



Between History, Heritage, and Foreign Relations

Extant Westerners' Cemeteries
in Guangzhou and Shanghai

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Introduction

It is widely believed that historical Westerners' (or more generally foreigners') cemeteries have not survived in the People's Republic of China (PRC). If they were not levelled in the 1950s, the Red Guards of the Cultural Revolution (commonly dated 1966-1976) would have done the rest. There is, for sure, much evidence of destruction to support this general view, and the difficulty of access to archival materials does not make investigation easier. However, at a closer look, there are some cemeteries of foreigners extant (if "reworked") and, more importantly, they are at times even integrated today into Chinese heritage preservation schemes. This provokes the question, why these cemeteries are kept, how and by whom, and to which avail. Clearly, there is the political factor of foreign relations involved: in the destruction as well as in the preservation or rebuilding. The following pages, based on the sites themselves and on what could be gathered on them to piece together some information on their background, thus attempt to take stock of the cases in Guangzhou (Canton), the place where Chinese foreign relations were attached to for a significant amount of time prior to the Opium Wars of the mid-19th century, and Shanghai as a major treaty port opened in the wake of the First Opium War, which hosts the probably best-known of the otherwise largely ignored extant Westerners' cemeteries in China, partly due to its more convenient, easily accessible inner-city location. Whereas Guangzhou was mainly connected to trade during the so-called Canton system period (18th to mid-19th century), but also to Christian mission, Shanghai was connected to both after its becoming a treaty port in 1842. Thus, issues of trade and religion play into these places. And both cities are characterised by a multi-cultural history which present-day Chinese heritage politics needs to deal with, while paying heed to the fact that foreign relations to a number of countries are potentially involved.

Guangzhou

Guangzhou 广州 has a very long history of contact with foreigners.¹ As a major port in the very South of China in the delta of the Pearl River, its early contacts included notably also Arab Muslim traders who came to China during Tang times. Thus, up to today the earliest Muslim tombs in all of China are located here.² Since the Sino-Muslims (Hui 回)³ trace their ancestry back to these early Muslims, they are somewhat "integrated" into the Chinese social fabric and

¹ For an overview on those connected to trade, see Chen Xuejun 陈学军: *Gudai Guangzhou de waiguo shangren* 古代广州的外国商人 (Foreign merchants in Guangzhou in former times). Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe 2002.

² The Muslim cemetery is today not open to non-Muslims. For a collection of some Chinese (secondary) written sources on the cemetery, see Guangzhoushi zongjiaozhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 广州市宗教志编纂委员会 (ed.): *Guangzhou zongjiaozhi ziliao huibian di san ce: Yisilanjiao*. 广州宗教志资料汇编第三册. 伊斯兰教 (Material collection for religion gazetteers of Canton, vol. 3: Islam). Guangzhou 1995, pp. 59-70.

³ This hyphenated equation in English follows the use of Jonathan Lipman: "Hyphenated Chinese: Sino-Muslim Identity in Modern China". In: Gail Hershatter et al. (eds.): *Remapping China: Fissures in Historical Terrain*. Stanford: Stanford University Press 1996, p. 97-112.

thus less perceived in hindsight as purely “foreign” in China, and subsequent local Muslims were buried with them. In this sense, the cemetery as such is, strictly speaking, not a “foreigners’ cemetery”, but a “faith-specific” one.

The largest influx of foreigners, and thus in consequence foreigners’ graves, however, set in with the so-called Canton system. Trade relations with the various Western Powers who “knocked at the door of China” had started to grow since the late Ming times, until the Qing dynasty finally restricted them in the 18th century to this port far away from the Court in Beijing – only the Russians being separately assigned to the trading city of Kyakhta at the border between the Russian and the Qing empires. The official rule was soon set up that the Westerners were only allowed to stay in Guangzhou during the trading season in their so-called factories. This meant that they usually stayed the rest of the time in Macau at the southwestern end of the Pearl River delta, a place which had been assigned to the Portuguese in the 16th century, and that their families were to remain behind (usually in Macau as well). Thus, Macau was also the usual burial place of those Westerners, if they happened to die in the region.⁴

While in the so-called factories west of the Guangzhou city wall the trade was to be organised by Westerners and their Chinese trading partners, the ships themselves had to anchor in Whampoa (Huangpu 黄埔) somewhat further down the river from Guangzhou city with its deeper harbour. The ship crews were supposed to stay on the ships during these months of trade with only some restricted area close to the anchorage to take a walk occasionally. Since deaths occurred time and again, not the least due to either diseases or drowning, these close-by areas were finally granted also for burial. As far as can be reconstructed, the Qing assigned one place to the Danes (“Dane’s Island”) in front of which they anchored, and one to the French (“French Island”) who appear to have paid an extra sum for “exclusive” rights to “their” island.⁵ Both islands were south vis-à-vis another island, then called Whampoa (Huangpu) Island, on which the Chinese Customs Office was located to supervise the trade at this end of the stretch between downstream Whampoa and the upstream Guangzhou factories. Since in general Christian denomination played an important role for the Westerners at the time, it could be assumed that basically the “Dane’s Island” burial place was for Protestants, and the “French” one for Catholics, as there is no mention of the granting of similar burial places for other nations that were trading there.⁶ However, things were

⁴ For the foreigners’ cemeteries in Macau, see Gotelind Müller: *Challenging dead: a look into foreigners’ cemeteries in Macau, Hong Kong and Taiwan*. Heidelberg and Berlin: CrossAsia-Repository 2018, pp. 2-11. (DOI: 10.11588/xarep.00004145.)

⁵ See Paul A. van Dyke: *The Canton Trade: Life and Enterprise on the China Coast, 1700-1845*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press 2005, p. 27, with a view to trade rights, though not explicitly mentioning burial rights.

