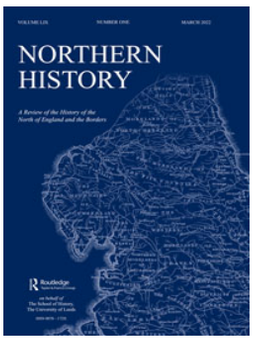

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'TO IMPERISHABLE MEMORY': LANCASTER'S CRIMEAN WAR MONUMENT, C.1855–1862

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This article examines the previously neglected history of Lancaster's Crimean War monument, dedicated in November 1860. It connects the monument to two key features of the town's mid-century history: Tory paternalism and a resurgent popular patriotism linked to the contemporary 'Volunteer Movement'. It also establishes the broader significance of the structure, especially in terms of British approaches to war commemoration. In particular, it argues that a key feature of the monument—it carries the names of nineteen of the town's servicemen, all rank and file—complicates the generally accepted chronology of when interest in commemorating the 'common soldier' first emerged in Britain. In this sense, Lancaster's Crimean War monument is one of several mid- and late-Victorian monuments, as the Boer War took place in the later Victorian period, that anticipated the defining quality of war remembrance in the post-1918 period, what Thomas Laqueur has called 'necronominalism' (that is, the naming of the dead, regardless of class or status). The monument is thus indicative of Lancaster's mid-century social politics and it also nuances, usefully, key details regarding the history of British war commemoration.

Keywords: Lancaster; Crimean War; monument; commemoration; memory

Now rather weathered and a little lost amidst a small copse of yew, when the monument was originally dedicated it stood proud and aloof near the high point in the town's new cemetery, commanding views towards the Irish Sea and Lakeland fells.[1] Dedication day, 8th November 1860, was a suitably impressive occasion replete with all the pageantry one might expect from mid-century Victorians.[2] For the *Lancaster Guardian* it was 'one of the most imposing demonstrations which has ever been witnessed in the old county town', a sentiment with which its rival for local readership

[1] *Lancaster Gazette* (hereafter *Gazette*), 14 July 1860, p. 5.

[2] Simon Gunn, *The public culture of the Victorian middle class: ritual and authority in the English industrial city 1840–1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), p. 163.

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and affection, the *Lancaster Gazette*, firmly agreed.[3] Reflecting on this 'great day', the *Gazette* remarked that it had been 'one of the most interesting spectacles that has perhaps ever been witnessed in our midst'.[4] Crowds had lined the streets from the market square to the moorland cemetery in the East. A procession of militiamen, Rifle Volunteers, Grammar school boys, and local dignitaries had marched in formation. And clergy, Members of Parliament and the Mayor (William Whelon) had all offered lofty orations celebrating those 'gallant townsmen' of Lancaster who had fallen in recent battles on a faraway shore—the Crimea—and whose names were shortly to be added to the monument, a tall obelisk made from limestone sourced in the Lune valley. This was a notable moment in Lancastrian history, as significant in its day as the more well-known act of local commemoration—the unveiling in 1924 of the town's First World War memorial.[5] Yet for all this significance, the full details of the monument have long remained absent from the historical record.[6] By using the extant records—especially the details recorded in the local press—this article seeks to return this 'imposing demonstration' and 'interesting spectacle' to its place in local history.[7]

To do so, the article identifies the monument as indicative of two key features of mid-century Lancaster. The first concerns what Philip Gooderson has called a 'Tory paternalist revival', a development especially apparent among the town's large and influential professional class.[8] In this sense, the Crimean War obelisk—which purposefully commemorated the heroism of the 'common soldier'—was informed by the same paternalism as the town's orphanage (1856) not to mention the new municipal cemetery (1855) in which the monument was of course located. The second key factor was Lancaster's well-established connections to the army as well as the implications this had for local perceptions of military service. The 4th Foot, the King's Own, despatched to the Crimea in 1854, had some connections to the area (albeit not formalised until the 1870s), whilst the 1st Royal Lancashire Militia were barracked in a prestigious spot at the town's entrance (opened just a few years before the memorial dedication, in 1857). These links between town and military were then further accentuated in the late 1850s—the very moment the plans for a monument were being discussed—by the nationwide 'Rifle Volunteer' movement (a response to resurgent fears of French invasion), which in

[3] *Gazette*, 10 November 1860, p. 5; *Lancaster Guardian* (hereafter *Guardian*), 10 November 1860, p. 8.
[4] *Gazette*, 10 November 1860, p. 5.
[5] For details of Lancaster's approach to commemoration after 1918, see James Dennis (ed.) *The Last Post: The War Memorials of Lancaster and Morecambe* (Lancaster: Lancaster Military Heritage Group, 2006); Martin Purdy, 'Westfield War Memorial Village: Disability, Paternalism and Philanthropy, 1915–2005', unpublished PhD thesis, Lancaster University (2017); Ian Gregory, Corinna Peniston-Bird, Peter Donnelly, Michael Hughes, *Lancaster: Remembering 1914–18* (Cheltenham: The History Press, 2017).
[6] The monument is briefly discussed in Dennis, *The Last Post,* pp. 21–22. A few details are also provided here: http://www.kingsownmuseum.com/crimealancaster.htm (Accessed: 26 April 2021).
[7] Frustratingly, the records of the specially formed Monument Committee have not survived. This article thus focuses on details reported in the press, an organ of local record and communication which became increasingly influential as the nineteenth century progressed. See Andrew Hobbs, *A Fleet Street in Every Town: The Provincial Press in England, 1855–1900* (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2018).
[8] Philip Gooderson, 'The Social and Economic History of Lancaster, 1780–1914', unpublished PhD Thesis, Lancaster University (1975), p. 348. See also Michael Winstanley, 'The Town Transformed, 1815–1914' in *A History of Lancaster*, ed. by Andrew White (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001), pp. 173–228.

Lancaster led to the formation of the 10th Volunteer Rifles.[9] Together, this combination of Tory paternalism and a resurgent popular patriotism (centred around the celebration of military service) explain the most striking feature of the monument's design: the inclusion of nineteen names of the soldier dead, all rank and file.

In this latter point also lies the ultimate significance of Lancaster's monument: it complicates the established chronology of those ideas later central to twentieth-century war commemoration, what Thomas Laqueur has called 'necronominalism'; that is, an emphasis on naming the dead.[10] This is a commemorative strategy commonly understood to have emerged in modern form after the American Civil War (1861–1865), whilst the general consensus is that in Britain it was not until forty years later, after the Boer War, that such a 'democracy of death' first became visibly apparent.[11] It then took the carnage of the First World War to establish it as a fully-fledged practice dominating the culture of commemoration on both sides of the Atlantic.[12] As one recent writer has succinctly expressed it: 'before 1900 the lowly trooper had never been remembered by name, and for him to be so before 1914 was an exception'.[13]

Lancaster's Crimean War monument thus helps nuance our understanding of exactly when commemorative interest in the 'lowly trooper' first emerged in Britain, and to this extent it stands next to several others of this period (and after). Amongst these are a now disappeared monument in Leeds (listing the names of 57 'natives' of the city who 'died for their country in the Crimean War'), an obelisk erected at Liverpool in 1856 dedicated to the 'courage and endurance displayed by the privates of the British Army', as well as a number of similar structures linked to other late nineteenth century conflicts.[14]

[9] Ian W. Beckett, *Riflemen Form: A Study of the Rifle Volunteer Movement 1859–1908* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword, 2007); Stephen Bull, *Volunteer! The Lancashire Rifle Volunteers, 1859–85* (Preston: Lancashire County Books, 1993); Hugh Cunningham, *The Volunteer Force: A Social and Political History, 1859–1908* (London: Routledge, 1975).

