Commonwealth servicemen who died in China during either world war and whose graves could not be preserved.⁷⁶ This probably was due to the fact that China in general did not want to keep foreigners' graves, and thus the British colony of Hong Kong was the place to move foreigners to, if they could not be shipped home. The cemetery hosts also graves moved here from Taiwan (as the Japanese had moved some WW II POWs to camps in their then colony Taiwan).⁷⁷ This suggests also Taiwan under the following Kuomintang rule did not want to keep those graves. And the War Graves Commission also cares for single tombs in the other Hong Kong cemeteries when it is established that they are British/Commonwealth military casualties, including some Hindus and Sikhs in their named cemetery in Happy Valley who had fought in WW I.⁷⁸ Typically, the War Graves Commission graves are more “egalitarian”,⁷⁹ only pointing out the regiment,⁸⁰

⁷² Solomon Bard was commissioned to start an investigation into the Stanley military monuments not connected to the World Wars (as those have been recorded by the War Graves Commission). Bard would then also do the same for the Hong Kong Cemetery, all in the run-up to the end of British rule over Hong Kong.

⁷³ According to the explanatory plaque's count, the cemetery which had been in use for military burials in the early days of the colony and then closed, was reopened after the Japanese attack on Hong Kong during WW II and now contains 691 graves, including 140 civilians. There are also a few female nurses who worked for the army.

⁷⁴ This includes notably some French. See Raphael Blet: “The Story Behind French Citizens Who Fought for Hong Kong”. In: *EJ Insight*, 8 November 2017: <http://www.ejinsight.com/20171108-the-story-behind-french-citizens-who-fought-for-hong-kong/>.

⁷⁵ It seems that the War Grave Commission realized over time it was weird to not commemorate the Chinese in Britain's “Chinese” colony; thus an explanatory plaque inside of the cemetery details where graves or memorials for the Chinese who helped the British above all during the two world wars can be found elsewhere, and set up the memorial walls. It is also pointed out that Britain erected a memorial arch at the entrance of the Zoological Garden in Hong Kong to honour Chinese contributions to WW I (which then was additionally inscribed later also for those contributing to WW II).

⁷⁶ See explanatory plaque at the Cemetery's entrance.

⁷⁷ See explanatory table inside the cemetery.

⁷⁸ As mentioned, the Hindus and Sikhs got their own cemetery in the 1880s. For the graves maintained by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission there, see: <https://www.cwgc.org/find/find-war-dead/results/?cemetery=HONG%20KONG%20HINDU%20AND%20SIKH%20CREMATION%20MEMORIAL>. The Hindu/Sikh casualties of WW II are usually integrated into the military cemeteries in Stanley and on Cape Collinson.

⁷⁹ This “trend toward equality” had started with the French Revolution but became widespread only with WW I in the context of which the War Graves Commission was also founded. (See George Mosse: *Fallen Soldiers. Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars*. Oxford: Oxford University Press 1990, p. 38 and p. 82).

but not distinguishing in tombstone outlook between ranks as all have equally died for the crown. Only the name and inscriptions on the otherwise similar headstones sometimes reveal the dead had been Jewish, Muslim or else [ill. 21].

A further, somewhat special, case is the prison cemetery in Stanley. Archival record for the latter shows that there was even a discussion about whether dead prisoners (basically of whatever "race") should be handed over for "normal" burial to their families, or whether they should remain in a closed "prison cemetery", especially in the cases of death due to death penalty.⁸¹ And again in Stanley, in 1948 a small private cemetery inside of the monastery of the Carmelites was granted as an exception since the nuns never went outside during life and thus pleaded for the space inside. But in general, the Colonial government tried to block private requests for burial space. Background to all discussions about burial spaces is the scarcity of land on Hong Kong Island, and the British hesitated to venture into the Kowloon (Jiulong 九龍) peninsula to the north of Hong Kong Island (the southern part of which was acquired in 1860) or later the "New Territories" (acquired on lease in 1898 to extend the colony's territory even further) for their burials as Hong Kong Island was the place handed to Britain in perpetuity from the start and thus seemingly "safe" in the long run. Thus, cemeteries in Kowloon and the New Territories were opened only later and they were primarily used by Chinese.⁸²

The most famous of all Hong Kong cemeteries is the "Protestant" or "Colonial Cemetery" in Happy Valley (renamed in the 1970s simply "Hong Kong Cemetery")⁸³ (in Chinese tellingly first named *hongmao fen* 紅毛墳 – tombs of the red haired, then *paomadi fenchang* 跑馬地墳場 – race court cemetery) [ill. 22].⁸⁴ Today, this cemetery covers over 7000 tombs, besides the English – according to Patricia Lim's

⁸⁰ Unsurprisingly, given the location of Hong Kong, the navy is making up a sizable portion of the military casualties remembered here.

⁸¹ A 1956 map kept in the Public Records Office shows that the prison cemetery was divided into "normal" and "executed". (Drawing-No. A/4776). Discussions between Colonial officials show there was some anxiety over graves as to avoid creating "martyrs".

⁸² According to Ko: "A review..." 2001: p. 248, the first designated Chinese burial ground was set up in Kowloon in 1871. A "European Protestant" one in Kowloon appears only in the 1930s. (Ibid. p. 256).

⁸³ There was obviously first no "official" English name, but it was referred to mostly as "Protestant" and since 1889 mostly as "Colonial". Occasionally, "English cemetery", "public cemetery" or "government cemetery" can also be found intending the same place. (Cf. Liang Meiyi 梁美儀: "Xianggang fenchang: Chengshi kongjian de 'yiyu'" 香港墳場。城市空間的'異域' (The Hong Kong Cemetery: 'Heterotopia' in urban space) in: Liang Meiyi 梁美儀 and Zhang Canhui 張燦輝 (eds.): *Ningshi siwang: Si yu renjiande duoyuan xingsi* 凝視死亡：死與人間的多元省思 (Gazing at death: death and human manifold reflections), Xianggang: Zhongwen daxue chubanshe 2005, pp. 249-276, there p. 261.)

⁸⁴ See Ko: "A review..." 2001, p. 266, note 20. For studies on this cemetery, see Joseph S. P. Ting (former head of the Hong Kong Museum of History): *A Preliminary Study: Prominent Figures in the Hong Kong Cemetery at Happy Valley*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Institute of Contemporary Culture 2008 (bilingual Chinese-English); landscape designer and architect Ken Nicolson: *The Happy Valley...* 2010; and the monumental work of Patricia Lim: *Forgotten Souls...* 2011. She has also set up a database: http://www.hkmemory.hk/collections/hong_kong_cemetery/about/index.html.

count – 460 Japanese, 246 Scotsmen, 228 Germans, 108 Russians, 107 Americans and many smaller groups (including a few Eurasians), but also 210 Chinese.⁸⁵ The latter, however, were admitted only shortly before the turn of the century, in the beginning seemingly not being allowed even to enter the grounds alive.⁸⁶ Although the cemetery started as a de facto “Protestant” one for mainly British members of the army,⁸⁷ the Anglican Church was only involved in the beginning via the Colonial Chaplain being in charge.⁸⁸ This then shifted to the Sanitary Board at the latter’s establishment, but the cemetery was set up and is still run publicly. Today it is managed by the Food and Environmental Hygiene Department. Consecration by the Anglican Bishop of parts of it only took place in 1910.⁸⁹ As the archival record makes clear, the British aimed at clear separations of the dead from the outset. Some areas were set aside for special groups, though this was officially proclaimed only after the turn of the century. However, pragmatism at times prevailed, and thus some people who in theory were not entitled for burial in the “Colonial/Protestant Cemetery” still were, e.g. arguing they had become Christians, if on their deathbeds, or that “Colonial” (the term increasingly used since the late 19th century for the cemetery) meant that it was for all living in the “Colony” etc.⁹⁰ Thus, as mentioned, de facto there were also not a few Chinese in spite of the “standing instructions” claims to the contrary in 1954 cited above [ill. 23].

As Ken Nicolson has suggested, this cemetery was also seen by many other cemeteries in Hong Kong as a kind of “role model” in terms of “style”,⁹¹ being oriented towards the 19th century “fashion” of landscape gardens. While the first burials had to be done almost immediately after the British had set foot upon Hong Kong Island in early 1841 before a real “cemetery” was opened (and thus several protestant Britons who died in the very first years of British presence in Hong Kong were buried in the “old protestant cemetery” of Macau on the opposite side of the Pearl River delta), after setting up the already named first “Protestant” (and adjacent Catholic) burial ground in Wanchai (of which some tombs were later moved to the permanent Colonial Cemetery, some to Stanley), the “Protestant/Colonial Cemetery” was officially opened in 1845 in “Happy Valley”.⁹² And in fact this

⁸⁵ See Lim’s database: introduction: http://www.hkmemory.hk/collections/hong_kong_cemetery/introduction/index.html. (For the few Eurasians in the Cemetery, see Lim: *Forgotten Souls...* 2011: pp. 515-521). Bard even identified some old Chinese graves from the small village that existed on the spot before the British appropriated the soil. See S[olomon] M. Bard: *Study of Military Graves & Monuments: Hong Kong Cemetery*. Hong Kong 1991 (typo script available in the Public Records Office), p. 3.

⁸⁶ Ko: “A review...” 2001, p. 247.

⁸⁷ The military garrison graves have been studied, as mentioned, by S[olomon] M. Bard. According to Bard (*Study of Military Graves...* 1991), the last military burial in Hong Kong Cemetery was in 1970 (ibid. p. 2). Patricia Lim points out with regard to the military graves that the “normal soldiers” are not coming much to attention since they often just were given a numbered stone because headstones were too expensive.

⁸⁸ As Lim (*Forgotten Souls...* 2011: p. 34) notes, at the time besides the Anglicans there were also further Protestants present, namely the Nonconformist Unionists and the American Baptists.

⁸⁹ Lim: *Forgotten Souls...* 2011: p. 24.