⁶ There are hints of the 1830s as to the British, e.g., being at least allowed to use “Dane’s Island” for recreation, too. See Joseph Macardy: *The Commercial Cyclopaedia: or Dictionary of Practical Commerce*. Manchester: Joseph Macardy & Company 1833, p. 148.

apparently not that clear-cut and there seem to have been changes over time, since a travel account of the early 1750s argues that at the time only the Danes buried their dead on “their” island, and that “English, Swedes, French and Dutch” all used “French Island”.⁷ Some decades later, in the first years of the 19th century, a traveler experienced a Muslim Lascar burial on “Dane’s Island”, the tip of which was by then called “Deadman’s Point” and used for the “poorer” sailors of “various” nations.⁸ Another traveler some years later in the 1820s, wrote as well that Danish or English sailors and Lascars were buried on “Dane’s Island”, but that he found also Dutch and interestingly even Danish “gentlemen” tombs with “suitable inscriptions” on “French Island”, insinuating there had evolved a “ranking” between both islands, with “French Island” being the “nobler” (and more costly) option.⁹ This is corroborated by other commentators of the time, e.g. British C. Toogood Downing who wrote in the 1830s that “French Island” was the more “romantic” spot for the “superior orders” of foreigners, the river-facing side of which was basically turned into a large cemetery, covering various languages. (He witnessed, e.g., a burial of a Briton on “French Island”.)¹⁰ Another traveler, David Abeel, provides a more detailed impression in the early 1830s, writing that there were among the many native tombs there three different clusters of foreign tombs close to one another on “French Island”, two of them “recent” at his time and mainly of Americans and British, the third one being in various languages and referring back to the 18th century.¹¹ This suggests that the “differentiation” of burial grounds increased over time. However, it is also frequently remarked that the Chinese at least originally wanted to keep the nationalities apart. Since there were of course also Chinese tombs on the islands, it is likely that there were at best different areas where (denominational or national or societal) “groups” could focus upon. In any case, interment rights had to be individually bought from the land owners (who obviously were also well aware of their strong market position)¹² which might explain the practical restrictions of Westerners to freely building “cemetery groups” in the Whampoa region in the years preceding the Opium War.

⁷ See Elijah Bridgman and Samuel Wells: *The Chinese Repository*, second edition, vol. 1 (1832-1833), Canton 1833 [Tokyo: Maruzen], p. 222, citing the travel account of Peter Osbeck, chaplain of a Swedish ship, of 1751. Osbeck is further cited on a burial in a “European cemetery” which was obviously north of the walled city of Guangzhou, which in Bridgman and Wells’ times in the 1830s “is no longer made use of by Europeans”. (Ibid. pp. 218-219). Instead, it is stated that foreign burials were by then restricted to the Whampoa region.

⁸ George Wilkinson: *Sketches of Chinese Customs and Manners, in 1811-12, Taken on the Spot*. Bath: J. Browne 1814, pp. 149-153.

⁹ See the account of the American W. W. Wood: *Sketches of China: with Illustrations from Original Drawings*. Philadelphia: Carey & Lea 1830, p. 49 and p. 51. Interestingly, he mentions American sailors were buried on “French Island”, too, which could imply that those were less “poor” than the others. However, it seems one should not assume a too clear-cut “social ranking” between the islands either but rather a mixture of factors deciding who “went” where for burial.

¹⁰ C. Toogood Downing: *The Fan-Qui in China in 1836-7*, London: Henry Colburn Publisher 1838, vol. 3, pp. 243-253.

¹¹ David Abeel: *Journal of a Residence in China, and the Neighboring Countries from 1829 to 1833*. New York: Leavitt, Lord & Co. 1834, pp. 98-99.

¹² Downing 1838, p. 247-248.

The whole Whampoa region is now part of Guangzhou municipality. Usually it is claimed that “Dane’s Island” is Changzhou Island 长洲 of today, and “French Island” west of it equals today’s Xiaoguwei 小谷围. However, in Chinese sources the name “Shenjing Island” 深井岛 also appears, using the name of the village Shenjing (as Changzhou was name of a village as well) which now is the western part of Changzhou Island. Comparing Western maps which show “Dane’s” and “French Island”, divided by an almost straight “French River”,¹³ and modern maps, it becomes clear at closer scrutiny that, seen from Northeast to Southwest, *today’s* Changzhou Island is de facto a merger of “Dane’s Island” with “Shenjing Island”, connected now in the middle, whereas Xiaoguwei is separated today from “Shenjing Island” by a curved canal which does not appear on those Western maps, though it might be based on a natural river arm.¹⁴ That means that today’s southwestern part of Changzhou Island, i.e. the Shenjing area, was once considered part of “French Island”, together with today’s Xiaoguwei, being the latter’s most Northeastern part. In other words, the Shenjing area has shifted its “alignment” from the island southwest of it (Xiaoguwei / “French Island”) to the one northeast of it (Changzhou / “Dane’s Island”). And it is precisely in this Shenjing area where at present there is a “foreigners’ cemetery” (waiguoren gongmu 外国人公墓) [ill. 1], whereas a cemetery of the Parsees 巴斯墓地 (who had their own cemetery as believers in Zoroastrism) is situated on former “Dane’s Island” in the Changzhou area. Both are protected sites today, the “foreigners’ cemetery” even on provincial level since 2002, and the Parsee one on the municipality level since 2002 as well.¹⁵ This, however, does not mean that they are open to the public. Since the area is used by the Chinese military to a large extent, namely former “Dane’s Island”, the Parsee one is closed off, and the “foreigners’ cemetery” near Shenjing village can be accessed only by admission granted by the military theme park on whose territory it is situated today. However, it is noteworthy that this cemetery has been used repeatedly in the last years for foreign relations building, e.g. with the U.S. (whose first “minister” to China has the largest monument there) [ill. 2 and 3], or the Danes (when the Danish crown prince visited Guangzhou in 2017 to show him three Danish

¹³ See, e.g., the most often cited map, taken from William Dallas Bernard and William Hutcheon Hall: *Narrative of the Voyages and Services of the Nemesis from 1840 to 1843*, vol. 1, London: Henry Colburn Publisher 1844, map attached.