[10] Thomas Laqueur, *The Work of the Dead: A Cultural History of Mortal Remains*, pp. 365–488, esp. pp. 447–488. For post-1918 memorialisation in Britain, see Alex King, *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance* (Oxford: Berg, 1998).

[11] Thomas Laqueur, 'Memory and Naming in the Great War' in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. by John R. Gillis (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 150–167; Bob Bushaway 'Name Upon Name: The Great War and Remembrance' in *Myths of the English*, ed. by Roy Porter (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), pp. 136–167; Reinhardt Koselleck, *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002). For details on Boer War memorials in particular, see Colonel Sir J. Gildea, *For Remembrance and In Honour of Those Who Lost Their Lives in the South African War, 1899–1902* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1911); Elaine W. McFarland, 'Scottish Military Monuments' in *A Military History of Scotland*, eds. Edward M. Spiers, Jeremy A. Crang and Matthew J. Strickland (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), pp. 748–775.

[12] See Thomas Laqueur, *The Work of the Dead: A Cultural History of Mortal Remains* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015).

[13] Clive Aslet, *War Memorial* (London: Penguin, 2013), p. 171.

[14] For the Liverpool obelisk, which lists the names of seven soldiers buried nearby, see: Liverpool Crimean War | War Imperial War Museums (iwm.org.uk) Accessed: 29 March 2022. A small plaque in the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul in Bardwell, Suffolk, also lists the name of those in the 'parish who fell in the service of their country during the Crimean Campaign'. It lists seven names. See: St Peter And St Paul Church - Crimea War | War Imperial War Museums (iwm.org.uk) Accessed: 29 March 2022). For more information on British Crimean War memorials, see Alan Borg, *War Memorials: From Antiquity to the Present* (London: Leo Cooper, 1991), p. 4, p. 6, p. 41, p. 88, p. 127. See also Peter Donaldson, 'Commemorating the Crimean, South African and First World Wars: A Case Study of the Royal Engineers, 1856–1922', *War and Society*, 39:2, (2020), pp. 93–108. Some regimental memorials, frequently established in churches, did also often name the dead, but generally in accordance with military convention (ie. listed according to rank). See: War Memorials Register | Imperial War Museums (iwm.org.uk) Accessed: 29 March 2022. One notable regimental memorial, to the 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers, lists the names of 313 killed in the Crimea and it stands, rather unusually, in civic space – in the centre of Carmarthen. See:

Ultimately, therefore, Lancaster's monument is a revealing marker within a broader process of commemorative shift, one which takes us from the Crimea, to the various wars of Empire, and on to the imposing Memorial to the Missing dedicated in 1932 at Thiepval on the Somme (which carries the names of 72,000 service-personnel killed in battle). As such, this article furthers our understanding of the place of the Crimean War in local memory whilst also shedding light on a revealing moment in both Lancastrian history *and* in British approaches to war commemoration.[15] In particular, by shifting the focus away from the traditional icons of nineteenth century commemoration (Generals and Statesmen) to the 'common soldier' Lancaster's monument—like some others of this era—anticipated what would happen on a far larger scale after 1918. In the details of how it was realised, meanwhile, it betrays its origins within a mid-Victorian Tory elite yet to develop the skills (or inclination) to harness the energies of the broader community.

'In Honor [sic] of the Fallen': The Origins of the Idea, c.1855–1857

The original idea to establish a monument dedicated to those Lancastrians killed in the 'Russian War' was first reported in the local press in late 1855, shortly after the long-running siege at Sevastopol had concluded. This was a moment of heightened national interest in the conflict—which had broken out in 1854, pitting Britain, France and the Ottoman Empire against Imperial Russia—with the British press giving substantial column inches to the 'heroic endurance and unparalleled deeds of valour' witnessed at the infamous Russian Fort on the Black Sea.[16] As Stefanie Markovits has explained, the 'newspaper press occupies a central and undisputed place in the British experience of the Crimean War', with the *Times* emerging as the dominant force.[17] Yet it was in local publications that the vast majority of Britons actually encountered the news of the day, with the ending of Stamp Duty taxation in 1855 allowing the provincial press to expand in both titles and readership. The historian of this development, Andrew Hobbs, has gone so far as to claim that 'at the heart of almost every town and city, on the high street or town square, there was a miniature version of Fleet Street'.[18] Lancaster was a microcosm of this development, and during the 1850s and 60s both the town's two major papers flourished: the *Gazette* and the *Guardian*.

Founded in 1801 and edited—from 1834 to 1874—by prominent local Tory Charles Edward Quarme, the *Gazette* was a weekly paper (the most popular type of

Carmarthen / Caerfyrddin - 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers | War Imperial War Museums (iwm.org.uk) Accessed: 29 March 2022. For some similar types of memorial for other conflicts see, for example, the monument at Southsea to those seamen and marines killed in Indian in 1857, the obelisk at Edinburgh commemorating the dead of the 72nd Highlanders from the Afghan Wars of 1878–80, and the Zulu War Memorial in Lichfield Cathedral (which includes the names of the 80th Regiment's dead inscribed on Zulu shields).

[15] For the response in Britain to the Crimean War, see Stefanie Markovits, *The Crimean War in the British Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); A.L. Berridge, 'Off the Chart: The Crimean War in British Public Consciousness', *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 20, (2015), pp. 1–23.

[16] *Guardian*, 3 November 1855, p. 4.

[17] Markovits, *The Crimean War in the British Imagination*, p. 14.

[18] Hobbs, *A Fleet Street in Every Town*, p. 3.

the era) issued every Saturday and with a circulation by the 1880s in excess of 2000 (from a town population of around 35,000). The paper was very much Quarme's mouthpiece with much of the commentary and editorial content bearing his clear imprint. The *Guardian*, established in 1837 and popular with the town's growing middle-class, was similarly issued weekly (it would also ultimately outlast the *Gazette*, which was wound up in 1894). Both papers reported on the events in the distant Crimea, even printing the letters sent home by some of those local sons at the front. Both were also keenly interested in the subsequent plans for a Crimean War monument. Of the two, however, it was the *Gazette* that most vocally advocated on the project's behalf, a product of Quarme's long-running commitment to supporting civic pride and pageantry.[19]

It was in the *Gazette*, therefore, that the idea of establishing a monument was first raised, with an anonymous correspondent to the paper—later identified as John Sharp, a Tory solicitor and former Mayor of Lancaster in 1846–1847—suggesting in December 1855 that the town should do something fitting to commemorate those of its sons killed contesting 'Russian aggression'. According to the *Gazette*, Sharp's idea was enthusiastically 'responded to by all classes of person in the town' with Quarme noting that it was 'particularly gratifying' to see the idea 'so cordially approved of'. Such a response was the result, Quarme claimed, of the fact that so 'many men belonging to the town or its immediate neighbourhood were serving in the ranks of the British army in the East' many of whom had 'died a soldier's death'. And so the obvious and fitting response was to erect 'an obelisk or war memorial [...] in the newly-formed cemetery'. This was to be done via public subscription, with the 'maximum amount' kept purposely low so that as many people as possible might contribute, for in 'a cause like this it is desirable that all should subscribe'. The intention was thus to ensure that the poor had the 'opportunity of throwing in their coppers' whilst the 'well-to-do' would hopefully 'multiply their half sovereigns' (Fig. 1).[20]