⁹⁰ See the Carl Smith notes in the Public Records Office on the Colonial Cemetery, 1909-1913 (CS/I018/00174139.GIF through CS/I018/001741150.GIF).

⁹¹ Nicolson: *The Happy Valley...* 2010, pp. 5-7.

⁹² Ting: *A preliminary Study...* 2008, p. 10.

cemetery is also the most varied as it covers all sorts of foreigners who simply could not be buried in any of the other “faith-specific” cemeteries: from Free Masons denied to Catholic burial next door, to Japanese.⁹³ Also military staff of which the single tombs are maintained by the Commonwealth War Grave Commission [ill. 24], or other groups like the police are included.⁹⁴ In short, this large cemetery was intended for all who could not be accommodated in the other “specialized” cemeteries. A notable group are the Russian Orthodox dead, often émigré “White Russians” who had fled from Russia after the Revolution of 1917, and later from mainland China, who had no cemetery of their own either [ill. 25].⁹⁵ Most of these people were not famous and living rather simple lives.⁹⁶ Only few of the Russian graves are from before WW II with the majority from the 1950s to the 1970s. The Armenian Christians, in turn, included very notable figures like Sir Paul Chater and further successful businessmen.⁹⁷ In fact, as a public space this cemetery was open also legally since 1909 explicitly to “Nestorians, Armenian Christians, Orthodox Christians as well as Roman Catholics who were Freemasons”.⁹⁸ It also covers several Chinese (mostly Christians, including notable revolutionary figures around Sun Yat-sen,⁹⁹ but also simply very influential Chinese who thus claimed community with the “White” colonialists),¹⁰⁰ and also influential Eurasians like Sir Robert Ho Tung 何東 who had arranged for setting up the Eurasian

⁹³ The Japanese, usually buried in Buddhist fashion (but for some Christians), were subsumed under the category “foreigner” and thus were admitted to the “Colonial Cemetery”. (See Lim: *Forgotten Souls...* 2011: pp. 522-528). Their different burial customs, however, triggered repeated complaints from Westerners and led to the solution to assign them a somewhat remoter space – see below. One other fairly special case is a German grave of the 1930s with a Nazi swastika on.

⁹⁴ The War Graves Commission maintains 83 burials of WW I, 62 of WW II and 1179 non-war graves there. (See <https://www.cwgc.org/find-a-cemetery/49429/HONG%20KONG%20CEMETERY>). Lim (*Forgotten Souls...* 2011) has some sections in her book on groups in the cemetery at different times, including the military and the police.

⁹⁵ Since the establishment of a presence of the Russian Orthodox Church in Hong Kong, the archpriest officiated at their burials.

⁹⁶ Cf. Kira Podznyaeva, wife of the current Russian archpriest in Hong Kong who has started to research into the history of Russians in Hong Kong, personal communication, January 16, 2018. The most prominent figure is former archpriest Uspensky who is buried there with his family. Patricia Lim’s database reveals that some Russians were active in the police force, but of many individuals there is no further information.

⁹⁷ One may note that Sir Chater frequented the Anglican Church and donated money for maintenance of Anglican church buildings. But besides him, also other Armenians were buried in the Colonial Cemetery. It might also be noted that many influential individuals of the Hong Kong economy (Armenian or not) were also Freemasons which was perfectly acceptable to the Anglicans (though not for the Roman Catholics.) The Freemasons were even allowed to have their own burial ceremonies in the Colonial Cemetery. (See Lim: *Forgotten Souls...* 2011: 488).

⁹⁸ Cited after Ting: *A preliminary Study...* 2008: p. 14. It is not clear which group might be intended with “Nestorians” in this proclamation of 1909.

⁹⁹ One famous case is Yeung Ku Wan 楊衢雲 who cooperated with Sun Yat-sen and was assassinated in 1901 on instigation of the Qing court. To protect his remains, he was buried in the Colonial Cemetery but without any inscription on his memorial. Archival record shows that the grave keeper wanted to set up an inscription almost 70 years later when clearance of the grave was threatening, but the Colonial government agreed only to keep the grave but not to add any new inscription. (Public Records Office: HKRS No. 821, D-5 No. 1-1).

¹⁰⁰ Ting: *A preliminary Study...* 2008: pp. 12-13. Ting argues that although most Chinese met the criteria of either being British nationals or Christians, there are exceptions. In 1903 the cemetery was officially divided into different sections, and in 1909 a part of it was set aside for “non-Christians”, though probably intending above all the Japanese.

cemetery for others [ill. 26].¹⁰¹ In fact, in terms of “class”, non-British elites were more likely to be buried here than British elites as many important British colonial personalities were moving back to Britain at retirement and were buried there – similar to the practice of the Portuguese in Macau as mentioned above. Thus, as Patricia Lim has pointed out, the surviving 19th century British tombs are representing mostly the middle-class who could afford the cost of headstones.¹⁰² Although there were official attempts (e.g. in 1903 and again 1909 when setting aside an area for non-Christians, namely the Japanese) to assign specific areas to specific groups, today most groups are de facto spatially mixed in the cemetery,¹⁰³ in part because of relocations of some monuments, e.g. when the Aberdeen tunnel was built in the 1970s and graves had to be cleared. But the Japanese who had started to flow into Hong Kong in more significant numbers in the wake of the Anglo-Japanese alliance of 1902 and who were usually non-Christians, have their own (remote) section [ill. 27], and their tombs are mostly of “normal” Japanese not connected to the military horror most Hong Kong people associate the Japanese war-time domination with, but usually ship crewmen, shop owners, employees of trading firms as well as nurses and – in the largest case with the women – prostitutes.¹⁰⁴ Since the (non-Christian) Japanese used joss

¹⁰¹ As mentioned, Sir Robert Ho Tung managed to set up this Eurasian cemetery on Mt. Davis with his (Chinese) half-brother's huge family soon setting up their family grave next to it. Although Sir Robert (died in 1955) himself is buried in the “Hong Kong Cemetery” with his (equally Eurasian, but late in life baptized) first wife Margaret (died in 1944), himself being baptized only on his deathbed, and thus “joining” the “White” colonialists in death as he had done in life by being the first “non-White” (de facto “half-White”) to reside on the Peak, his second (simultaneous) wife Clara (Eurasian as well who died first of the three in 1938) and further family members are buried on Mt. Davis. According to Eric Peter Ho (*Tracing my Children's Lineage* p. 115), originally there was a space reserved for Margaret and Sir Robert with Clara at Chiu Yuen Cemetery. Thus, the “opportunity” to “get into” the “Hong Kong Cemetery” was probably facilitated by Margaret's subsequent baptism (and maybe the fact that her own Western father was buried there, too).

¹⁰² Lim: *Forgotten Souls...* 2011: p. 13 and p. 135: while the rich moved away, simple soldiers often were buried in paupers' graves. A notable case is one known European prostitute buried in the cemetery. (Lim: *Forgotten Souls...* 2011: p. 438).

¹⁰³ An archival note of 1951 reveals the grouping ideas and the meanwhile necessary “pragmatic” approach. Thus, there was an established grouping for the following categories: 1. General, 2. 7-19 years of residence in Hong Kong, 3. Over 20 years of residence in Hong Kong, 4. Children, 5. Paupers, 6. Civil servants, 7. Police, 8. Military (other ranks), 9. Military (officers), 10. Naval ratings, 11. Naval officers, 12. Clergy, 13. Japanese. But it is suggested that some groups had more need of burials than others and thus space was often pragmatically allotted to where it was available. (Public Records Office: HKSAR No. 156, D-S No. 1- 2469).

¹⁰⁴ For the Japanese graves in the Colonial Cemetery, see Akaiwa Teruji 赤岩昭滋: “Honkon no Nihonjin bochi: sen'in no bohi o chûshin to shite” 香港の日本人墓地. 船員の墓碑を中心として (Japanese graves in Hong Kong: focusing on the tomb steles of ship crewmen). In: Tan Ruqian 譚汝謙 (ed.): *Gang-Ri guanxi zhi huigu yu qianzhan: Xianggang Riben wenhua xiehui ershiwu zhounian jinian teji* 港日關係之回顧與前瞻: 香港日本文化協會二十五週年紀念特集 (“Hong Kong and Japan: growing cultural and economic interactions, 1845-1987: a special volume in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the Japan Society of Hong Kong”), Xianggang: Xianggang Riben wenhua xiehui, 1988, pp. 132-141. Akaiwa notes that the Japanese were mostly civilians (p. 132) in the named professions, and most were buried during the Meiji (1868-1912) years after 1878 (see Akaiwa's statistics). Later mainly small children were buried, whereas the adults were transferred back home. The Japanese in general were cremated, and also Japanese buried in temporary plague cemeteries or the Buddhist Japanese Honganji cemetery were later moved to the “Colonial” one. Cf. also Ting: *A preliminary Study...* 2008: p. 14, who stresses that some Japanese were also buried on Mt. Caroline (according to Ko: “A review...” 2001, p. 275, note 121, they were later transferred to the Colonial Cemetery), and some Christian ones were buried among the Christians in the Hong Kong Cemetery, i.e. not in the special Japanese section.

sticks, they were assigned to a more remote area to not “disturb” the others. These tombs are now cared-for once a year by pupils of the Japanese school in Hong Kong.¹⁰⁵

The Hong Kong Cemetery, as it is called today, seems to be used further only in few cases of family tombs (in Lim’s database the most recent couple of burials are in 2007), whereas the adjacent Catholic St. Michael’s has more recent burials. It also has areas specific to religious congregations which still use them. However, the Catholic diocese does not list this cemetery any longer under “open” for general burial requests but encourages people on Hong Kong Island to use the one at Cape Collinson or the other 3 Catholic cemeteries elsewhere in Hong Kong.¹⁰⁶ And the usual allotment of space is now in general for 10 years only. The 19th century graves, however, which are preserved, number 192, mainly being of clerics from France and Italy,¹⁰⁷ as well as all kinds of lay people, the largest group being Portuguese.¹⁰⁸ Apart from the graves, the chapel in St. Michael’s has a memorial plaque to a Hong Kong-born soldier who died in WW I in Belgium, and one of an Alger-born French (probably) who died in Canton in 1983. The latter suggests the PRC did not keep the foreigner’s body but rather had him transferred to close-by Hong Kong.