¹⁴ Although the named Bernard and Hall (1844) map does not indicate it, other maps slightly later suggest a small split in the north between Shenjing and Xiaoguwei. The Chinese name of Shenjing *Island* also suggests some preceding natural waterway between Shenjing and Xiaoguwei.

¹⁵ Guangdongsheng wenwuju 广东省文物局 (ed.): *Guangdongsheng geji wenwu baohu danwei* 广东省各级文物保护单位 (Cultural relics protection units of all levels in Guangdong Province). [Guangzhou: Guangdongsheng wenwuju n.d.], p. 30 and p. 35. (The Muslim Cemetery, mentioned above, was also listed as a municipality-level cultural protection unit in 2002.) Cf. also *Guangzhou wenwuzhi* (Cultural relics gazetteer of Canton), Guangzhou: Guangzhou chubanshe 2000, pp. 98-100, for a brief description of the three “foreign burial sites” (the third one being of Vietnamese mentioned nowhere else) before their “upgrading” in 2002, notably not focusing on the “foreigners’ cemetery” as such but just on the tomb of American “minister” Everett (see below). The same wording is then taken over in the official and authoritative series on cultural relics of Guangzhou, divided into district volumes, published some years later in 2008. See *Guangzhoushi wenwu pucha huibian: Huangpuqu juan* 广州市文物普查汇编. 黄埔区 (Collection of an overall investigation into cultural relics of Guangzhou municipality: Huangpu District volume), Guangzhou: Guangzhou chubanshe 2008, pp. 73-74. For the Parsee cemetery, see *ibid.* pp. 75-77.

tombstones preserved) [ill. 4].¹⁶ The Parsee cemetery, in turn, has been used in relations with India, since the Parsees buried there were usually from Bombay. Given the fact that Guangzhou traditionally hosts the most important international fair of China, the city quite naturally tries to exploit its “international” past for furthering foreign relations.

It has been officially argued that the “foreigners’ cemetery” and the Parsee one have been “preserved”, however, at a closer look it is more likely that at least the “foreigners’ cemetery” has been reassembled. Even the most well-known tomb, the one of the “first resident minister of the United States of America to China” Alexander Everett, does not seem to be at its original place, though in the area. In fact, when looking into the available sources, it becomes clear that when the cemeteries were “renovated” after the destruction during the Cultural Revolution (if not damaged before), earlier paintings and drawings (from Western sources of the 19th century mostly) were used to make the setting look as similar as possible, but a comparison with such paintings (some preserved in the Peabody Museum in Salem in the U.S., some in Hong Kong) shows that even the location of the U.S. “minister’s” monument is not identical.¹⁷ It is very likely that the tombstones had been scattered during PRC times as is well known from elsewhere in China (e.g. with the Jewish tombstones in Shanghai – see below) and used by villagers in various ways and only later were “collected” and then put up to “reconstruct” the cemetery to gloss over (or make good for) the interruption of transmission. In fact, a participant of the 1980s’ local heritage investigation team, Jiang Tiejun 江铁军, stated that the discovery of the “VIP” Everett among the 237 tombstones found of which 26 were “restored”,¹⁸ raised concerns because of the potential diplomatic implications at a time relations with the U.S. had been reestablished only fairly recently, if the U.S. came to know about the dilapidated state of the tomb of their “first minister”. Thus, according to her account, the local government decided to buy back the slot of territory in 1991 and “recollected” dozens of tombstones reused by villagers close-by in various ways. After consulting Hong Kong’s and Macau’s preservation modes of “foreigners’ cemeteries”, the present form of the cemetery was set up in 1998.¹⁹ It is in this form that it was

¹⁶ Interestingly, according to the director of the Museum of Revolutionary History of Guangdong which is at present the entity responsible for the cemetery, the expertise for the three Danes came from Denmark, whereas the internal files of his museum which had taken over the responsibility from the Whampoa Military Academy on eastern Changzhou did not show any information on the whole process or detailed analysis in preparation of the site as a provincial-level heritage site. (Personal communication, May 18, 2018). It should be stressed again that the Danish crown prince thus de facto visited these tombstones on former “French Island” and not “Dane’s Island”.

¹⁷ See the paintings by Sunqua (or his painting studio) of the site. One of several versions of the painting has been published in: *Views of the Pearl River Delta. Macau, Canton and Hong Kong*. Hong Kong: Urban Council of Hong Kong 1996, p. 131.

¹⁸ Significantly, Jiang does not explain why the others were not “restored” and, more importantly, where they ended up. One might speculate they were too damaged, and thus one rather opted for the “best ones” to show.

¹⁹ The account of Jiang Tiejun is cited in the journalistic piece: “Guangzhou Huangpu Changzhoudao waiguoren mudi tanmi” 广州黄埔长洲岛外国人墓地探秘 (Exploring the secrets of the foreigners’ cemetery on Changzhou Island in Huangpu of Guangzhou). (November 3, 2016). Available online: <http://www.hua168.com/lingnanwenhua-324233.html>.

listed in 2002 as a provincial-level heritage site. And ever since the U.S. consulate in Guangzhou regularly visits, whereas in 2017 the Danish crown prince, as mentioned, paid his respects to the three Danish tombstones situated there.²⁰

As for the Parsee cemetery which was set up only after Guangzhou had become a treaty port and thus contains only adult tombs from 1847 to 1852,²¹ it is more likely that it was located where it is now,²² since there is the “Parsee building” close-by which was built slightly later in 1861 and rebuilt in 1923. It should be pointed out that in the Pearl River Delta area in Portuguese Macau there was a Parsee cemetery already in use since 1829; and in British Hong Kong, to which the Indian Parsees started to flock, the Parsee cemetery in use up to today was opened in 1852. Thus the Parsees obviously did not need to keep the one in Guangzhou in the long run, where the Chinese furthermore asked of them more religious compromises than the British in Hong Kong, e.g. denying them a surrounding wall as a typical feature of their burial places.²³ In fact, it had been the British who had helped the Parsees of their colony India to receive the site on “Dane’s Island” from the Chinese in 1847.²⁴ Although it is thus likely that the place of the present Parsee cemetery is more or less the original one, earlier photos show the Parsee tombstones scattered and overgrown, so the present tidy outlook in any case is new and due to the need to present a better picture to Indian visitors who are guided to this, as mentioned, usually closed-off cemetery located on the grounds of the shipbuilding company of the Chinese military.