The *Gazette's* report constituted the first public pronouncement of plans to erect a monument to those Lancastrians killed in the Crimea. But it was not until a Town Hall meeting held over a year later, in January 1857, that the signs of any real commitment to the project can be detected.[21] The meeting, called after a special 'requisition' the week previous,[22] included the out-going Mayor, Richard Hinde, Rev. Joseph Turner (Vicar of St. Mary's Priory Church), W.J. Garnett (shortly to be elected in spring 1857 as the borough Tory MP), Richard B. Armstrong, and the aforementioned John Sharp. Notably, this was also the first occasion in which the latter fully recounted what lay behind the original idea. As Sharp explained it, he had recently gone 'into a bookseller's shop in the town, and saw a little card prepared by a young lady [...] on which were the names of about a dozen gallant

[19] In the years that followed, Quarme became the key local celebrant and chronicler of the town's most famous mid-century event – the 1851 visit of Queen Victoria, even publishing a commemorative volume of the occasion in the 1870s. See Charles Edward Quarme, *A Narrative of the Visit of Queen Victoria to Lancaster in 1851* (London: James Nisbet, 1877).

[20] *Gazette*, 1 December 1855, p. 4.

[21] *Guardian*, 10 January 1857, p. 4.

[22] *Guardian*, 3 January 1857, p. 4.

FIGURE 1. John Sharp, Solicitor. Mayor of Lancaster 1846–1847 and key figure in the campaign for the Crimean War monument. Courtesy of Lancashire County Council's Red Rose Collections.

fellows, bearing at the top the flags of the allied powers, and surrounded by a wreath of laurel'. The fellows in question had 'died in asserting the pre-eminence of their country, and in protecting their country's friends from invasion, and he felt a natural pride that so many out of their little town of Lancaster were doing their duty as British soldiers'.[23] Sharp's interest in the town's war heroes was then quickened by another encounter. As he continued: 'a few days after that he met a poor old man, whom he was sorry not to see present that day, who told him that his son had volunteered out of the 1st Lancashire Militia into the Grenadier Guards'. Alas, when he met the same old man some weeks later he learnt the tragic news that 'his son had died in the trenches [around Sevastopol]'. The otherwise stoic old man was quickly overcome by a 'burst of natural feeling which would have done credit to any of

[23] *Guardian*, 10 January 1857, p. 4.

them', before he gathered himself, reassuring Sharp that his boy had 'died like a soldier and a man'. The 'incident', confessed Sharp, 'went to his heart, and it struck him that something should be done to commemorate such fortitude as had been exhibited'.

It was then that Sharp realised something important: 'If this young man had been an officer, his deeds would have been recorded, and his gallantry perhaps inscribed on a slab in the parish church' (as was indeed the case for many of those officers killed in the conflict).[24] However, the boy was son of a pauper, one of many who served Queen and country but whose names and martial deeds were rarely remembered by posterity. For Sharp, such neglect was clearly no longer appropriate, hence his call to 'raise a memorial to those who had lost their lives', an act which he conceived would bequeath two specific benefits. It would provide a 'little consolation to those friends they had left behind', and it would 'animate the rising generation to emulate the example of those who had gone before them'.[25] In short, the monument—inspired by the commemorative fidelity of the town's young women as well as the parental sacrifice of its impoverished elders—was to be an act of municipal homage to those whose recent service and sacrifice would otherwise be forgotten. Here is the genesis—in *1857*—of the approach to war commemoration which would come to dominate the post-1918 period, one which put the fallen, regardless of rank, at the very centre and which Thomas Laqueur has called the 'democracy of death'.[26]

To this extent, Sharp's idea was suggestive of a mid-Victorian paternalism which saw in public works and civic pageantry a useful means to perform municipal authority and demonstrate local largess.[27] This was particularly the case in Lancaster, which in the 1850s remained in the 'commercial and industrial doldrums' (in contrast to elsewhere in the county) with the result that it was an expanding 'professional class'—overwhelmingly Tory in politics—which 'imposed an intellectual stamp on the elite's … activities'.[28] The town's public health crisis of 1846–1850, for instance, saw the 'strong medical presence' within this local elite push for a firm response to the problems of sanitation and water-supply.[29] This professional elite remained politically active well into the 1850s and were a key factor in the various forms of public service which so characterised this era, most of which were driven by Tory paternalism rather than by a Liberal reforming spirit.[30] Take, for instance, the contemporary upgrades undertaken to local infrastructure and institutions, including the establishment in 1856 of a new orphanage (Ripley Hospital), the building of a new reservoir (1855), the opening of a specially built children's hospital (the Royal Albert, 1870) and the creation of a new town cemetery (1855).[31] The idea for a

[24] For some examples of those memorials established in memory of specific officers, often by their relatives, see the Imperial War Museum's War Memorials Register: War Memorials Register | Imperial War Museums (iwm.org.uk) Accessed: 29 March 2022.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Laqueur, 'Memory and Naming', p. 151.
[27] Gunn, *The public culture of the Victorian middle class*, p. 163.
[28] Gooderson, 'The Social and Economic History of Lancaster', p. 196, pp. 153–154, pp. 226–228.
[29] Ibid, p. 156, p. 157.
[30] Ibid, p. 156, p. 157, p. 159.
[31] Winstanley, 'The Town Transformed', p. 173.

Crimean War monument should be seen in this context, a point also suggested by the details of the special committee formed during the January 1857 meeting to develop the plans. Like the Town Council more generally, this committee seems to have been majority Tory with just a sprinkling of locally-prominent Liberals. It consisted of Sharp, Mayor Hinde, Christopher Johnson (shortly to assume mayoral duties), Thomas Swainson (the Town Clerk), and a local military man (Major Chippendall), all representative of the town's Tory elite. But it also included Henry Gregson (brother of local Liberal MP Samuel Gregson) and Thomas Howitt (a doctor and another former Mayor).[32]

Local interest in commemorating the recent war was also fuelled by a burgeoning popular patriotism connected to what historian Ian Beckett has identified as the 'Volunteer Movement'. Flourishing specifically over 1857–1859 (but lasting well-beyond), this movement led to the raising of reserve forces intended to support the Regular Army and the Militia in time of national emergency. Its origins were complex. Napoleon III's naval construction programme together with French leadership in new technologies, specifically steam, ensured that the Crimean ally had once again reverted to type in the British imagination.[33] Elsewhere, the 'shocks of the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny', as well as the fact that both events were 'vividly reported' in the 'popular press' also contributed to the surging popular patriotism behind all this interest in raising new Volunteer units.[34] In response, the British government, uncomfortable with the economics of increasing the Standing Army and wary of expanding the Militia due to widespread dislike of the 'ballot' system through which its ranks were filled, finally accepted these growing calls to establish new 'Volunteer' units in 1859.[35] Such units were the cheapest response to the perceived French challenge, one which enabled the government to secure the support of the very demographic 'unable to join the Militia and for whom there was no place in the Regular Army': these were 'gentlemen, professional men, merchants, tradesmen and other respectable inhabitants of their respective districts'.[36] In Lancaster, where local society and politics was very much dominated by this class, the surging Volunteer Movement 'quickly influenced' the town and certainly shaped the plans for a Crimean War monument.[37] At least one of those on the monument committee (Henry Gregson) took a commission in the 10th Lancashire Rifles, and several others on the committee attended the ceremony announcing the unit's formation.[38]