In spite of the many famous dead in the Hong Kong/Colonial/Protestant Cemetery, and partly in the Catholic one next door,¹⁰⁹ and the historically and artistically rich heritage, neither was assigned “heritage status” as such. In an extensive round of heritage assessments during 2009 and 2010, only the chapels in both were taken up as historically valuable: the funeral chapel of the Colonial Cemetery being considered the oldest Colonial building still extant in Hong Kong is now a “grade 1 historic building” (which is “one step below ‘monument’”),¹¹⁰ the chapel and the gateway of St. Michael’s are “grade 2 historic buildings”. The Parsee cemetery’s pavilion and its gardener’s house equally achieved “grade 2”, as does the Hindu temple. The Jewish Cemetery’s chapel is assigned “grade 3”. As a whole cemetery, only the Stanley Military Cemetery was taken up (grade 3), and the Cape Collinson’s Muslim cemetery mosque achieved “grade 3”, too. The Sai Wan War Cemetery at Cape Collinson as well as the Cape Collinson Muslim Cemetery itself and the Muslim Cemetery in Happy Valley were assessed as “nil grade”.¹¹¹ This shows that basically only the architecture is considered, and in the case of the Stanley

¹⁰⁵ Nicolson: *The Happy Valley...* 2010: 45.

¹⁰⁶ See “Catholic Diocese of Hong Kong: Information on the Allocation of Niches at Catholic Cemeteries”. http://vgoffice.catholic.org.hk/cemetery/niche_eng.aspx.

¹⁰⁷ This is connected to the assignments of specific religious orders to specific responsibilities in Hong Kong.

¹⁰⁸ *Migao yu elong* (2008: pp. 10-21) provides examples of single “groups”.

¹⁰⁹ The leaflet *Paomadi tianzhujiao Sheng Mi’er fenchang* picks up some historically famous ones, notably not including the more recent tomb of popular film star Linda Lin Dai 林黛 (1934-1964) which is the usual reference in present-day guidebooks of Hong Kong mentioning the cemetery. (As she died by suicide – prohibiting Catholic burial according to traditional church law – her burial is also testament to the more recent changes in regulations in this regard after the Second Vatican Council.)

¹¹⁰ Nicolson: *The Happy Valley...* 2010: p. 30.

¹¹¹ See the “List of 1,444 Historic Buildings with Assessments Results (as of 13 October 2017)”: no. 117, 217, 270, 305, 415, 576, 641, 981, 1047, 1189, 1194, 1220. <http://www.aab.gov.hk/form/AAB-SM-chi.pdf>.

Military Cemetery – the only cemetery considered worth a grade as such, its connection to the resistance to Japanese invasion which also makes for the place being frequented by school classes, suggests its special “heritage value” for present-day Hongkongers also after the hand-over. It might be also pointed out that this cemetery honours many volunteers, not just regular troops, thus reaching beyond the (British) professional “military”. As George Mosse has shown, remembrance of volunteers generates a particular emotional value of war cemeteries.¹¹² And the cemetery represents also the victims of Japanese brutal internment practices in the adjacent concentration camp.

The “Hong Kong cemetery”, in turn, hosts the graves or memorials of many who had fought in the Opium Wars on the British side.¹¹³ In this sense, their “heritage” is rather problematic in Chinese eyes. E.g. the earliest graves (which predated the official opening of the Colonial Cemetery and were relocated there later) were of Lieutenant Fox and Commander Brodie who died in 1841 in the context of the attack on Canton during the First Opium War only weeks after the British had occupied Hong Kong Island.¹¹⁴ And another memorial is dedicated to three officers of the HMS Cornwallis, i.e. the British flagship on which the treaty of Nanking which spelled the official cession of Hong Kong to Britain, had been signed in 1842. This treaty is usually considered in China as the “first unequal treaty” and as the beginning of the Chinese “century of humiliation”.¹¹⁵ The most eye-catching monuments, however, are connected to the Second Opium War [ill. 28].¹¹⁶ In fact, due to the strong military presence of the British in Hong Kong, most of the early burials are connected to the military,¹¹⁷ and only in time civilian graves (often connected to business and trade) grew in numbers. Other memorials or tombs are of rather dubious figures, like the one of free mason Daniel Caldwell, a Eurasian, who was said to have cooperated with pirates in the area.¹¹⁸ Still other figures belonged to the missionary societies, some active in China before missions were legalized after the Second Opium War, e.g. the controversial German-born Karl Gützlaff whose zeal for evangelization led him to collaborate with opium traders, which made him many enemies also in Europe. Thus, seen from a present-day (post-hand-over) Chinese perspective, these dead are a rather challenging “heritage” for Hongkongers, de facto being rather a “heritage” of the colonizers.

¹¹² Mosse: *Fallen Soldiers...* 1990: chapter 2.

¹¹³ This included British officers of the Indian regiments who were a strong force in these battles. As noted above, some British casualties of the Opium Wars were also buried in Macau, namely in the “old Protestant cemetery”.

¹¹⁴ It might be noted that the higher ranking Captain Sir Humphrey Le Fleming Senhouse who died during the same time in Hong Kong was still transferred according to his last wish to Macau’s “old Protestant cemetery” for burial (see above).

¹¹⁵ There is now a whole range of studies on “national humiliation” discourse. For China, see e.g. the work of William Callahan: *China: The Pessoptimist Nation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2010.

¹¹⁶ See for details, Ting: *A preliminary Study...* 2008: pp. 27-29.

¹¹⁷ Nicolson: *The Happy Valley...* 2010: p. 27.

¹¹⁸ See Ting: *A preliminary Study...* 2008: p. 39.

Taiwan

In Taiwan 臺灣, the last of our three cases, the issue of burial of foreigners largely started with the consular presence after the treaties of 1860, the final outcome of the Opium Wars of the 1850s. From the earliest time of temporary Western presence in Taiwan, i.e. of the 17th century, no graves seem to have survived.¹¹⁹ In the 19th century, the British were the main foreign presence as their consuls and British trading companies dominated in the area, and the British consuls (since 1861 established on the island) often also were asked to represent other nationalities which did not bother to open a consulate of their own in Taiwan. Basically, the British ran one consulate for the South, at times located in Anping 安平 (which was later integrated into the city of Tainan 臺南), at times in Takao/Dagou 打狗 (today's Kaohsiung/Gaoxiong 高雄), and one for the North, located in Tamsui (Danshui 淡水). During the era when Taiwan was ruled by the Qing dynasty (i.e. up to 1895), only a couple of nations thought it worthwhile to establish consular service on the island which administratively was part of Fujian Province at the time, whereas after the Japanese takeover of Taiwan in 1895 some let it be dealt with from the respective main embassy in Tokyo.¹²⁰ A second factor in foreign presence were missionaries, starting at that time with the British and Canadian Presbyterians, but soon joined also by Catholic orders (mainly the Dominicans who had been there during the 17th century Spanish presence already) and further protestant denominations like Anglicans, Methodists, Baptists etc. Foreign strongholds on the island were above all the ports, i.e. in the South Anping/Tainan where no foreign cemetery survived; Takao/Kaohsiung, where only some tombstones close to the former British consulate have been left over in present-day housing areas, as the cemetery had fallen into disuse under Japanese colonial rule;¹²¹ and in the North Tamsui and the Customs at Keelung (Jilong 基隆), both places with foreign cemeteries still extant.

¹¹⁹ As is well known, since the 1620s, Spanish Catholic missionaries were active in Northern Taiwan in the areas of Keelung (Jilong) and Tamsui (Danshui), whereas in present-day Tainan, the Dutch had already settled who soon succeeded to take over also Tamsui and drive the Spaniards out of the North. The Dutch, in turn, were driven out by the Ming loyalist Zheng Chenggong 鄭成功 in 1662 whose successor was finally subdued by the new Qing-dynasty which integrated Taiwan in the 1680s into their empire.

¹²⁰ A Japanese survey of 1895 lists an American, a Danish, a Dutch and a German consulate in Twatutia (Dadaocheng 大稻埕), today part of Taipei (Taibei 臺北) and upriver from Tamsui. (Cf. the map in Niki Alsford: *Transition to Modernity in Taiwan. The Spirit of 1895 and the Cession of Formosa to Japan*. London and New York: Routledge 2017, pp. 139-141.) The Spanish dissolved theirs, first in Takao/Kaohsiung in 1897, then in Twatutia in 1899 and obviously asked the British in Tamsui and Anping/Tainan to act on behalf of them. (See the Japanese archival record: *Taiwan sôtokufu kôbun ruisan* 臺灣總督府公文類纂 (Records of the Taiwan Governor-General's Office), [digitized version available in the Archives of the Institute of Taiwan History of Academia Sinica], year 1899, vol. 378, no.6). The Germans gave up Twatutia in 1898. (Ibid. year 1898: vol. 6285).