Furthermore, the whole process of “tidying up” implies it is questionable whether the tombstones also cover or indicate any remains beneath, above all in the case of the relocated “foreigners’ cemetery”. It seems that all kinds of tombstones found in the area were simply assembled since they include at least (some tombstones are hard to decipher due to withering) one Spaniard probably being a Catholic who was likely not buried with Protestants originally, since most of

²⁰ “Lai zi ‘Tonghua wanguo de zhufu’: Danmai wangchu Feitelie yixing xiang waiguoren gongmu xianhua” 来自“童话王国的祝福”。丹麦王储腓特烈一行向外国人公墓献花 (Blessings from the “Fairy tale kingdom”; the Danish crown prince Frederic and entourage offer flowers at the foreigners’ cemetery). (September 28, 2017.) Available online: <http://www.xwgd.gov.cn/xwgd/whzc/201709/2045318f073f469e819b86deea707ed2.shtml>.

²¹ 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, chapter 6, for more details of the Parsee cemetery. Guo also provides some photos of this site closed to the public. The cemetery only hosts 9 (male) adults, and 3 children who were somehow added there later in 1918 to 1923. (Guo pp. 160-161).

²² There is at least one map of 1951 at the very beginning of PRC times, provided by the local gazetteer office’s publication of 1996: *Guangzhoushi Huangpuqu difangzhi bangongshi* 广州市黄埔区地方志办公室 (comp.): *Huangpu wenwu* 黄埔文物 (Cultural relics of Huangpu). Guangzhou: Guangdongsheng ditu chubanshe 1996, p. 25.

²³ Guo (pp. 163-166) cites local resistance at Changzhou against the Parsee’s setting up a wall. As a compromise, they only set up a bamboo fence.

²⁴ The lease of the territory to the Indians was granted by Manchu viceroy Qiyong 耆英 located in Guangzhou, to Hong Kong governor John Francis Davis who acted for Britain, on September 18, 1847: National Archives (UK), FO 682/1980/53.

the tombstones are of likely Protestants. It should also be noted that on this former – as argued above de facto “French Island” – site there is no French-language tombstone, as far as can be told from the legible ones. There are, as mentioned, however hints in written sources that “French Island” hosted various burial grounds and was seen as rather for upper class burials. The presently legible tombstones of the “foreigners’ cemetery” show a range of burial dates from the mid-18th to the mid-19th century.²⁵ Given the regulations that at least during the Canton system period foreigners’ families were not supposed to move to Guangzhou, it is not surprising that there are no children – and obviously no women, as one should add.²⁶ A 1847 comparative remark in the context of the debates over the Parsee cemetery wall on “Dane’s Island” suggests that at the time “over 50” tombs were to be found in the “Westerners’ cemetery” on “Saddle Hill” (Maanshan 马鞍山), popularly termed less kindly “barbarian devils’ hill” (*fanguishan* 番鬼山), where no wall was requested.²⁷ At present, the “foreigners’ cemetery”, however, only presents some 30 tombstones or memorials. The on-spot plaque which details the background of the spot as a declared provincial-level cultural relic protection site (and thus was probably put up in 2002), claims that the foreigners’ tombs originally numbered 237 – a number put forward by participants of the 1980s investigation team, as mentioned, covering “foreign government officials, merchants, missionaries, sailors, doctors and architects”, and in terms of nationalities British, Americans, Germans, Dutch, Spanish, French, Danes, Swiss, Swedes, Italians, but also Arabs and Indians. This would suggest the place to have been originally culturally and religiously “mixed”, which is not very likely. Rather, it is more likely (and there are hints to it in earlier written sources, as mentioned above) that there were different graveyards for different

²⁵ Chinese accounts provide the burial time range as 1770 to 1878 as gleaned from the extant tombstones still legible during reconstruction, with death ages between 17 and 58. (See, e.g., the local literature and arts associations’ 2003 publication: *Suhua Huangpu* 俗话黄埔 (Popular Huangpu). Xianggang: Guoji Yan-Huang wenhua chubanshe 2003, p. 238). This seems to be based on the 1993 report of another of the participants of the heritage investigation, Chen Yipei 陈以沛: “Changmian zai Huangpu guoji gongmu de Meiguo qinchai dachen” 长眠在黄埔国际公墓的美国钦差大臣 (The American special envoy who sleeps eternally in the international cemetery in Huangpu). Available online: http://www.gzsdfz.org.cn/was5/web/detail?record=9&channelid=59539&templet=gznj_detail.jsp. (The article is not dated but by the statement of the investigation having been done 10 years earlier in 1983, one may infer the publication date to be 1993). When Tang Qiwang checked some years later, only inscriptions of 1770 to 1861 were to be found or legible. (Tang Qiwang 唐启望: „Guangzhou Xiren muzang diaocha“ 广州西人墓葬调查 (Investigation into the burial of Westerners in Guangzhou). Typoscript. In: Tang Qiwang 唐启望: *Guangzhou jidujiao lishi wenji* 广州基督教历史文集 (Collection of articles on the history of Protestantism in Guangzhou). N.p.: 2014. 14 pp. plus illustrations, there p. 6.) (An abridged version can be found also online: <http://www.gzchurch.org/history/figure/mudidiaocha.html>). The “Find a Grave” website names seven different English-language tombstones of this “foreigners’ cemetery”, including Everett, though without photos, which mostly could be found on spot beyond further English-language ones. As mentioned, only the Danes are now individuated clearly, due to the Danish Crown Prince’s visit, and very probably the tombstones now shown there were assembled from various burial places originally found in the area.