These links between the monument and a resurgent popular patriotism were already apparent by early 1856 when Sharp hosted a 'Patriotic Ball' in the town. The Ball, attended by leading members of town society together with the officers of the 1st Royal Lancashire Militia—effectively the town's resident garrison—saw the

[32] *Guardian*, 10 January 1857, p. 4.
[33] Beckett, *Riflemen Form*, pp. 7–9.
[34] Ibid, p. 10. Notably, though, the involvement of Lancastrian soldiers in the 'Indian Mutiny' did not seem to garner quite the same degree of local attention.
[35] Ibid, pp. 7–38.
[36] Ibid, p. 16.
[37] Victoria County History, 'Townships: Lancaster', in *A History of the County of Lancaster: Volume 8* (London: 1914), pp. 35–36.
[38] Beckett, *Riflemen Form*, p. 295; Eastwood, *Lions of England*, p. 31. For Henry Gregson's involvement in the Rifles, see *Guardian*, 1 September 1860, p. 8.

Assembly Rooms 'decorated with Military Trophies' and the money raised through the sale of tickets (5s for ladies, 6s for gentleman) was to go towards the cost of the monument.[39] But it was in the testimony of those present at the January 1857 meeting (most of whom had also attended the Ball) that the invocation of patriotic sentiment is most apparent. This time, for instance, Sharp declared—via a tortuously expressed logic—that once complete the monument would help ensure that 'if at any future time Lancaster should be called upon to send out soldiers to maintain the rights of the country, those men would remember when doing their duty, how their forefathers had been remembered by those at home, who would also remember them, and they would feel encouraged by such a reflection'.[40] Sharp then reminded his audience that 'when the apprehended invasion of Napoleon [Bonaparte] had excited the enthusiasm of the people of England and Scotland, and numbers of volunteer troops were enrolled in both countries. Beacons were erected [...] to convey the intelligence of the landing of French troops from one end of the empire to the other'.[41] For Sharp, therefore, a monument to the town's Crimean dead would similarly serve as something of a 'beacon', providing a powerful and highly visible symbol of local patriotism and of municipal pride in military service.

Such thinking was also apparent amongst other members of the town's elite in attendance at the January 1857 meeting. Take, for instance, the speech of local Tory luminary W.J. Garnett, soon to be elected as borough MP. For Garnett, scion of a prominent local family and a 'militia man' who had only recently witnessed the 'arrival of the Guards in London' (an occasion he described as a 'picture of the gratitude and patriotism of Englishmen') the task before his fellow citizens was noble and worthy: 'They were now assembled', he told the gathered audience, 'to do honour, and to pay the last tribute of respect, to a few private soldiers, of the rank and file of the British Army, drawn from the ranks of Lancaster men'. The work at hand, continued Garnett to loud applause, was to erect 'on the beautiful hill on which their cemetery was placed, a memorial stone, which should be alike the emblem of their endurance and a record of their bravery', thereby providing a powerful reminder should 'the same spirit again' be required.[42]

By the start of 1857, therefore, a clear plan had been articulated by three prominent members of the town's Tory elite: John Sharp, Charles Quarme, and W.J. Garnett. The proposed monument was to be an obelisk, funded by public subscription, and intended to celebrate the sort of civic 'duty' increasingly attractive to the Victorian middle-class;[43] it was to commemorate *all* those Lancastrians killed in

[39] *Guardian*, 22 December 1855, p. 8. The Ball itself took place on 16 January 1856. For some details of the 1st Lancashire Militia's officers, see Arthur Sleigh, *The Royal Militia and Yeomanry Cavalry Army List*, (London: British Army Despatch Press, 1850, reprinted 1991).

[40] *Guardian*, 10 January 1857, p. 4.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Ibid.

[43] At one point a correspondent to the *Gazette* had proposed an alternative: a replica of the memorial to the Naval Brigade then only recently erected in Kensal Green Cemetery in London. The memorial in question took the form of a ship, which the correspondent was confident 'might be made into a tent' by a 'slight alteration' and for 'nearly the same money as an obelisk' (the tent was symbolic of the Crimea due to its frequent depiction in the conflict's art, photography and written accounts). There is little evidence though that this suggestion was ever pursued. See *Gazette*, 7 February 1857, p. 5.

the conflict and thereby help cultivate the spirit of military service just as calls for the establishment of Volunteer units gained ground; and it was to elevate the 'common soldier' to the same status as those 'great men' usually the focus of Victorian war commemoration. In doing so, Lancaster's plans for a monument also demonstrate that some local communities were clearly willing to pick up the substantive slack left by the national government, which demonstrated very little interest in the memory of British troops, much like it had similarly demonstrated little interest in their welfare whilst they were alive. One famous 1854 report in the *Times*, for instance, lamented that the 'noblest army ever sent from these shores has been sacrificed to the grossest mismanagement. Incompetency, lethargy, aristocratic hauteur, official indifference, favour, routine perverseness and stupidity reign, revel and riot in the Camp before Sebastopol'.[44] And such indifference certainly persisted into the post-war period. Thus there was no effort on the part of the government to establish military cemeteries for the fallen, and so Thackery's comments regarding the Waterloo dead—that they were 'shovelled into the ground and so forgotten'—still held true for those Britons killed in the Crimea.[45]

Problems Emerge: Funds, Location, and the Russian Guns

Although a clear plan was apparent by 1857 various problems nonetheless quickly emerged, particularly concerning the question of funding. For Sharp, this was a simple matter: he 'proposed to limit the subscription to 10s, which was to be the maximum of the subscription, but he would be proud to receive a halfpenny from the poorest man in Lancaster, in order that every one on pointing to the monument, might say, "I helped to do this"'. Public Subscription was a popular means of realising projects of this sort for it enabled the era's growing middle-class to express—publicly—their largess and respectability, particularly as the local press frequently published the names and details of subscribers.

Not all those at the January meeting agreed, though, and indeed another attendee, Thomas Johnson, raised a query which, according to the *Guardian*, was met with 'disapprobation and laughter'. 'Supposing the subscriptions be not sufficient to defray the cost' asked Johnson, 'will any attempt be made to cast the deficit upon the rates of the town?'. Johnson, a solicitor and well-known teetotaller and pacifist, proceeded to reveal his motive, explaining that he could not himself countenance subscribing to the building of a war memorial for it 'would be an encouragement to others to follow in the same path of life', and he would be 'sorry to see any lad in whom he felt an interest dressed up in a red jacket'.[46] For Johnson, therefore, representative of a growing mid-Victorian pacifism and all too aware of the idea that the monument was indeed intended as a 'beacon' to the town's sons, supporting the erection of a war monument was anathema, particularly if it risked falling on the rates

[44] *The Times*, 23 December 1854 and 3 February 1855.
[45] Thackery, quoted in Laqueur, 'Memory and Naming in the Great War', p. 151.
[46] Johnson was himself later memorialised in Lancaster with a commemorative fountain erected in 1895 after his death (in 1892). Notably, given the terms of his protest against the Crimean War monument, his memorial celebrates his 'earnest and untiring labours for the welfare of the youth of Lancaster'.