¹²¹ For photos of the remaining ones, see <https://www.findagrave.com/cemetery/2180504/takow-foreign-cemetery>. Some information on the Takao cemetery can be gleaned from the archival record: the British Tamsui Consulate received in 1925 a description provided by the Japanese Mr. Aoyagi which details the layout and some 35 tombstone inscriptions, covering several nationalities, a substantial portion being Germans, who died in Takao (i.e. Kaohsiung) or present-day Tainan between 1858 and 1896, i.e. basically before the Japanese took over Taiwan in 1895. (See Archives of the Institute of Taiwan History, Academia Sinica: T0280_01_002; see also T0280_02_006 for an earlier 1915 review of the cemetery's condition with a map.) Although no further interments seem to have happened after 1896, the British Consulate still paid for the weeding of the Takao cemetery in the 1920s. Late

Tamsui is the most important and best-known case for foreign burials in Taiwan as it has actually two still extant cemeteries besides each other: one is of Rev. MacKay of the Canadian Presbyterians, his family and close collaborators: as he married a local wife, he wanted to be seen as a “Taiwanese” and is said to have insisted on being separated in burial from the “foreigners” by a wall. Thus, the “MacKay cemetery” [ill. 29], as it is called, covers also local or “mixed” (“Eurasian”) dead, but all connected to the missionary and schooling activities MacKay had initiated. The missionary families also often married among each other. The earliest burial is of 1898 with the first native Taiwanese minister of the Northern Synod of the Presbyterian Church, followed by MacKay himself in 1901. The MacKay family still uses the site with recorded deaths as recent as 2014 (as of February 2018), though occurred overseas. Reverend MacKay’s tomb is classified as a municipally appointed heritage site of Tamsui since 1985 [ill. 30], counting as a grade 3 historic site,¹²² but is property of the Presbyterians on whose middle school ground it is located and who are responsible for its upkeep.¹²³

David Oakley has started to research into the former single tombs, the findings of which, though not yet fully completed, have been published posthumously as David Charles Oakley: *The Story of the Takow Foreign Cemetery*. (Bilingual Chinese-English edition). Gaoxiong: Gaoxiong wenhuaju 2016. According to his findings, the British had permanently leased the ground in 1864, in the 1870s transferring some earlier burials from hill sites there (which makes for the couple of pre-1864 tombs among the total of 39 tombs), the Japanese respected the British ownership and preserved the site during the colonial period, but the Nationalists took it over in 1950 (when Britain recognized the PRC and thus refused to officially register the site with the KMT-government: Oakley p. 31-35) and reassigned the land use finally to “building” in 1968 without any further qualms about the remains interred (Oakley p. 230). Although there is no mentioning of the denomination question, it seems that but for one reinterred seaman with a Spanish name (probably from the Philippines) who might have been a Catholic, the foreigners came from Protestant areas. Thus, there was obviously no need to devise different “denomination sections” in the cemetery. One interesting case is a Parsee from India who was a British subject but the only one clearly not Christian. He did not die in Kaohsiung but in a riot in mid Taiwan in 1896 where his remains were later discovered and transferred to the Takao cemetery after British Consul Longford’s intervention (cf. http://www.takaoclub.com/britishconsuls/joseph_henry_longford.htm), and he is the only one on record after the Japanese take-over.

¹²² See the on-site plaque. See also Zhou Zongxian 周宗賢: *Danshui. Huihuang de suiyue* 輝煌的歲月 (Tamsui: the glorious years). Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan 2007, pp. 390-392. Although in English, “MacKay cemetery” is used on the on-site plaque, only MacKay’s own tomb is technically the protected heritage site, not the whole cemetery. It might be briefly noted here that in Taiwan the official term used for “heritage” is *zichan* 資產, not *yichan* 遺產 as elsewhere. (See the Chinese vs. the English version of the “Cultural Heritage Preservation Act” / “Wenhua *zichan* baocunfa” 文化資產保存法, first promulgated in 1982, with later amendments, available online: http://www.boch.gov.tw/information_160_73735.html.) For more specificities of the Taiwanese case regarding cultural heritage preservation, see Lin Huicheng 林會承: *Taiwan wenhua zichan baocun shigang* 臺灣文化資產保存史綱 (Historical outline of Taiwan’s cultural heritage preservation), Taipei: Yuanliu 2011.

¹²³ See the official heritage item website of the tomb: <https://nchdb.boch.gov.tw/assets/overview/monument/19850819000042>.

The adjacent “foreigners’” cemetery, instead, which was appointed later in 1998 as a municipal (now district) heritage site,¹²⁴ is officially public (though de facto not accessible without getting access to the middle school’s grounds). Its upkeep is consequently legally the responsibility of the National Property Administration. The administration of the cemetery was first in the hands of the British consulate in Tamsui, which however only kept records on it since 1890,¹²⁵ and finally leased the territory “in perpetuity” from the Japanese colonial administration in 1909.¹²⁶ After the outbreak of the Pacific War, when Britain and Japan were opposed to each other, the neutral Swiss seem to have briefly helped out from Tokyo,¹²⁷ but Britain resumed responsibility after the War, though occasionally asking various foreign embassies or companies for financial contributions for the upkeep. This again shows the cemetery was conceived of as for all (Western) foreigners in Taiwan.¹²⁸ As the British Consulate in 1958 clearly stated, the “Foreign Community Cemetery in Tamsui” was only “administered” by the British, but “maintained by funds contributed by all the foreign communities on Formosa. The cemetery is freely available to all these communities”.¹²⁹ However, one should note that “all foreigners” did not include any Asians, most notably there are no Japanese or Koreans even for the times after the Japanese colonial period,¹³⁰ and implicitly it meant “Christians” as there are no Muslim, Buddhist etc. graves or any signs of Freemasons so frequent in Hong Kong. When Britain completely switched diplomatic allegiance to the PRC in 1972 and closed the Consulate, the Americans took over a few years until they, too, switched allegiance to the PRC in the late 1970s. Finally the Canadian Chamber of Commerce in Taiwan followed the suggestion of Presbyterian missionaries who pointed out the number of Canadians buried there, and volunteered to take over responsibility for cleaning since 1984,¹³¹ pushing the local government for a heritage assessment. The territory however, remained throughout public property. The earliest of the 78 extant graves are from 1867, and the last is as recent as 2001.

This foreigners’ cemetery covers various sections [ill. 31]: it was devised into 4 areas by two crossing paths. It has been argued, these sections were for “Protestants”, “Catholics”, “business men” and

¹²⁴ See the official heritage item website: <https://nchdb.boch.gov.tw/assets/overview/monument/19980829000003>.

¹²⁵ Archival materials on the Tamsui cemetery’s management and tombstone inscriptions can be found in the Archives of the Institute of Taiwan History of Academia Sinica: T0280_01_003 to _006.

¹²⁶ For the archival record of the lease, see Archives of the Institute of Taiwan History of Academia Sinica: T0280_01_001.

¹²⁷ See the balance of March 1942 in the Cash Book of the Tamsui Cemetery Fund paid by “W. J. Herzog, delegate of the Minister of Switzerland, Tokyo”. (Archives of the Institute of Taiwan History of Academia Sinica: T0280_001_005).

¹²⁸ In fact, archival record shows the embassies of Brazil, the Dominican Republic, France, Spain, Turkey, the US, Venezuela, and various companies and denominations did contribute even though it does not seem that they all actually “used” the cemetery. (Archives of the Institute of Taiwan History of Academia Sinica: T0280_002_003 and _004).

¹²⁹ See the letter of the British Deputy Consul of October 31, 1958. (Archives of the Institute of Taiwan History of Academia Sinica: T0280_002_004).

¹³⁰ The only “Japanese” reference in the cemetery is one Canadian missionary’s tombstone of the colonial period (Narcissus Peter Yates, died 1938) which transcribes his name also in Katakana.

¹³¹ See <https://www.canchamtai.com/tag/danshui-foreign-cemetery/>.

“officials”.¹³² It is not very clear from when exactly this division started and what the reason was, as clearly a business man and an official could either be Catholic or Protestant.¹³³ In fact, looking at the tombs it seems not a very clear division as even the missionaries and their family members personally acknowledged by the Shuanglian Presbyterian Church which set up a memorial plaque in 2017 to commemorate the 125th year of arrival of missionary William Gauld in Tamsui (buried at the cemetery) [ill. 32], are not all in the “protestant” section. The so-called “Catholic” section, in turn, covers several graves of people very unlikely Catholic. A remark in the archives leads to the assumption that the sections for “officials” and “business men” might simply mean that those had a kind of reserved area,¹³⁴ probably for giving a hand in maintenance costs. It is also not very clear who officiated at the burials, and whether the “Catholic” section was ever consecrated by a priest. (The first burial of a Catholic seems to have been in 1878 with a French who had died in Keelung.)¹³⁵ MacKay once stated he “went” to a burial and on one occasion also said he officiated at one.¹³⁶ The buried foreigners include dead from Canada, Britain, the US, Germany, France, Spain, Portugal, Sweden and Finland, whereas the occupations cover missionaries, sailors, merchants, officials and engineers and their respective family members.¹³⁷ The recorded deaths were not only in Tamsui itself, thus showing the cemetery was

¹³² See local historian Zhou Zongxian 周宗賢 who has supported the Canadians for getting the cemetery graded as a historic site: he devised an expertise on the upkeep after grading: *Taibeixian xianding guji Danshui waiqiao muyuan diaocha yanjiu ji xiufu jihua* 台北縣縣定古蹟淡水外僑墓園調查研究及修復計劃 (Field study and restoration plan of the foreigners' cemetery of Tamsui, a district-appointed historic site of Taipei district). Taipei: Taipei District Government 2003. An updated version is his chapter 3 in his already named book on Tamsui history: Zhou Zongxian: *Danshui. Huihuang de suiyue* 2007.

¹³³ Zhou Zongxian provides in his book *Danshui. Huihuang de suiyue* (2007: p. 89) a reprinted map with this definition of the sections on. It is not dated, but according to the graves numbered it must be no sooner than the mid 1960s and looks like a filled-in version of the map of G. M. Johnston of 1966. (The latter is to be found in the Archives of the Institute of Taiwan History of Academia Sinica: T0280_01_004). The set-up with four sections (without definition) is to be found already on earlier maps. See the 1939 map of M. Archer (ibid. T0280_01_003), which was obviously filled-in further with later (post-1939) graves and is very probably the basis for the Johnston map of 1966.

¹³⁴ The company Tait&Co. in Taipei sent a cheque for the “Foreign Community Cemetery” to the British Tamsui Consulate in 1958 with the comment: “Please reserve the usual space for us”. (Archives of the Institute of Taiwan History of Academia Sinica: T0280_002_004).