²⁶ One woman, at least, is said to have been buried there: the Baptist missionary Lydia Hale Devan in 1846, i.e. after the end of the “Canton System”. See the website “Find a Grave”: <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/117440484/lydia-devan>. (Strangely, the entry is doubled on this website and I was not able to find/individuate it on spot.)

²⁷ See Guo p. 163, citing Manchu viceroy Qiying. At present the area is also named “Zhugang” 竹岗, due to the bamboo groves there, and is located northwest of Shenjing village.

groups in the area, and of these all that could be found (and was “presentable”) was now assembled [ill. 5]. The “Cultural relics gazetteer of Canton” of 2000 notably and clearly stated that, early on, “Changzhou Island *and* Shenjing Island” were designed as foreign burial grounds, that the Shenjing Island cemetery had 237 tombs but that now only 25 tombs “or tombstones” remained.²⁸ (This indicates from the side of the local Cultural Relics Bureau at the time of preparation for the heritage assignment that most tombstones do not cover any remains and thus – strictly speaking – should rather be called cenotaphs.) The issue of where the roughly 200 ones not shown are to be found now, is not addressed. At present, in any case, the legible tombstones are much less “mixed”, as the presented and legible tombstones cover only half of the named nationalities at best.

The plaque, though, argues that the site was “discovered” in 1984, and that the present 30 “remained” on spot. A participant of the 1980s investigation team, Chen Yipei 陈以沛, however, dates the investigation to 1983 and only vaguely states that the site had been damaged during the Great Leap Forward (1958-1960) and then again during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976).²⁹ And another participant, Jiang Tiejun, as mentioned above, openly stated that the tombstones to be seen now were assembled. A Danish visitor in the 1990s who encountered overgrown tombstones including some Danish ones uphill at first, wrote after a later visit in 2001 that the location had been moved downhill and that the slabs had been put upon stone foundations in the meantime.³⁰ A local cultural relics summary of 1996 (providing a photo of 1993) sustains the “pessimism” further, stating at the time that only “some 10” tombstones were found which had been “put together for preservation”, whereas most were obviously lost or scattered.³¹ The survey, in fact, complained over the “lack” of material at the time to ascertain who had been buried in the area formerly and what exactly happened with the tombstones.³² Notably, this was of the very entity to which Chen Yipei had delivered his report in 1993. One may thus conclude that some more tombstones were found over the next years in the area, probably due to the mentioned local government’s collecting efforts, and that the whole was set up in a tidy fashion subsequently [ill. 6]. The present on-spot Chinese-English plaque, though, simply states that this cemetery was set up in the Qianlong era, insinuating it to be an ensemble dating back hundreds of years which, as argued above, is highly questionable. Given the fact that the official expertise usually preceding any heritage status assignment could not be provided by the present responsible entity for the cemetery,³³ details remain opaque and the single claims of the present

²⁸ *Guangzhou wenwuzhi* (2000, pp. 98-100).

²⁹ Chen Yipei [1993].

³⁰ See Christopher Bo Bramsen: *Open Doors: Vilhelm Meyer and the Establishment of General Electric in China*, London: Curzon 2001, p. 294-295.

³¹ *Guangzhoushi Huangpuqu difangzhi bangongshi* (comp.) 1996, p. 27.

³² See *ibid.* p. 28.

³³ The mentioned description of Chen Yipei [1993] is at best part of it as it focusses on Everett, not the cemetery as such.

on-spot plaque cannot be verified or countered beyond the above attempts to clarify matters by piecing together and juxtaposing information provided by various available materials. The above may, however, serve as a lesson to be careful with accepting on-spot “explanations” at face value and – as at times even contradictions in materials by one and the same responsible entity appear – to be aware of the fact that such plaques are “public texts” which are to serve certain agendas. Given the usually closed-off access with some foreign consular visits, these plaques have been certainly written not only with a Chinese but also with a foreign readership in mind. What the plaque and other official materials surprisingly do not address, either, is the important issue of the islands’ new “borders”,³⁴ which is the more problematic as today the canal between “Shenjing Island” and Xiaoguwei even marks the border between the municipal districts of Huangpu and Panyu 番禺.³⁵ In fact, the whole area (including “Dane’s Island”) used to be part of Panyu until 1953 when Changzhou was assigned to the new municipal Huangpu District of Guangzhou, whereas the Shenjing area at this point in time still remained with Panyu county. It was only as recent as in 1975 that Shenjing joined the Huangpu District and thus Changzhou, the village of which only in the following year was itself upgraded to the status of a “town” (*zhen* 镇).³⁶

According to the local gazetteer bureau, during the Cultural Revolution the Changzhou area was torn between factional strives with two people killed in armed contests when arms were stolen from the military stationed there, and many “wrong accusations” were made. This probably spurred the reported numerous attempts later between 1978 and 1980 to flee to Hong Kong – a movement that alarmed the local officials since the small town of Changzhou is said to have counted the significant number of 165 people who attempted to flee.³⁷ This, in turn, also means that the area has a lot of ties to present-day Hong Kong or overseas Chinese, and the historical Whampoa Military Academy once founded by Sun Yat-sen and headed by Chiang Kai-shek, located on Changzhou Island together with the memorial for the fallen soldiers during the

³⁴ This is striking in view of the fact that Chen Yipei [1993] in his official report of the local gazetteer bureau already hinted at the fact that “Shenjing Island” was “French Island” (to the apparent exclusion of Xiaoguwei, however) (and Changzhou “Dane’s Island”).