(keeping the rates as low as possible was the default setting).[47] Significantly, however, this was clearly a minority opinion, with Sharp replying—to laughter and applause—that 'Mr Johnson either did not know, or did not appreciate the warm feelings of his fellow townsmen if he thought they would allow a memorial of this kind to be erected by the poor rates' (the assumption being that the town's citizens should instead volunteer donations).[48]

A more challenging and persistent subject of debate, however, concerned the choice of location. To be sure, for figures such as Sharp and Garnett the site already identified—in the new cemetery—was eminently fitting. A recent consequence of national policy intended to ameliorate municipal health and hygiene, the cemetery had been the first major initiative of the local Burial Board established in 1854 (after, that is, it had first 'closed the overcrowded denominational cemeteries in the town').[49] In line with design ideas first explored at Kensal Green in London (Britain's first 'garden cemetery', established in 1833), Lancaster's cemetery was carefully laid out with the Board sensibly calling on the services of the town's renowned architectural practice, Sharpe and Paley.[50] The firm was much in demand during the second half of the nineteenth century, securing numerous commissions for new ecclesiastical architecture—often Gothic-revival in style—across Lancashire, from Manchester in the south to Barrow in the north. At the cemetery, established on moorland to the west of the town, the firm's involvement was similarly most apparent in the design of the site's religious buildings: three chapels serving each of the town's major Christian denominations, the Anglicans, Catholics and Dissenters.[51] Given that the firm's leading partner, Edward Graham Paley, had also agreed to design the proposed Crimean War monument—it was Paley who opted for an Obelisk, a Victorian appropriation of Egyptian funerary architecture especially popular in the mid-century—a location in the cemetery made perfect sense.[52] Moreover, the original impetus informing the monument only accentuated this. This was to be a structure commemorating the rank and file soldier and so where better to place it than in the new cemetery, landscapes purposefully intended to act as 'great social levellers'.[53]

By May 1857, however, the issue of location had developed into a matter of some debate, with the editor of the *Gazette*—Quarme—now suggesting 'a deviation from the plan originally suggested'. He continued: 'We propose that instead of erecting the memorial in the cemetery, it shall be placed on that vacant space of corporation property at the head of Penny-street', a spot which in its current state 'disfigured'

[47] *Guardian*, 10 January 1857, p. 4.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Winstanley, 'The Town Transformed, 1815–1914', p. 209.
[50] Geoff Brandwood, *The Architecture of Sharpe, Paley and Austin* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2012); See also James Price, *Sharpe, Paley and Austin: A Lancaster Architectural Practice* (Lancaster: Centre for North-West Regional Studies, 1998). For details of about the mid-Victorian commitment to establishing new cemeteries, see See Laqueur, *Work of the Dead*, p. 276. See also Susan Rutherford, *The Victorian Cemetery* (Botley: Shire Publications, 2008), p. 5.
[51] The firm was also responsible for the cemetery's lodge and gardener's cottage. See Brandwood, *The Architecture of Sharpe, Paley and Austin*, p. 217. Unfortunately, no details or drawings regarding the monument survive in the firm's records held at Lancashire Record Office.
[52] For the popularity of the obelisk in the nineteenth century see Borg, *War Memorials*, p. 4.
[53] Rutherford, *The Victorian Cemetery*, p. 6.

'one of the main entrances to the town'.[54] Erecting the memorial at the 'entrance of the town on the great high road from the south to the north of England' would thus 'strike the eye of the stranger as he is about to enter our streets' whereas 'few if any sojourners amongst us will be likely to see it if erected in the cemetery'.[55] The 'triangular form' of this new site (still preserved in Lancaster's street plan) would also enable 'spectators more nearly to approach and the better to read the memorable inscriptions which constitute the value and importance of the memorial' whilst a 'neat iron railing' combined with 'forest trees' at the rear (so as to 'effectually mask the unsightly buildings') would allow the 'memorial obelisk' to 'spring up from the midst, at once an ornament and an honour to the town'.[56] Moreover, and as Quarme explained, if sited in the cemetery the monument would 'only commemorate the achievements of the dead', whereas positioned at the entrance to the town (within sight of the Militia's new barracks) the 'names of all—living and the dead—should be legibly inscribed on the obelisk'.[57] Quarme's intervention was thus significant. He was attempting to shift the monument's focus to *all* those who served, and he was calling for the monument to be established closer to the town's centre, on the main road to the north (now the A6). But it was another part of his plan which made the question of location still more contentious: Quarme wished to augment the monument with 'a couple of [captured] Muscovite field pieces'.[58]

This was an approach to the commemoration of the Crimean War increasingly popular in the late 1850s, with numerous towns acquiring captured Russian guns.[59] In Lancaster, the first signs that such guns had become part of the commemorative plans had in fact emerged in the spring of 1857, and by June it was apparent that an application made by the new Mayor, Christopher Johnson, to Lord Panmure, the Secretary of State for War, had been accepted. The assumption at this stage, prior to Quarme's intervention, was that the guns would be 'placed by the side of the monument to Crimean soldiers, to be erected in the cemetery'.[60] But this quickly provoked some engaged debate, as a June 1857 meeting of the Town Council revealed.

It was Alderman Jackson, a late arrival to the meeting, who raised the first objection, explaining that a similar government gift of Russian guns 'had cost the Preston people about £60 for the gun carriages' necessary to their formal presentation, an expenditure which ensured that at both Bolton and Blackburn 'the town council considered the guns were not worth having'. Mayor Johnson nonetheless remained convinced that in Lancaster the initiative still retained support and so he cautioned

[54] *Gazette*, 30 May 1857, p. 4.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.
[59] See Roger Bartlett and Roy Payne, 'Britain's Crimean War Trophy Guns: The Case of Ludlow and the Marches', *History: The Journal of the Historical Association* (2014), pp. 652–669. Many of these guns, including those at Lancaster, were later melted down for their metal during the Second World War, although a few still survive, such as the one at Hartlepool. See also Guy Hinton, 'New Perspectives on war memorialisation: North-East England, 1854–1910', Unpublished PhD Thesis, Newcastle University, (2019), esp. pp. 35–103; Guy Hinton, *War Commemoration and Civic Culture in the North East of England, 1854–1914*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), esp. pp. 35–85.
[60] *Guardian*, 20 June 1857, p. 5.

against following the lead of the rivals to the south, for he was sure 'some persons were very much inclined to reduce every thing to a shilling and pence consideration'. A terse exchange followed between Alderman Jackson and the Town Clerk, with the former seeking reassurance that any additional cost might be covered by the town's annual surplus (the Clerk was noncommittal). Much like the previous argument between Sharp and Johnson, here again we see a concern indicative of the age: commemorating the town's heroic citizens was all well and good, but low behold any Council which did so at rate-payer expense.[61]