¹³⁵ This shows that at the time the Tamsui cemetery was used also for foreigners in Keelung, another treaty port in Northern Taiwan. At that time, the Spanish Dominicans had not yet come back to the area, so it is not clear who officiated and whether this was a “proper” Catholic burial. (For the re-establishment of the Dominicans in the area in 1889, see the short history of the diocese: <http://taipei.catholic.org.tw/taipei/chi/deanery/39/>).

¹³⁶ See *The Diary of George Leslie MacKay, 1971-1901*. Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan Taiwanshi yanjiusuo 2015: pp. 337 and 387. He “went” to the one of “a Dane” (who should be Carl Andersen, buried in the foreigners' cemetery: more likely a Swede as he was from Gothenburg and has the inscription in Swedish) in 1888, and officiated at the one of the British lady Mrs. Ashton in 1890, wife of a trading and transport company employee very close to MacKay and Protestant.

¹³⁷ Modified from the list in Zhou Zongxian's expertise (*Taibeixian...* 2003), appendix 4 (a list obviously put together by two research assistants) which is now also provided on the on-spot explanatory plaques with minor modifications. (Some of the ascriptions of nationalities and denominations in this appendix – which go beyond the information provided by the tombstone inscriptions – seem doubtful, e.g. the claimed “Italian” likely belongs to the indigenized Spanish Florentino family represented with two further graves in the cemetery who are mentioned in accounts of the reestablishment of Catholicism in the Tamsui area, the “Dane” is probably a Swede – see above, and the two born in Ceylon are very probably British nationals; and it is not clear on which basis the denomination

perceived more generally as a cemetery for foreigners in Taiwan after the Southern one in Takao had apparently fallen into disuse after 1896.

The Keelung (Jilong) cemetery (“Cimetière Français de Kilung”) [ill. 33],¹³⁸ in turn, is a peculiar case as this is basically a “one-country” cemetery for French, more precisely for French casualties of the Sino-French War times (1884/85). Interestingly, the cemetery comes with several names: it first was called “French military cemetery” (*Faguo junren gongmu* 法國軍人公墓), but later also simply “French cemetery” (*Faguo gongmu* 法國公墓) – the most often used name,¹³⁹ and now it is a declared monument of Keelung city since 1999 and as such literally called “Memorial park of the War between the Qing and the French” (*Qing-Fa zhanzheng jinian yuanqu* 清法戰爭紀念園區).¹⁴⁰ With this name, the whole context of the site being a “cemetery” – and thus per se a place of mourning – was transformed into the new one of a “memorial park” – a combination of recreation and education – which also does not state any longer its being “French”. However, close-by is a stele commemorating the fallen Qing soldiers during the same war, in its present form and on the present location there only since 1958 – now using the expression “tomb of the national heroes” (*minzu yingxiong mu* 民族英雄墓), which is *not* included in this protected war memorial.¹⁴¹ This means that de facto Keelung remembers officially only the “enemies” of once (touchingly during the famous Keelung ghost festival also with baguettes, sandwiches etc.), but the stele for the Qing “national heroes” which is also visited whenever the war is now commemorated, is not officially part. To some degree this development seems to be due to the Japanese colonial period: the Japanese who took Taiwan from the Qing as their first colony in 1895 had little interest in keeping up the memory of Qing soldiers. The stele for the Qing casualties (originally inscribed: “Tomb of the Qing men” *Qingguoren zhi mu* 清國人之墓, thus also not explicitly narrowing

affiliation is established). Most headstones have been photographed and may be conveniently checked online on the “find a grave” website (<https://www.findagrave.com/cemetery/2149523/memorial-search>).

¹³⁸ At present, at the entrance there is a plaque by “Le Souvenir Français” which is a national association acknowledged as of public interest since 1906, comparable to the Commonwealth War Graves Commission. However, the association is not running the cemetery as the War Graves Commission the War Cemeteries in Hong Kong mentioned above. For the spelling of the city name, older French materials tend to use “Kelung”, “Keelung” is the most common usage and also the present official one, but on this plaque “Kilong” appears.

¹³⁹ See, e.g., Xu Yuliang 許毓良: “Jilong Faguo gongmu kao” 基隆法國公墓考 (Study on the Keelung French cemetery) in: *Taiwan fengwu* 臺灣風物 (“The Taiwan Folkways”) vol. 52, no. 2, 2002, pp. 111-137. Xu Yuliang was part of a heritage assessment group for Keelung monuments of the Sino-French War and their upkeep. Aside of the cemetery, there are various forts connected to the Sino-French War in Keelung, but they were all more or less destroyed during the war and thus the present ones are largely reconstructed. (Ibid. p. 111). This means that the cemetery is the only left-over tangible heritage of the war.

¹⁴⁰ Although the term *Qing-Fa zhanzheng* is a normal way the “Sino-French War” is called in Chinese on both sides of the Taiwan Strait (alternatively *Zhong-Fa zhanzheng* 中法戰爭), in Taiwan the identification of the Chinese side with the Qing dynasty leaves open some discursive space that could be used either by the Japanese during the colonial period or by present-day Taiwanese asserting a local “Taiwanese” (vis-à-vis a generic “Chinese”) identity. In fact, the Kuomintang usually used *Zhong-Fa*. Thus, at present, the memory of the war is also enmeshed in political contestations around identity ascriptions in Taiwan.

¹⁴¹ See the official heritage item website: <https://nchdb.boch.gov.tw/assets/overview/monument/19990108000001>. Interestingly, the English-Chinese explanatory plaque on spot argues that *both* are included. However, the official heritage item website clearly is not including it. In fact, the difference in tone between the much more assertive on-spot plaque, focusing more on the Chinese / Qing and less on the French side, vis-à-vis the official item description could be read as a way of expressing local resistance.

down the casualties to „soldiers“) ¹⁴² disappeared under the Japanese, ¹⁴³ and it was only in 1958 during road works that the bones of the Qing soldiers were rediscovered which led to the erection of the new “national heroes” stele. The French, in turn, who had pressured the Qing officials after the end of the war to shield the tombs of the French soldiers from local vandalism, ¹⁴⁴ then asked the Japanese colonizers to do the same. However, it seems that most tombstones had already been damaged when the Japanese started to look into the cemetery, as Japanese internal reports of 1895 show. ¹⁴⁵

The French not only had buried their war dead there – in this never formally declared war, but above all during the months of occupation of Keelung the many casualties of diseases (malaria, dysentery, cholera, typhus etc.) among the troops which cost substantially more lives than the battles. ¹⁴⁶ The wet and chilly climate during the winter was a further challenge for the troops, having been transferred there from either Indochina or Northern Africa. ¹⁴⁷ Vandalism of graves was not only a problem because of local hostility, but also because during the war the Qing tried to encourage their soldiers by paying prizes for every French head delivered. Thus, an “easy” way for supply was to exhume dead soldiers during the night to behead them. ¹⁴⁸ Thus, the French had to set up guards at the cemetery. Whereas the fallen of the Qing side were simply buried without any ceremony, the French held funerals and even processions

¹⁴² This might have reflected also the fact that there were a substantial number of volunteers helping the Qing official troops to fight against the French.

¹⁴³ The local city district history booklet: Yu Mingfa 俞明發 (ed.): *Jilong Dashawan: Tianye fengyunzhi* 雞籠大沙灣。田野風雲誌 (Great sand bay in Jilong [old name/writing of Keelung]: a gazetteer of place and times), Jilong: Jilongshi 2017, p. 79, provides an old photo of the discarded stele. (I am grateful to Mr. Yu for a copy of the booklet.) The similarity in form with the same inscription stone cemented into the wall found behind the statue of revered Qing official Liu Mingchuan in a present-day tiny temple on the opposite side of the harbour (see below), is striking. This means the locals had saved the stele from destruction and hid it!

¹⁴⁴ This problem occurred at various times, showing a decidedly hostile feeling of the local inhabitants (and the Qing troops) towards maintaining the tombs of the foreign “aggressors” at the time.

¹⁴⁵ See Xu Yuliang: “Jilong Faguo gongmu kao” (2002: p. 114-115), basing himself on a Japanese archival note of 1895: the locals blamed it on the volunteer troops of the war time. The French government website on the cemetery, in turn, blames the destruction on relocation under the Japanese after the turn of the century: “French Military Cemetery in Keelung” (<http://www.cheminsdememoire.gouv.fr/en/french-military-cemetery-keelung>). In view of the earlier Japanese internal reports, this is obviously questionable (as holds true also for some other statements on this website, provided by the French Institute of Taipei, as it seems).

¹⁴⁶ Eugène Germain Garnot, who had been part of the French “Formosa expedition” and wrote about it later (*L'expédition française de Formose, 1884-1885* (Éd. 1894), Paris: Hachette Livre (reprint Bibliothèque nationale de France) [1894: p. 73]), mentions over 500 deaths of soldiers and some 20 officers who were buried in the cemetery set up on a flat plot along the beach over only a few months.

¹⁴⁷ As Garnot's (*L'expédition française...* [1894]) account makes clear, apart from marine infantry of the Far East Squadron, the French deployed African and Foreign Legion battalions. A sizeable number of the Europeans recruited were furthermore German-speaking, and some servicemen had been brought along from Indochina, resulting in a language “Babel” in these “French” troops. (Cf. Garnot: *L'expédition française...* [1894], p. 116).