³⁵ Geography and historical naming are in fact very tricky in this quite fluid river delta topography with its heavy silting. E.g., the historical Whampoa (Huangpu) Island is today called Pazhou 琶洲 Island and – being just opposite old “Dane’s” and “French Island” – belongs to yet another district: Haizhu 海珠. The famous Whampoa Military Academy founded by Sun Yat-sen, in turn, is situated on Changzhou Island which belongs, as mentioned, to the Huangpu district today. And the Parsee cemetery on Changzhou Island (the former “Dane’s Island” part) was once belonging to Panyu, as a preserved “border stone” there shows. Every area on the respective islands, furthermore, appears with various names in Chinese – and sometimes in Western languages as well.

³⁶ See the detailed chronology in Guangzhoushi Huangpuqu Changzhouzhen difangzhi bangongshi 广州市黄埔区长洲镇地方志办公室 (comp.): *Guangzhoushi Huangpuqu Changzhouzhen zhi* 广州市黄埔区长洲镇志 (Gazetteer of the town of Changzhou in the district of Huangpu in Guangzhou municipality), Guangzhou: Guangdongsheng ditu chubanshe 1998, p. 22 and p. 27.

³⁷ Guangzhoushi Huanpuqu Changzhouzhen difangzhi bangongshi (comp.) (1998, p. 106). Of the 165 only 77 managed to get into Hong Kong.

campaigns against warlord Chen Jiongmeng in the early 1920s to safeguard Sun Yat-sen's National Revolution, which was put up by the Guomindang [GMD] in 1925 and was renovated in 1989, is an important heritage site of interest also to overseas Chinese and Taiwanese. Thus, the area has undergone a rather tumultuous recent past and is also full of memory sites for Chinese, although the GMD-connection was an additional "problem" during the early PRC and especially the Cultural Revolution era. The old foreigners' tombs and tombstones thus were unsurprisingly neglected until more tranquil times suggested their diplomatic potential.

Usually it is assumed that apart from these tombstones on *present-day* Changzhou Island nothing has been left of earlier Westerners' tombstones, which had once been standing in the various denominational cemeteries in Guangzhou, set up since the second half of the 19th century when missionary activities had been legalised, either for Catholics (be they Western or Chinese),³⁸ or separate ones for single Protestant denominations which tended to pay attention also to nationality/"race" criteria apart from faith. There was also a (Protestant) so-called "Westerners' cemetery" (Xiren fenchang 西人坟场) in the "Nanshitou" 南石头 area to the South of the main branch of the Pearl River.³⁹ Before that time, there are hints in some sources as to an early 18th century Catholic burial ground "one hour from Whampoa" which might have been on "French Island" but is no longer extant.⁴⁰ Another Catholic churchyard seems to have been just outside the former Guangzhou city walls adjacent to a church of Spanish Franciscans who had settled in the area already since the late 17th century, i.e. before the Canton System was set up.⁴¹ Another early 18th century graveyard for (likely non-Catholic) foreigners' burial is shown on some Swedish maps at roughly the present Yuxiu Park which could be the one mentioned in written

³⁸ The modern Chinese official gazetteer on religions in Guangzhou, e.g., mentions the first Catholic Burial Ground as of 1863 (though this was actually not the "first" Catholic one in Guangzhou, given the early presence of Catholic religious orders in the city since the 17th century), bought by a French layman and dedicated to the Church in the Northwest of Canton city, for Catholic use, be it foreigners or Chinese. This "campo santo" (*shengshan* 圣山) is said to have been destroyed in the Cultural Revolution, and the Chinese Catholic Church was given a new area in 1990. See Guangzhoushi zongjiaozhi bianzuan weiyuanhui 广州市宗教志编纂委员会: *Guangzhou zongjiaozhi* 广州宗教志 (Religion gazetteer of Guangzhou). Guangzhou: Guangdong renmin chubanshe 1996, p. 206-207.

³⁹ See Guangzhoushi zongjiaozhi bianzuan weiyuanhui (1996: pp. 286-287). It is not clear whether the Western missionaries were rather buried in the "Westerners' cemetery", which in this Religion gazetteer of Guangzhou is enumerated among the "Protestant" ones and thus obviously was only for "Protestant Westerners", or in the ones set up by the various Protestant denominations or the Catholic cemeteries; in other words whether "race" or "creed" prevailed. One may note that in the close-by British colony of Hong Kong this approach of separate Western and Chinese Protestant cemeteries (*vis-à-vis* undivided Roman Catholic cemeteries) was practiced. (See Müller: *Challenging dead...* 2018: p. 11-22). At least for the case of John Kerr (see below) there is a hint to his having been buried first in a denominational cemetery and not in the "Westerners'" one.

⁴⁰ Van Dyke: *The Canton Trade* (2005: p. 203, note 42), refers to the burial of two Catholic sailors of the Belgian General India Company in a consecrated cemetery "one hour from Whampoa" in 1727, suggesting the place might have been on "French Island" since it is the most likely place for a consecrated ground for Catholics in the area.