For others, though, the key issue concerned whether the addition to the monument of captured artillery was in fact *appropriate*. One councillor, for instance, was adamant on the matter, remarking that he 'hoped that these guns would never be placed in the Cemetery', a sentiment heartily endorsed by a colleague who 'thought it would be an unheard thing to place trophies of war in a cemetery'. In the pages of the local press, meanwhile, a correspondent to the *Guardian* likewise declared that the guns had no place in the cemetery for they were 'implements of war, of deadly struggle, of noise and tumult' and so hardly befitted 'a place where the stillness of death reigns'. Far better to separate the two elements—guns and obelisk—and then place the former 'at the Castle gates, one on each side'.[62] A similar view was also apparent at the January meeting, with one Alderman suggesting that the monument might be retained in the cemetery with the guns placed instead on the 'Parade', an open area to the western side of the Castle and close to the Shire Hall. This was an idea that even Quarme now supported, and so he rescinded his earlier appeal for the monument to be located near the town's entrance arguing that it (and the guns) were in fact better placed near the Castle Gates within sight of the Queen's Oak, unveiled by the monarch during her visit in 1851.[63]

Where Are the Funds? The Difficult Path to Dedication

This debate over the most appropriate location for the monument rumbled on until by January 1858 it had become increasingly pressing as the captured Russian cannon had in fact arrived in Lancaster by rail on the 14th. Both were 'ship or fortress guns' of substantial size, identified in the press as 'iron thirty-sixes, eight feet three inches long and weigh each 53 cwt. 1qr.'. One had been captured 'at Sebastopol', and the 'other at Bomersund' and both were 'nicely mounted' on carriages which seem to have been of local manufacture (thereby alleviating the concerns of Alderman Jackson). Their arrival duly forced a decision on their unveiling, one which in turn exploited an upcoming occasion—the marriage on 25th January of the Princess Royal. This was marked in Lancaster with a full programme of civic events amongst which was the dedication at Castle Parade of the two Russian guns, an occasion that

[61] *Guardian*, 27 June 1857, p. 4. See also *Gazette*, 27 June 1857, p. 8.
[62] *Guardian*, 27 June 1857, p. 8.
[63] *Gazette*, 6 February 1858, p. 4; *Gazette*, 3 April 1858, p. 3. For the Council's initial decision that the guns should be placed close to the Castle Gate and near to the Queen's Oak, see Lancaster Borough Minutes, 12 January 1858, Lancashire Record Office.

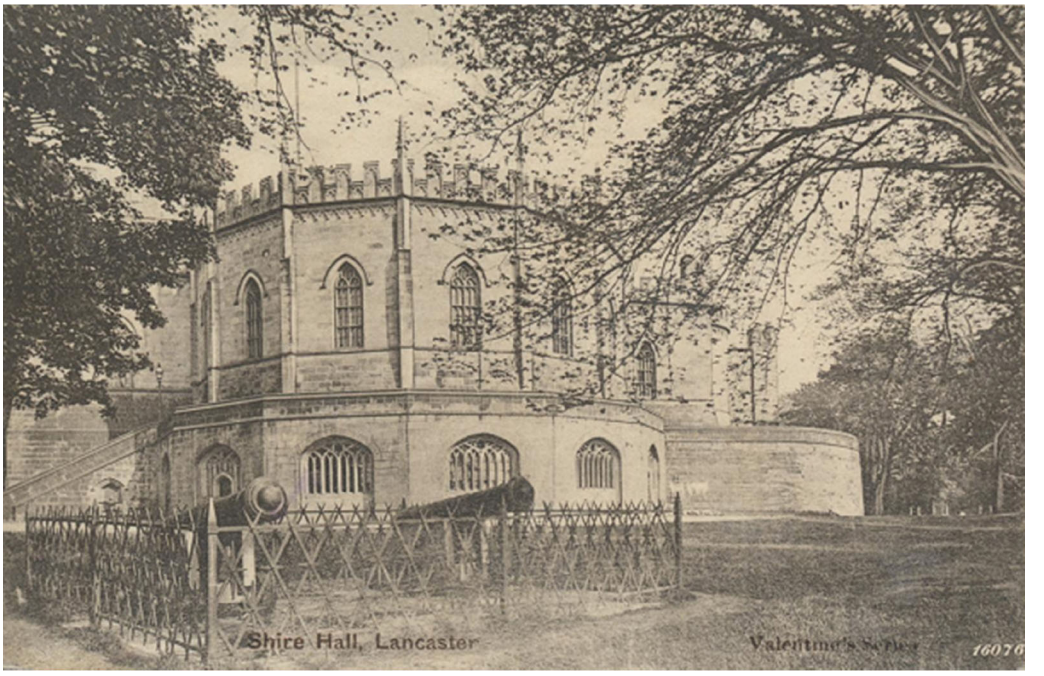

FIGURE 2. The Russian Guns on Castle Parade outside the Shire Hall, dedicated on 25 January 1858. Courtesy of Lancaster City Museums.

apparently reflected the 'highest possible credit on the patriotic spirit of Lancaster' (Fig. 2).[64]

But the obelisk did not feature in these January 1858 events. Indeed, to the clear frustration of Quarme the whole project, 'held in abeyance' for so long, now seemed to be 'in danger of being finally abandoned'.[65] This delay was a consequence of, once again, financial problems, with the question of the monument fund—its extent and indeed existence—now the subject of sustained local discussion. In June 1857, for example, a letter to the *Guardian* from 'Dinna Forget' asked a series of pointed questions: 'Where are the funds? Who is the secretary, who the Treasurer? Of whom do the committee consist? When will they report progress?'.[66] Shortly after, a correspondent to the *Gazette* raised similar queries, asking 'what has become of the fund raised for the monument?' before going on to suggest that the delay was likely a result of the town's 'usual apathetic mode of doing business' a mode this writer held responsible for losing Lancaster 'her shipping, her trade, and a large number of her inhabitants'.[67] The same questions were asked a couple of months later by a local

[64] *Gazette*, 6 February 1858, p. 4.
[65] At one point there was a suggestion that the monument might be unveiled on the same day as the guns, though it quickly became clear this would not be possible. See *Gazette*, 2 January 1858, p. 4.
[66] *Guardian*, 6 June 1857, p. 4.
[67] *Gazette*, 5 September 1857, p. 5.

likewise keen to know 'where the money raised in the town for the Crimean monument is deposited?' This anonymous correspondent's chief concern was the safety of the funds, not unreasonable in Lancaster where two local banks had collapsed in the 1820s.[68] Indeed at one point a rumour seems to have circulated that the monument funds had been 'lost in the British Bank which broke about two years after the war broke out', although fortunately this 'was not the case' and in fact the 'funds were safe elsewhere'.[69] Perhaps it was the memory of these banking problems which led to one correspondent's suggestion: 'a mortgage might be effected on some substantial property: anywheres, so that the money is *safe*'.[70] Similar queries regarding the money recurred over the months to come, and in June 1859 a correspondent to the *Gazette* was still wondering what had happened to the monument fund for a 'long time has now elapsed, and nothing has been heard either of the [monument] committee or any if its proceedings'.[71]

Absent the Monument Committee's records, the precise details as to what happened to the subscription money are difficult to ascertain, though it seems likely that John Sharp, the monument's instigator, was in some way implicated for he seems to have now faded from the scene. Another possibility is that the monument (and its committee) became caught up in a broader local political dispute: the 1857 election had seen the town's Tories level various (largely unfounded) accusations at their Liberal rivals and as a result municipal party politics became increasingly adversarial. Perhaps, then, these growing tensions among local powerbrokers impacted on the previously bipartisan nature of the town's Crimean War monument.[72] Whatever the fine details, at least one figure long involved in the project remained firmly committed: Charles Edward Quarme. Indeed, clearly sensing potential disaster, Quarme now rallied the *Gazette's* readers to the monument's defence, reiterating that despite the 'elapse without effort of any kind' he still retained faith that the 'people of Lancaster' were keen 'to keep alive the memory of the wonderous deeds of arms achieved by their countrymen at Alma, on the Inkerman heights, on the Balaclava plan, and in the dreary Sebastopol trenches'. For Quarme, moreover, the solution was obvious: 'a few appeals' should be made 'to the wealthy in the town and neighbourhood' so that the monument committee might 'set the stonemasons to work without more ado'.[73] Put differently, the solution demanded some good old-fashioned elite paternalism.