¹⁴⁸ This is told by various appalled contemporaries, e.g. by a French marine whose letters home have been published by Stéphane Ferrero: *Formose vue par un marin français du XIXe siècle*. Paris: L'Harmattan 2005, p. 101. See also the account of Garnot: *L'expédition française...* [1894], p. 45, note 3, and p. 96.

for the officers, and set up crosses.¹⁴⁹ Given the rampant vandalism of French tombs during the war also elsewhere in Southern China, anxieties were high to make sure the tombs would be protected also in the longer run (as was the custom in European wars), since the French war aims did not include a long-term occupation of Taiwan. Rather, the attacks on Taiwan were only part of the larger aim to pressure the Qing into accepting the French colonialization of Indochina, including Tonkin, the former tributary of China. Having achieved this, the French finally withdrew from Taiwan and asked the British to keep an eye on the French military tombs in Keelung (and the Pescadores), paying a small fee for the upkeep.¹⁵⁰

When the Japanese took control of Taiwan in 1895, the French asked them for protection of the site. It might well be, as is argued on the on-spot plaques in the cemetery, that the landing of the Japanese in Keelung in 1895 led to some damage of the tombstones. In any case, as has been argued, the Japanese on their part wanted to use the French cemetery for a diplomatic rapprochement to France and to show that they were a civilized country respecting foreign military war dead (if not Chinese).¹⁵¹ They immediately made surveys of the French war tombs and memorials in their new colony, i.e. in Keelung and on the Pescadores,¹⁵² set up a contract with the French for the upkeep on their behalf against French payments in 1897, to be renewed every 5 years,¹⁵³ and made plans early on to make the Keelung cemetery into a prominent educational park open to the public, but the French were not ready to pay for a large-scale renovation and just wanted the tombs to be preserved. Since the cemetery was close to

¹⁴⁹ Garnot: *L'expédition française...* [1894: 227] provides a view (drawing based on a photograph) of the cemetery with some 20 crosses and one larger fenced-in pit. In view of the mentioned numbers, this suggests, however, that only the officers were remembered with crosses individually, whereas the common soldiers were only remembered collectively on spot.

¹⁵⁰ At first, a Briton working in the Qing Customs at Keelung acted on behalf of the French (see archival record in *Taiwan sôtokufu kôbun ruisan*, year 1895, vol. 286, no. 2, p. 2). Later the British Consulate in Tainan was commissioned (ibid. year 1905, vol. 1065, no. 3, p. 16-18 and p. 52-54). Still later, it would be the British Consulate in Tamsui. See also Zheng Junbin 鄭俊彬: "Jilong Faguo gongmu: yi wenhua zichan wei zhongxin tantao" 基隆法國公墓。以文化資產為中心探討 (The French cemetery in Keelung: an inquiry focusing on cultural property). In: *Haiyang wenhua xuekan* 海洋文化學刊 (Ocean culture studies) no. 11, 2011, pp. 69-100, there pp. 74-75. At the beginning, the Dutch Consulate had also given a hand. (See the Japanese archival material of 1897 and 1898 on the cemetery in *Taiwan sôtokufu kôbun ruisan*, vol. 1624, no. 1, pp. 27-28.)

¹⁵¹ This is the basic thesis of Bian Fengkui 卞鳳奎: "Ri-zhi shiqi Jilong Faguo junren gongmu yijiao wenti zhi tantao" 日治時期基隆法國軍人公墓移交問題之探討 (Inquiry into the problem of the transfer of the Keelung French military cemetery in the period of Japanese rule) in: *Taiwan wenxian* 臺灣文獻 ("Taiwan Historica") vol. 59, no. 2, 2008, pp. 221-247. The article focuses on the transfer of responsibility for the cemetery from the French to the Japanese in 1928.

¹⁵² Already in summer 1895, Japanese surveys of the French military tombs and memorials were done. On the Pescadores there were the memorial of Courbet and the tombs of Jehenne and Dert (see below) in Makung (Magong), and the collective tomb of the soldiers on the other side of the harbour. For the Japanese survey at the Pescadores with drawings and transcription of inscriptions, see *Taiwan sôtokufu kôbun ruisan*, year 1895, vol. 286, no. 2, pp. 22-25. (The same was done for Keelung.) Another round of extensive surveys on the memorials and tombs was done in 1905 when the French asked for descriptions and photos to assess their payments.

¹⁵³ See the Japanese and French version of the contract of 1897 in *Taiwan sôtokufu kôbun ruisan*, vol. 286, no. 2, pp. 92-95.

the sea and occasionally flooded, a wall was built as an enclosure.¹⁵⁴ Up to now only 4 individual headstones/monuments survive [ill. 34],¹⁵⁵ but the Japanese carefully monitored the site, cared for maintenance and the French only gave some (and as archival record suggests, not sufficient) money.¹⁵⁶ In the end, after several renewals of the contract, in 1928 the French agreed to hand the whole responsibility for the cemetery and its upkeep officially to the Japanese, who treated it as a historical monument. The cemetery had become a touristic spot in the meantime which in 1923 was even visited by the Japanese crown prince and later Shôwa Tennô.¹⁵⁷

When the Kuomintang arrived after the end of WW II and Japanese surrender, they tried to step up the Qing legacy. Due to diplomatic reasons, the French cemetery, however, was further kept, though again closed to the public. But the policy was now to centralize all French military tombs and monuments of the Sino-French War extant on territory of the Republic of China (ROC) in Keelung – de facto an idea that the Japanese had already proposed, i.e. those buried on the Pescadores were suggested to be moved to Keelung as well. Especially the monument to Admiral Courbet, the highest ranking figure on the French side who had commanded the French attacks on Taiwan and the Pescadores during the Sino-French War, located in the city of Makung (Magong 馬公) on the Pescadores where he – as so many of his men before him – succumbed to disease,¹⁵⁸ became an issue. Interestingly, Courbet himself had repeatedly argued against attacking Keelung since the French, as mentioned, only wanted to put pressure on the Qing to gain a free hand in Tonkin, taking Keelung as a guaranty only, without the intention to involve themselves further in Taiwan. He thought it a bad and costly strategy – given the fact that he had not many troops and could neither defend the rear well nor had the prospect to be able to advance in the difficult, hilly and overgrown territory, but was ordered by Paris to attack and occupy Keelung with its important harbour and the close-by rich coal mines nevertheless.¹⁵⁹ Furthermore, the “neutral” other Westerners in northern Taiwan had to be considered during action who were present in and around the important harbours of Keelung and Tamsui, too, for not involving them unduly in any hostilities.¹⁶⁰ In fact, the Qing had paid some “neutral” ships to help them ship men and ammunition to Taiwan during the time of the French “blockade” (mainly affecting the North of Taiwan), which the French were not able to intercept.¹⁶¹ Courbet, however, was in favour of occupying the Pescadores, and in terms of his

¹⁵⁴ For some plans of constructions in 1907, see *Taiwan sôtokufu kôbun ruisan*, vol. 1624, no. 1, pp. 117-119 and p. 198. The French agreed to the walled enclosure as had been done also on the Pescadores in Makung.

¹⁵⁵ It should be noted that also the remaining 4 headstones/monuments show signs of having been broken. (Headstone is understood as a flat vertical stone with inscription at the head of the tomb: only one of the four is such a headstone, the other three are different in shape and thus rather “monuments”.)

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Bian Fengkui: “Ri-zhi shiqi...” 2008: pp. 232-233.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Xu Yuliang: “Jilong Faguo gongmu kao” 2002: p. 131.

¹⁵⁸ He died on his ship in Makung harbour.

¹⁵⁹ See Garnot who cites several of Courbet’s telegram exchanges: *L’expédition française...* [1894: especially p. 37].

¹⁶⁰ For an account of one of these, the British tea merchant Dodd who was affected in Tamsui by the French blockade over many months, see the reprint by Niki Alford: *The Witnessed Account of British Resident John Dodd at Tamsui*. Taipei: SMC Publishing 2010.

¹⁶¹ In fact, even the simple French soldiers were apparently quite frustrated because of this well-known situation, as can be gleaned from the letters of “Jean”, the French marine whose letters back home have been published

deeds regarding China he was remembered in France as the “hero” of Fuzhou 福州 where he had severely damaged the Chinese naval force in just a few hours.¹⁶² In a Chinese perspective, he therefore is one of the main “culprits” in this war, though less so for Keelung where he was rather acting against his will, but more so for the Pescadores. The monument to him in Makung on the Pescadores had been listed by the Japanese as a historical site in 1935. The relatively large grounds of this monument which was encircled by a wall together with the tombs of Navy Infantry Lieutenant Jehenne and Deputy Navy Commissioner Dert who both had died shortly before him,¹⁶³ were claimed in the early 1950s for an adjacent school in the expanding city area. The second-most important spot was Fengguiwei 風櫃尾, a hilly area on the opposite side of Makung Harbour where the French soldiers were buried – demonstrating that there were clear distinctions between the officers and the “normal” soldiers also in death.¹⁶⁴ After consultations, France agreed to transfer the remains of Jehenne and Dert in Makung city where the land-use problem had arisen, to Keelung’s “French cemetery” which was done in 1954 [ill. 35,36].¹⁶⁵ The physical remains of Admiral Courbet had been transported back from the Pescadores to France already in 1885 since he was treated as a national hero because of his role in Indochina, given a state funeral and interred in his hometown Abbeville. Thus, he had been only memorialized in Makung by the monument in question which was removed to Fengguiwei to make room for the local school’s needs. After the diplomatic switch of France to the PRC in 1964, the remains of the soldiers buried on Fengguiwei were repatriated, too.¹⁶⁶ Thus, today only memorials belonging to the local government in Makung still remember this history on the Pescadores.¹⁶⁷

(Ferrero: *Formose...* 2005): he complained several times that above all the British and the Germans, the historical “unfriendly neighbours” of France, were clandestinely helping the Chinese.

¹⁶² Ironically, this naval force had been built up mainly with French help. The disaster in Fuzhou was a major setback for the Chinese “self-strengthening” movement.

¹⁶³ Photographs of the Japanese period only show the three more elaborate monuments of Courbet, Dert and Jehenne (the latter both in respectful distance and smaller than Courbet’s) clearly in the large encirclement. However, in the drawing in Garnot: *L’expédition française...* [1894: p. 219] one may note smaller crosses in the back, suggesting there were originally more graves inside.

¹⁶⁴ This differential treatment was even practiced in Western Europe up to the early WW I. (See Mosse: *Fallen Soldiers...* 1990: p. 81).