⁴¹ Tang Qiwang: „Guangzhou Xiren...“ (2014: pp. 2-3) refers to a Franciscan church located close to present-day Guangfu nanlu 光复南路 which according to a map of 1726 had a churchyard to its north where Chinese Catholics but probably also Western ones were buried.

sources as “in the north of Canton”.⁴² But these are – as the many denominational ones set up since the mid-19th century – all gone. Interestingly, however, Guangzhou still has denominational cemeteries – something not universally found in socialist China, but these are apparently all “new”.⁴³ Still, in one of the now three “generic” Protestant ones, the Guangzhou *jidujiao gongmu* 广州基督教公墓 at Dawoling 大窝岭 in northern Guangzhou, there are old tombstones of Western missionaries to be found, and they are now making up a little section of “Westerners’ tombs” in that cemetery [ill. 7].⁴⁴ The most famous, John G. Kerr, a medical missionary of the American Presbyterians who founded not only a hospital but also a “refuge for the insane” in the late 19th century – a novelty in China at the time, has been recently assigned a special place (“John Kerr memorial garden”) [ill. 8 and 9] with his family around, and further Western missionaries and their family members adjacent to this. In 2014, the new area was chosen in the same Dawoling cemetery, and Kerr was reinterred with his family that year on the initiative of the Protestant Church and the hospital he founded. Originally he had been buried in a denominational cemetery and after the latter’s clearance had been transferred to the new Protestant one at Dawoling. His original stele, however, had been smashed [ill. 10 and 11].⁴⁵ Most of the names on the adjacent Westerners’ tombstones [ill. 12] are English, although some German names may be found there, too.⁴⁶ As it turns out, the missionaries’ tombstones extant had been moved there in PRC times. When most of the various denominational Protestant cemeteries had been cleared in the mid-1950s, the three collectively “Protestant” ones were newly assigned. The still extant missionaries’ tombstones, covering different Protestant denominations and burials between 1862 up to 1942,⁴⁷ were subsequently assembled. They now form this “Westerners’ tombs” section in this generic “Protestant” Dawoling cemetery.⁴⁸ De

⁴² See Van Dyke: *The Canton Trade* (2005: p. 203, note 42).

⁴³ Surprisingly, studies on Guangzhou’s present-day “deathscapes” do not pick up this specialty, probably due to those studies being often undertaken from geographical angles largely ignoring religious issues. See, e.g., the work by geographer Elizabeth Teather who has worked repeatedly on recent “deathscapes” in Hong Kong and Guangzhou (without using Chinese-language materials, though). To just name one article: “The case of the disorderly graves: contemporary deathscapes in Guangzhou” in: *Social & Cultural Geography* vol. 2, no. 2, (2001), pp. 185-202.

⁴⁴ I am grateful to Mr. Cheng Cunjie, at present director of the Memorial Museum of the Generalissimo Sun Yat-sen’s Mansion, Guangzhou, who has written an article on the cemetery and has been involved over years in local heritage preservation, for further information, as well as to Mr. Tang Qiwang, son of a Baptist minister, who had first discovered the site, for information and directions to find it. He had written articles in local church magazines and given press interviews to make them known.

⁴⁵ See the report of December 2, 2014: “Guangzhou jidu jiaohui wei chuanjiaoshi yisheng Jia Yuehan jiqi jiaren juxing yihai luotu li” 广州基督教会为传教士医生嘉约翰及其家人举行遗骸落土礼 (The Protestant Church of Guangzhou conducts a reburial ceremony of missionary physician John Kerr and family). Available online: <http://www.gospeltimes.cn/index.php/portal/article/index/id/26017>.

⁴⁶ Cheng Cunjie 程存洁: “Guangzhou wan-Qing yilai chuanjiaoshi gongmu diaocha ji yanjiu” 广州晚清以来传教士公墓调查及研究 (An investigation and study of the missionary cemeteries in Guangzhou since the late Qing) in: *Guangzhou wenbo* 广州文博 2008, pp. 72-96, provides a summary of the inscriptions with some background to the deceased, as far as available. The ones he assumes to be “Dutch” (p. 92) are in fact German. Notably, the Germans are put in vicinity to each other.

⁴⁷ See Tang Qiwang: “Guangzhou Xiren...” (2014: p. 6).

⁴⁸ According to Tan Qiwang: “Guangzhou Xiren...” (2014: p. 6), this section was set up only after the Cultural Revolution. As it seems, the (Protestant) “Westerners’ cemetery” had not been cleared together with the denominational ones in the 1950s, and thus maybe some tombs had “survived” there.

facto, there are several *Chinese* Christians included in this section, too, who opted sometimes for an English Bible inscription. In any case, at the moment the site is not a designated heritage site, although the recent activities around the Kerr family tomb documented on spot with a large commented photograph of a 2018 memorial event of the medical association suggests this might change in the future.

On Shamian 沙面 (Shameen), which became the settlement of the foreigners after the end of the “Canton system”, no tombs but only single cenotaphs have been preserved.⁴⁹ The area as such, however, has been declared a “key protected relic of the state”, due to its Western architecture.⁵⁰ A further special case is the old cemetery of Lingnan 岭南 University (now Zhongshan 中山 University), located on the campus grounds which, however, contains only a handful of Western tombs amidst Chinese ones [ill. 13].⁵¹ At least some of these might have been transferred there during PRC times,⁵² and they show signs of having been broken (possibly during the Cultural Revolution) [ill. 14]. A heritage grading of this cemetery, however, does not seem very likely in the near future.

In sum, for Guangzhou’s heritage and foreign relations policy, the “foreigners’ cemetery” on Changzhou Island is used as a tool to enhance the city’s international official connections, but “normal” access for Chinese (or non-diplomatic foreign) visitors is not envisioned. The cemetery is not so much a place of mourning (which would, if so, only be relevant for foreigners anyway, being part of “their” heritage) or of historical commemoration, than rather one of symbolic politics. In this perspective, the problem of historicity is also of minor importance. The heritage grading apparently just means the site is shielded from potential levelling: nothing less, but also not much more.

⁴⁹ Tang Qiwang: “Guangzhou Xiren...” (2014: pp. 6-8), has found three single cenotaphs of British sailors who drowned in the 1870s, preserved on the Shamian Anglican Church’s grounds.

⁵⁰ See the Guangzhou government’s respective website of 2003: “Shamian Scenic Spot”, available online: https://web.archive.org/web/20110707033322/http://www.guangzhou.gov.cn/node_420/node_424/2003-08/106123294855457.shtml.