Two months later, though, there had still been no progress, and so Quarme raised the stakes still higher, invoking sentiment not dissimilar to that which Rupert Brooke would make famous over half a century later. As Quarme explained to his readers, those Lancastrians who had given their lives for 'England's good name' now lay in 'far-off' fields where their 'bones bleach on the inhospitable soil'. As such, the

[68] Winstanley, 'The Town Transformed', p. 174.
[69] *Guardian*, 3 October 1857, p. 4.
[70] *Guardian*, 21 November 1857, p. 4.
[71] *Gazette*, 11 June 1859, p. 4.
[72] M. A. Manai, 'Influence, Corruption and Electoral Behaviour in the Mid Nineteenth Century: A Case Study of Lancaster, 1847–1865', *Northern History*, (1993), 29:1, pp. 154–164. See also Gooderson, 'Social and Economic History of Lancaster'.
[73] *Gazette*, 6 February 1858, p. 4.

'dead call for a remembrance of heroic deeds performed in life', especially because 'these dead have also an echoing voice in bereaved relations who mourn their loss and still dwell in our midst'. The plans for the monument thus demanded a 'new effort being made', particularly following the recent successful 'inauguration of the Russian trophies' [the two cannon].[74] Quarme closed with another appeal to the town's 'wealthy and well-to-do', pleading that they do 'honour to the brave sons who perished in the memorable and glorious campaigns of the Crimea'.[75]

Yet despite this emotive appeal, the plans languished for another two years with the evidence suggesting that at the root of it all was a stalemate over the funds. Here, in microcosm, is a situation rather akin to that at the national level, which likewise saw the government of the day refuse to fund the organised commemoration of the Crimean dead. Thus, in Lancaster the Council steadfastly resisted any suggestion that they draw on the rates (the Clerk, Thomas Swainson, was committed to keeping municipal expenditure low) whilst the money raised through public subscription—never officially announced and, as noted above, difficult to locate—was clearly insufficient. The matter of funding was only finally resolved when the Mayor, now William Whelon, and the architect, Edward Graham Paley, 'undertook responsibility of the completion of the scheme'.[76] Their exact reasoning for doing so remains unclear, but the two were certainly well-known to each other (Paley was a witness at Whelon's wedding in 1844), and Whelon—a merchant and prominent local Tory—was keenly involved in various local enterprises, even at one point serving as treasurer to the town's Rifle Corps. Paley, as we already know, was similarly linked to many of the town's new initiatives, and in addition to the Crimean monument he had designed the Militia Barracks opened on South Road in 1857.[77] Significantly, too, both he and Whelon had also been present (together with Mayor Hinde) at the formation of Lancaster's Rifle Corps in June 1859,[78] whilst Paley's partner, Edmund Sharpe, had delivered the chief toast at Mayor Whelon's official dinner that autumn.[79] It seems clear, then, that after several years of public appeals, local debate, and not a little controversy, Lancaster's monument to the town's Crimean War dead was ultimately realised due to the agency of a small and closely connected group of Tories among the town's elite, with Paley and Whelon now the central figures (and with Quarme still cheerleading from the side-lines, as he had been doing since 1855). As a result of their efforts, the monument was finally unveiled on 8th November 1860.

The choreography of the dedication ceremony—which took place on a day that was 'fine and clear overhead, but rather hazy in the distance'—was carefully planned, with all those institutions favoured by the monument's Tory backers given a prominent role.[80] The occasion started with a half-mile long procession sequenced according

[74] *Gazette*, 10 April 1858, p. 4.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Guardian, 10 November 1860, p. 8.
[77] *Guardian*, 10 November 1860, p. 8. I am indebted to Michael Winstanley for some of the details regarding the various connections between Paley and Whelon. See also Gooderson, 'Social and Economic History of Lancaster'.
[78] *Gazette*, 4 June 1859, p. 4.
[79] *Gazette*, 12 November 1859, p. 5.
[80] *Gazette*, 10 November 1860, p. 5.

to mid-Victorian ideas of precedence and prestige and held to order by a designated marshal. At the head of the procession came the Borough Police and the Band of the 1st Militia, followed by various detachments from the naval and military services, amongst which was a large party from the 10th Lancashire Rifles, the town's contribution to the 'Volunteer' movement as well as the Recruiting Party of the 6th Foot (the latter were perhaps co-opted whilst in the town on a visit). Then came clergy (of 'all denominations'), magistrates, Mayor, aldermen, councillors, schoolboys (from both the 'National' school and the Royal Grammar School), and finally a select group of the 'inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood' amongst which were representatives of 'every Friendly Society', including the 'Oddfellows, Mechanics, Forresters, Druids'. Here was an idealised and all male vision of Victorian society in microcosm, stratified by class and gender and carefully regimented in order. And the route they processed was in effect a beating of the civic bounds. Starting at the marketplace, the procession took Penny Street before heading eastwards towards the moorland on which the new cemetery had been built, along a route lined with the town's citizens, all given three hours off work to enable their attendance. Heading over the canal, the procession passed the site of the Catholic Cathedral, just then under construction (and completed in 1862), before moving up onto Quernmore Road (site of the Grammar School) towards the high ground. At the cemetery itself a 'stream of people occupied the several winding walks [...] whilst every hill-top on the moor was crowded with spectators, a large proportion of whom were ladies'. The latter were purposefully excluded from the procession, but their attendance in the 'audience' was nonetheless required to ensure the occasion was suitably elevated and 'genteel'.[81]

With the various detachments marshalled into their allotted places around the base of the new monument a series of orations followed (again, an exclusively male affair). Amongst the speakers were representatives of the Navy, the Army, the Clergy, and the magistrates, all of whom pondered what the Vicar of St. Mary's—Joseph Turner—called the 'brave deeds of the Lancaster men who fell during the Crimean war', deeds which they connected to a broader national endeavour, and which had covered the British flag with 'glory and invincibility'. But it was the principal speaker, Mayor Whelon, who most explicitly drew out these connections between Lancaster, the Crimea, and the imagined community of the nation (something also central to the evocative lithograph of the monument included as a supplement to accompany the *Gazette's* coverage).[82] Looking west towards 'the noble bay hemmed in by the everlasting hills', Whelon began by reminding his audience of why they had gathered: 'We are here today to dedicate this monument to the memory of those brave Lancaster men who fell—in the service of their country—during the Crimean war. It is a duty we owe no less to them than to ourselves'. The monument was thus a duty owed the dead, but it was also a duty the town's citizens owed themselves because as Whelon explained, all 'services and honours paid to the dead are intended to be encouragements to the living'. Moreover, this was a moment in which