¹⁶⁵ There is a fairly detailed French eye-witness account of the exhumation process cited verbally from the diplomatic archives of France in the hobby historical research on the Sino-French War by a former French officer stationed in Taiwan 1999 to 2001: Christophe Rouil: *Formose, des batailles presque oubliées...* . Taipei: Les éditions du Pigeonnier 2001, pp. 155-160.

¹⁶⁶ Cai Wenteng 蔡文騰: “Penghu Faguo jiangshi mukao”澎湖法國將士墓考 (Inquiry into the tombs of French officers and soldiers on the Pescadores). In: Ji Limei 紀麗美 (ed.): *Penghu yanjiu di 9 jie xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* 澎湖研究第 9 屆學術研討會論文輯 (Collected papers of the 9th symposium on Pescadores Studies), Magong: Penghuxian zhengfu wenhuaju 2010, p. 111.

¹⁶⁷ There is now a small memorial in the city of Makung where Courbet’s monument once stood, and at the place of the former French soldiers’ graves on the southern side of Makung harbour (Fengguiwei) the removed Courbet monument and its surroundings were taken over and the area reworked by the city government, adding further monuments to remember also the Dutch (a fort of whom was situated close-by which is now the main “heritage” preserved there) and other foreigners’ presence on the Pescadores. Thus, the spot has become a more general touristic spot to show the “global” connections of the Pescadores.

In short, Keelung now centrally memorializes and “hosts” the remains of the mid- to lower level French representatives of the Sino-French War, numbers going up to 700,¹⁶⁸ who had been buried on present-day ROC territory and not repatriated. But for Jehenne and Dert, the others are buried together and memorialized collectively [ill. 37], with only the already named 4 individual headstones remaining, which are, however, no longer legible. The French key figures of the war are all buried back home in France (as the Colonial elites in Macau and Hong Kong addressed above). As the local discussions in Makung and Keelung in the early 1950s make clear, the tombs were not welcome anywhere, but the Foreign Ministry of the ROC pressured to keep the cemetery in Keelung and tried to appease the population by asking the French to also officially honour the Qing soldiers before their own during the 1954 transfer ceremony of Jehenne and Dert who were reburied in a proper Catholic burial officiated by the apostolic administrator Msgr. Vérineux of the Hualien diocese. And it suggested to consider the opening of the cemetery for “normal French” dying in Taiwan to minimize the controversial character of the site,¹⁶⁹ although this never happened. Since the Japanese had cleared the stele for the Qing soldiers, the Kuomintang mayor of Keelung erected a new one, calling the Qing soldiers now “national heroes”, as mentioned, notably with the calligraphy of Chiang Kai-shek [ill. 38]. But because this stele is only from 1958, it does not qualify as a “historical monument”, which might be a reason why the stele is not included in the “memorial park of the Sino-French War” heritage site today. Whether there might be also some local ill-feeling towards the new stele inscribed by Chiang Kai-shek is open to speculation. It may be only briefly noted here that Keelung was one of the central places during the traumatic “February 28 Incident” of 1947 when the Kuomintang answered Taiwanese protests with massacres, which weigh heavily on Taiwanese-Kuomintang relations to this day.¹⁷⁰

Although the French had tried to regain rights on the “French cemetery” after the Japanese colonial period, the ROC refused, and the property is up to this day public and managed by the municipality of Keelung. Following France’s switch in allegiance to the PRC in 1964, diplomatic relations had been reduced to unofficial ties. The “military” was in fact taken out of the name of the cemetery, possibly to suggest a broader civil use as the Foreign Ministry had suggested, but “normal” French dying in Taiwan were never interred here. Thus, the Keelung French cemetery basically remained a military and historical cemetery, was reopened in 1997 to the public, 1999 classified as a monument to remember the Sino-French War, with the French society for remembering the war dead (Le souvenir Français) now holding a ceremony every year there on November 11, the military memorial day of France, supported by the French Institute of Taiwan. Since the property of the territory is of Keelung city, the French are, however, only guests, and the Chinese on their part include the cemetery in the yearly ghost festival of Keelung to appease all souls, including those of the foreign French “ghosts” far away from home. One

¹⁶⁸ As Xu Yuliang: “Jilong Faguo gongmu kao” (2002: p. 115) points out, the real numbers are hard to establish: numbers given in various sources vary between 200 and 700. The on-spot Chinese-French stele of 1954 opts for 700.

¹⁶⁹ For a summary of the various arguments, see Zheng Junbin: “Jilong Faguo gongmu...” 2011: pp. 81-83.

¹⁷⁰ The memorial of the victims of the massacres of that time is not centrally placed but close to an old fort of the Sino-French war uphill, as this particular history and how to remember it is yet a bone of contention. It should be also noted that Keelung with its important harbour is still a military stronghold in Taiwan.

thus may find also during the year some “ghost money” as a provision for the lonely souls on the cemetery grounds, sometimes including “foreign currency”, and during the festival French food offerings. Thus, e.g. already in 1996 a local association arranged not only for Catholic prayers for the usually Catholic French, but also for a Buddhist monk to hold a soul-relieving rite, thus in a sense “indigenizing” the foreign souls.¹⁷¹ And now every year one clan group in the district of Keelung to which the cemetery belongs organizes the ghost festival ceremonies, at times including donning French costumes or integrating other ways of playing with and marketing this local “French connection”. Taoists look also after these foreign souls, and Western music is played, whereas the food offers are internationalized and paper military ships should help the souls travel home. Thus, the Keelung ghost festival also adds to its attractiveness this French legacy on the one hand, on the other the locals now seem to see these “foreign ghosts” as rather settled “immigrants” whom they should care for as for all others living and dying in the district.

A somewhat ironic (or harmonic) coda is the fact that during the building boom since the 1960s in Keelung, bones of supposedly dead soldiers of the Sino-French War were encountered on former battle sites: since it is hard to tell whether they belong to Qing or to French soldiers, they were simply buried together to make way for modern buildings and land uses.¹⁷² The tiny temple built at the former battle field to appease and care for all souls, on top of which a memorial obelisk was erected by a Kuomintang mayor of the 1970s to collectively remember “the fallen combatants” [ill. 39],¹⁷³ however, contains the statue of Qing governor Liu Mingchuan 劉銘傳 who directed the Qing side during the Sino-French War in Taiwan, and the locally preserved stele “Tomb of the Qing men” (Qingguoren zhi mu 清國人之墓) lost during the Japanese colonial period, with Courbet’s statue aside in ancillary role [ill. 40]. Thus, all dead were now “harmoniously” placed together to make peace at least in death, but subsumed this time under Chinese dominance.

One may thus conclude this look into the “challenging dead” in foreigners’ cemeteries in Macau, Hong Kong and Taiwan with the assertion that in the end challenges of once need not be ignored or actively erased, but may be overcome and even used as assets by creative ways of memorialization today.

¹⁷¹ See Ye Zhenhui 葉振輝: “Qing-Fa zhanzheng Jilong zhi yi” 清法戰爭基隆之役 (The Keelung battles of the Sino-French War) in: *Disanjie Danshuixue ji Qing-Fa zhanzheng 120 zhou nian guoji xueshu yanjiuhui* 第三屆淡水學暨清法戰爭 120 週年國際學術研討會 (“Symposium on Tamsui Studies and the Sino-French War”). Danshui: Danshui daxue lishi xuexi 2004 (Typoscript), 28 pages, p. 24.

¹⁷² See Zheng Junbin: “Jilong Faguo gongmu...” 2011: p. 91.

¹⁷³ It might be noted that the Kuomintang mayor opted for using *Zhong-Fa* (with its more national overtone) on the stele for the dead of the local battle. Zheng Junbin (“Jilong Faguo gongmu...” 2011: p. 91), by the way, strangely gives a wrong transcription of the (small seal script) stele inscription as *Qingren zhanshi jinianbei* 清人戰士紀念碑 (Memorial stele for the Qing soldiers). It is, in fact, (*Zhong-Fa zhanyi*) *zhenwang zhanshi jinianbei* 中法戰役陣亡戰士紀念碑 (Memorial stele for the fallen combatants (in the Sino-French battle)), i.e. explicitly for *all* dead soldiers, irrespectively of which side.

Illustrations: (copyright: Gotelind Mueller)



1 Macau: "Old" Protestant Cemetery ©2018



2 Macau: "Morrison chapel" at the "Old" Protestant Cemetery ©2018

Challenging Dead: A Look into Foreigners' Cemeteries in Macau, Hong Kong, and Taiwan



3 Macau: "Old" Protestant Cemetery: Armenian grave ©2018



4 Macau: "New" Protestant Cemetery ©2018



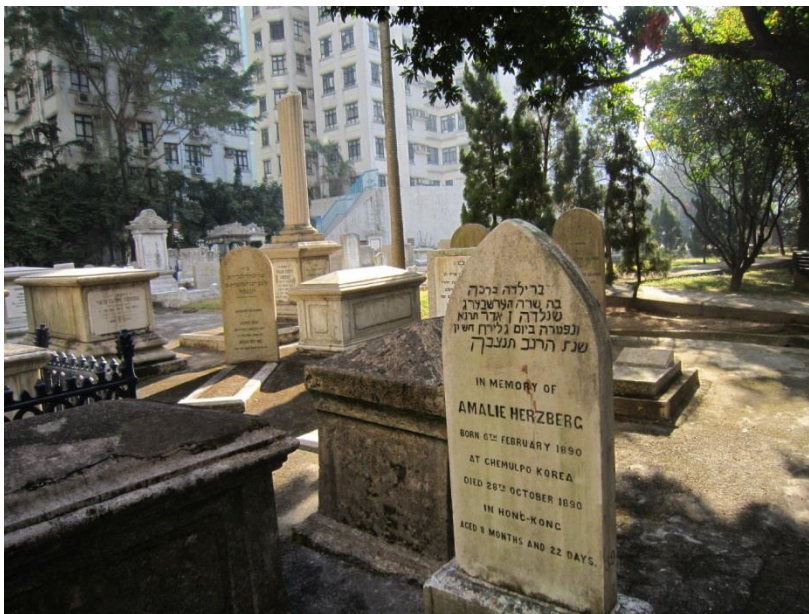
5 Macau: S. Miguel Cemetery ©2018



6 Macau: S. Miguel Cemetery: different creeds ©2018



7 Macau: S. Miguel Cemetery: monument to Mesquita ©2018



8 Hong Kong: Jewish Cemetery ©2018



9 Hong Kong: Parsee Cemetery ©2018



10 Hong Kong: Christian Chinese Cemetery, Pok Fu Lam ©2018



11 Hong Kong: Eurasian Cemetery (“Chiu Yuen”) ©2018



12 Hong Kong: Eurasian Cemetery: different faiths, languages and tomb styles ©2018



13 Hong Kong: Ho Kom-tong's family grave entrance ©2018



14 Hong Kong: St. Michael's Catholic Cemetery ©2018

Challenging Dead: A Look into Foreigners' Cemeteries in Macau, Hong Kong, and Taiwan