[81] *Guardian*, 10 November 1860, p. 8.
[82] For the lithograph, see Lancaster Crimean War Memorial - Red Rose Collections from Lancashire County Council Accessed: 29 March 2022.

the 'deeds of our heroic townsmen' had special import. As Whelon continued: 'England never stood upon so high an eminence as she does at this moment. We have peace at home—our arms abroad are victorious—our moral position and our physical strength are felt and acknowledged in the councils of Europe', and all of this power and prestige was due to 'the skill, the valour, the patriotism of our gallant army and navy, and to the mighty accession of strength we have received from our noble Volunteers'. The obelisk carved from local limestone before which the Mayor stood thus recorded the 'glorious deaths' of the Crimean fallen in order that those Lancastrians who followed them—the sailors, soldiers, 'Volunteers', and school boys of the procession—might similarly play their part in maintaining in the face of any future threat to nation or Empire the good name of Lancaster. Mayor Whelon's speech then closed with the roll call of the town's Crimean dead (Fig. 3).[83]

When the ceremony was done the Volunteers and the Militia 'fired three rounds in good time', the crowd dispersed, and the procession returned to the town for food and festivities. The contingent of naval 'blue jackets' (whose ship was moored at Morecambe) 'were marched into the 'Old Sir Simon [on Market Street] where an excellent dinner was provided' whilst the 'old pensioners had an 'allowance of beer served them'.[84] In the cemetery, the procession left behind a monument inscribed with these (now rather faded) words:

CRIMEA
TO THE IMPERISHABLE MEMORY OF
THE BRAVE
SOLDIERS AND SAILORS
NATIVES OF LANCASTER AND THE NEIGHBOURHOOD
WHO FELL IN THE RUSSIAN WAR
A.D. MDCCCLIV.V.VI
THIS MONUMENT
ERECTED BY PUBLIC SUBSCRIPTIONS
IS DEDICATED.[85]

Two years later, and after yet another very public campaign led by Quarme and the *Gazette*, the nineteen names of 'poor forgotten men whose bones lie bleaching in the far east' at last joined this inscription (on dedication day in 1860 they had not yet been added, and only fifteen were named in the speeches).[86] As with the plans for the monument itself, the precise reasons for this delay—what one commentator called a 'disgrace to Lancaster'—were again much debated in the pages of the local press,

[83] *Guardian*, 10 November 1860, p. 8. So concerned was the *Gazette* to ensure that the names of all those killed received due acknowledgement that a week later the paper issued an appeal to its readers for the names of any individuals so far 'omitted' from the 'list of Crimean heroes'. See the *Gazette*, 17 November 1860, p. 8. Similar challenges to the compilation of a definitive list of the dead emerged in post-1918 commemoration.
[84] *Guardian*, 10 November 1860, p. 8.
[85] The inscription was also detailed in Cross Fleury, *Time-Honoured Lancaster* (Lancaster: Eaton and Bulefield, 1891), p. 422.
[86] *Gazette Supplement*, 22 March 1862.

FIGURE 3. Lithograph of the Crimean War monument, included as a supplement with the *Lancaster Gazette*, 10 November 1860. Courtesy of Lancashire County Council's Red Rose Collections.

with several correspondents suggesting it was a consequence of a now familiar problem: lack of funds. Whatever the exact cause, the names of the dead were nonetheless finally added to the monument in 1862 thereby completing the vision first articulated by John Sharp seven years before. Amongst their number are seventeen private soldiers, one lance-corporal, and one seaman (the latter killed in a storm off Balaclava in November 1854). Their stories—well documented by the King's Own Royal Regiment Museum—provide an all too familiar record of the nature of the Crimean conflict: some were killed in action, but several died in hospital from wounds and three from disease (cholera and fever).[87] Regardless of the fine details though, all were Lancastrian, including a number of former Militiamen who had transferred into active service in the Guards (a contemporary response to the manpower crisis occasioned by the conflict) (Fig. 4).

Conclusions

Lancaster's Crimean War monument exposes a fascinating episode in municipal history. After the economic decline of the early nineteenth century the 1850s saw the emergence of a new energy and impetus amongst the town's expanding professional class, something apparent in the various public works programmes they initiated. Plans to erect a monument to those local sons killed in the Crimea should be seen in this context: an expression of a similar (and heavily circumscribed) elite interest in the lives and lot of 'ordinary' citizens. The persistent problems the Committee experienced in securing the necessary funds via public subscription nonetheless suggests that their endeavour lacked broad support, the gushing claims of Quarme notwithstanding. To this extent, Lancaster's plan for a monument to the Crimean War dead was rather different to those which later emerged in Britain after 1918, a period in which interest in commemorating the common soldier reached still greater heights. In the 1920s, for instance, although middle-class paternalism still shaped the work of commemoration (especially in Lancaster, as Martin Purdy has shown),[88] changing circumstances also demanded the engaged support of two other key constituencies: veterans and the families of the fallen (both of whom were notably absent in press coverage of the November 1860 dedication). The siting of many post-1918 memorials was also distinct, with many communities eschewing their cemeteries and choosing instead more easily accessible civic space, such as in a park or a spot near the Town Hall (the latter was the choice in Lancaster).

These differences were a consequence of the contrasting nature of the conflicts. Compared to the Great War, the fighting in the Crimea was relatively short, involved a professional (rather than conscript) army, and occurred when twentieth century ideas of 'democracy' were still rather distant. Seen like this, post-1918 interest in commemorating the common soldier was an expression of the same ideas that produced the Representation of the People Act (1918). But 1855–1862 was of course a

[87] For full details on the names of the dead, and some fascinating insights into their background, see the information compiled at King's Own Royal Regiment Museum (kingsownmuseum.com) (Accessed: 13 May 2021).
[88] See Purdy, 'Westfield War Memorial Village'.

FIGURE 4. The Crimean War monument, Lancaster Cemetery, dedicated on 8 November 1860. Photograph by Sam Edwards.

very different moment, one in which local elites evinced far less interest in seeking the input of those whose loved ones they were ostensibly keen to commemorate.[89] This was especially notable when it came to the question of design, with the

[89] Guy Hinton has said the same of Crimean War commemoration in North-East England. See Hinton, 'New Perspectives on War Memorialisation: North-East England, 1854–1910', pp. 101–102.

Monument Committee selecting an obelisk without any apparent public discussion or debate. Lancaster's Crimean War monument is thus best understood as the work of a relatively small and exclusive Tory elite, with figures such as John Sharp, W.J. Garnett, Edmund Paley, William Whelon, and the editor of the *Gazette*, Charles Quarme, all playing central roles (albeit it at different moments). This was a group bound by various personal and professional connections and heavily invested in what might be called a patriotic paternalism, sentiment energised by the contemporary Volunteer Movement (with which all of them were more or less caught up). To this extent, Lancaster's Crimean War monument—like several others of this era erected at various places around the country—is a revealing precursor to that vast and pervasive architecture of 'necronomalism' which, after 1918, sought to bring 'home' the names of those left to slumber in a foreign field. It marks a significant rupture with conventional Victorian commemorative practice and it demonstrates the profound *local* impact of a distant and now largely forgotten Imperial war. At the same time, the monument also exposes the distance that still had to be travelled before the commemoration of the rank-and-file soldier became, accepted, commonplace and readily understood.

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