15 Hong Kong: St. Michael's Catholic Cemetery: Western and Chinese tombs: clerics and lay believers ©2018



16 Hong Kong: Chinese Permanent Cemetery Aberdeen ©2018



17 Hong Kong: Chinese Permanent Cemetery: note the provisions for burning paper offerings and for water ©2018



18 Hong Kong: Stanley Military Cemetery (War Graves Commission) ©2018



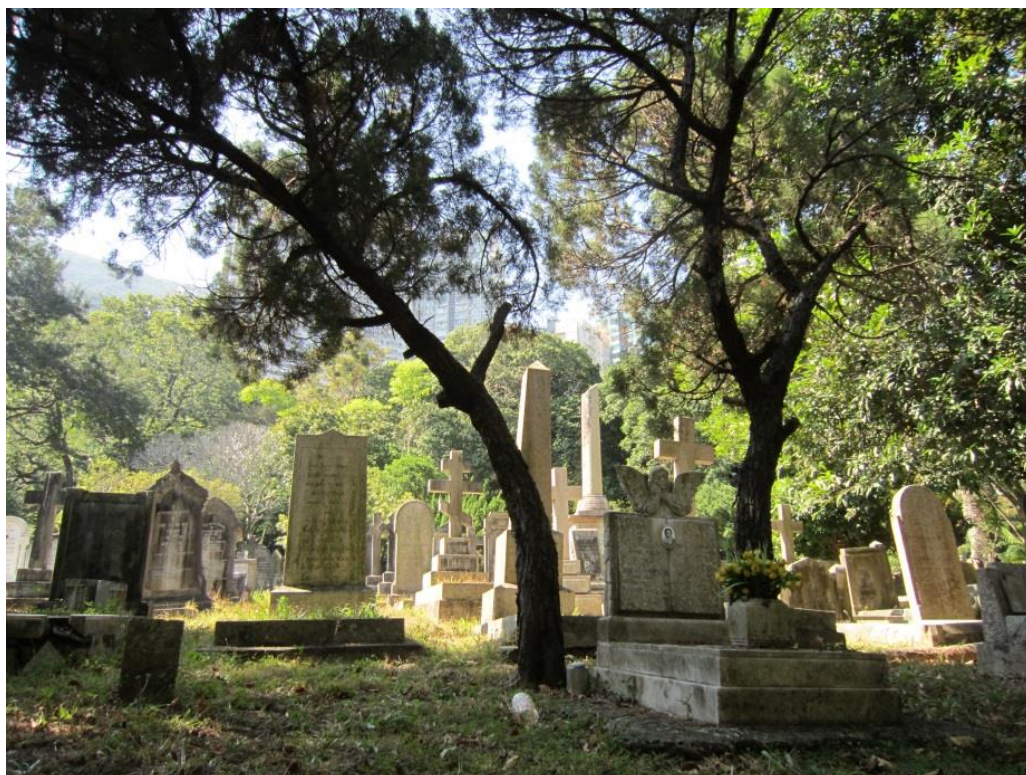
19 Hong Kong: Stanley Military Cemetery: monument for the Chinese supporting the Allies in the World Wars ©2018



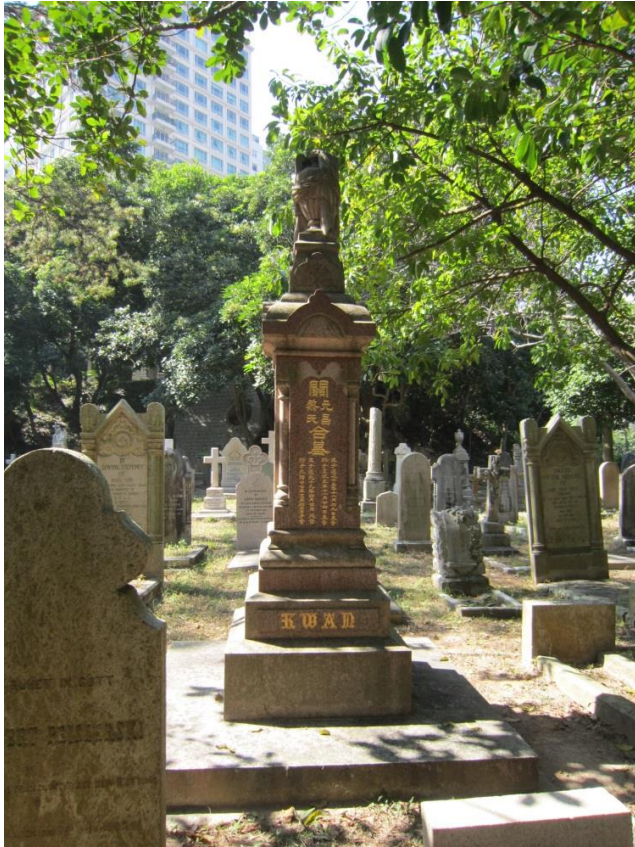
20 Hong Kong: Sai Wan War Cemetery (War Graves Commission) ©2018



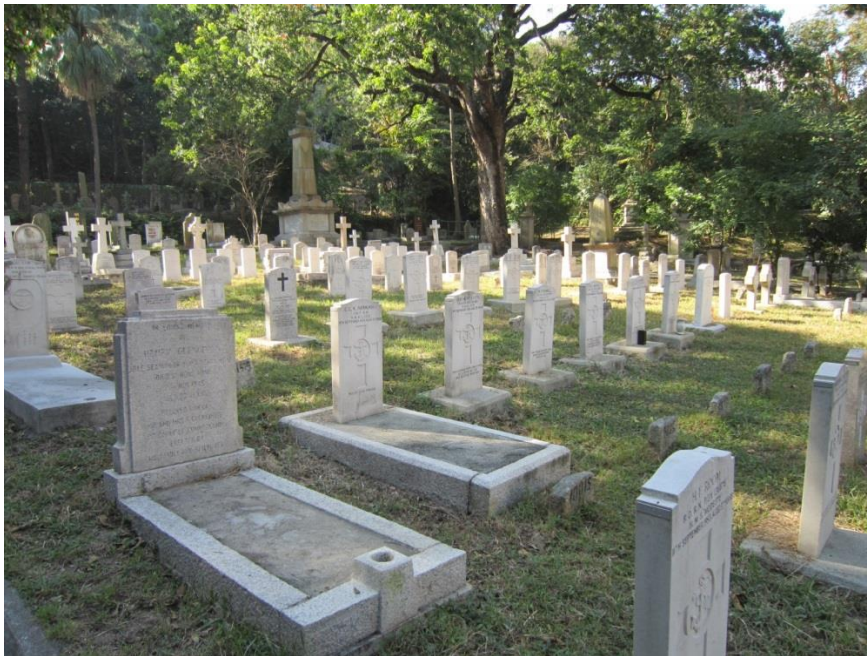
21 Hong Kong: Sai Wan War Cemetery: some non-Briton / non-Christian tombs ©2018



22 Hong Kong: Hong Kong (Protestant/Colonial) Cemetery ©2018



23 Hong Kong: Hong Kong Cemetery: Chinese (Christian) tomb (of Kwan Yuen-cheung and his wife)
©2018



24 Hong Kong: Hong Kong Cemetery: some War Graves Commission tombs in the midst of others ©2018



25 Hong Kong: Hong Kong Cemetery: some Russian graves ©2018



26 Hong Kong: Hong Kong Cemetery: tombs of Ho Tung and his first wife (Eurasians) ©2018



27 Hong Kong: Hong Kong Cemetery: part of the Japanese section ©2018



28 Hong Kong: Hong Kong Cemetery: largest monument connected to the Second Opium War (dedicated to the dead shipmates of the HMS Calcutta) ©2018



29 Taiwan: Tamsui: "MacKay Cemetery" ©2017



30 Taiwan: Tamsui: Tomb of Rev. MacKay ©2017



31 Taiwan: Tamsui: Foreigners' Cemetery: note the 4 "sections" created by the X-crossed pathways ©2017



32 Taiwan: Tamsui: Foreigners' Cemetery: tomb of Rev. William Gaud ©2018



33 Taiwan: Keelung: French (Military) Cemetery ©2018



34 Taiwan: Keelung: French Military Cemetery: remaining 4 headstones/monuments ©2018



35 Taiwan: Keelung: French Military Cemetery: relocated remains of Lieutenant Jehenne ©2018



36 Taiwan: Keelung: French Military Cemetery: relocated remains of Deputy Navy Commissioner Dert (note the destruction on the inscription) ©2017



37 Taiwan: Keelung: French Military Cemetery: monument for the French officers, soldiers and marines who died during the Sino-French War in Keelung ©2018



38 Taiwan: Keelung: New stele for the Qing soldiers: "Tomb of the National Heroes", calligraphy by Chiang Kai-shek ©2018



39 Taiwan: Keelung: New “memorial stele for the fallen combatants” in the Sino-French War ©2018



40 Taiwan: Keelung: Liu Mingchuan (seated in the middle) in front of the old stele “Tomb of the Qing men” and Courbet (on the horse) ©2018