⁵¹ One professor of mathematics, the first wife of medical missionary and professor William Cadbury, one further adult “Edmund A. Gilbert”, a “G.P. Spenler” (Dr. Selden Palmer Spencer? Cf. the “Find a Grave” website: <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/87196914/selden-palmer-spencer>) and some children can be found today (cf. Tang Qiwang: “Guangzhou Xiren...” 2014: p. 13). (I am grateful to Prof. Wu Yixiong of Zhongshan University for arranging access to the usually closed cemetery.) (The tombstone of Alice Joy Little mentioned in pre-PRC U.S. sources could not be found anymore: <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/122523775/alice-joy-little>).

⁵² Cf. Tang Qiwang: “Guangzhou Xiren...” (2014: p. 8-9), who already pointed out that 4 of the 7 Westerners’ tombstones are made of concrete and show some abridged Chinese characters. Recorded deaths here date from between 1912 and 1943.

Shanghai

Shanghai's general pre-PRC funerary landscape has been the subject of masterful studies by Christian Henriot.⁵³ Beyond the Chinese buried there, Shanghai had also an impressive number of foreigners' cemeteries during its treaty port times (1842 to the 1940s),⁵⁴ basically run by the International Settlement, the French Concession, or religious communities (though some of them were not strictly exclusive "foreigners'" cemeteries but also took in Chinese, above all the Christian ones).⁵⁵ The first major cemetery for foreigners was the "Shantung [Shandong] Road Cemetery" (in Chinese simply "foreign grave mound" *waiguo fenshan* 外国坟山) set up by the British in 1846 and used by the yet tiny foreign community,⁵⁶ but by 1860 various nations had secured via treaties the explicit right to create cemeteries in China which the Qing also pledged to respect and protect. In spite of the many foreigners' cemeteries in Shanghai in pre-PRC times, at present there is, however, only the "international cemetery" (*wanguo gongmu* 万国公墓), today integrated into the "Song Qingling Memorial Park", extant which tells of this history of foreigners' burials. The "international cemetery", though, was de facto not only a pre-PRC Chinese creation but also originally not a "foreigners' cemetery" since it "hosted" for the most part Chinese dead and only secondarily some foreigners. This cemetery had been an attempt by wealthy Chinese to set up a "modern" cemetery on their own. It was first run by a Zhejiang businessman and not explicitly declared as "international", but when his widow took over, she relocated it (the original area was needed for railway construction), and in 1919 explicitly opened it up to all who could afford it, regardless of faith, nationality or "race".⁵⁷ (This, by the way, came under Chinese nationalist attack at the time of the May Thirtieth Movement in 1925, a climax of tensions between the Chinese and the foreigners in Shanghai resulting in several dead, when the widow offered to bury the Chinese "martyrs" of this "anti-imperialist movement" in the "international cemetery", the critics suggesting they would therewith be aside the "imperialists" and become "nationless souls".)⁵⁸

⁵³ Henriot has written various articles, including online ones, on pre-PRC Shanghai cemeteries, Chinese but also foreign, which culminated in his major work *Scythe and the City: a Social History of Death in Shanghai*. Stanford: Stanford University Press 2016. While the book's main thrust is on the Chinese side, chapter 5 is dedicated to an updated presentation of pre-PRC foreigners' cemeteries in Shanghai.

⁵⁴ For a map of pre-PRC cemeteries according to "nationality", see „Virtual Shanghai“: http://www.virtualshanghai.net/Asset/Preview/vcMap_ID-364_No-1.jpeg.

⁵⁵ Cf. Henriot: *Skythe and the City* (2016: p. 204-205).

⁵⁶ For a list of interments there, see E.S. Elliston: *Shantung Road Cemetery Shanghai, 1846-1868, with notes about Pootung Seamen's Cemetery, Soldiers' Cemetery*. [Shanghai 1946]. Available online: <http://www.bristol.ac.uk/history/customs/ancestors/shantungroadcemetery.pdf>. Although this cemetery was set up by the British (first privately, then run by the Settlement), it also hosted, e.g., a Russian aristocrat who died in 1859 (ibid. p. 23 and p. 34) and also other non-British foreigners, many of them Americans. In 1950, the *North China Herald* (Centenary Supplement, August 3, p. 9) reported that at the location of the "Shantung Road Cemetery" a small cemetery was still in place at this point, just months after the Communist takeover.

⁵⁷ Jing Runshan 经润山, who founded it, had called the place "Xieluyuan" 薤露园. His widow changed the name to "Xieluyuan wanguo gongmu" and thus declared it an "international cemetery".

⁵⁸ This discussion was reflected in the Shanghai newspaper *Shenbao* 申报 at the time. For the charge of "nationless souls", see *Shenbao* July 20, 1925, p. 13. (I am grateful to Ms. Wang Lin of Huadong Shifan Daxue who has done

In 1934 the heretofore private enterprise was taken over by the municipality in whose hands it basically remained ever since.⁵⁹ In fact, it seems that only very few of the “Wanguo gongmu” burials announced in the local press were of Westerners in this “mixed” non-religious cemetery before 1949.⁶⁰ This suggests that the “Wanguo gongmu” was not a common option for foreigners dying in Shanghai before 1949 who would rather be buried in other cemeteries. As it turns out, even when the local press used the term “Wanguo gongmu” (international cemetery), it not always referred to this specific one (located in today’s “Song Qingling Memorial Park”) but was rather used loosely also for a Westerners’ cemetery, which complicates matters considerably. E.g., when 4 British riflemen stationed in Shanghai but not involved in the hostilities between the Japanese and the Chinese died from Japanese shells during the Battle of Shanghai in autumn 1937, which was big international news at the time and solicited a Japanese formal excuse, they were given a large funeral in what the Chinese press called the “Wanguo gongmu”.⁶¹ However, as the British Press of the time made perfectly clear, they were buried in the Bubbling Well (i.e. Jing’ansi) Cemetery.⁶² Interestingly, the names of these Ulster Riflemen who – if unintentionally – died “at the side of the Chinese” in the war against Japan, appear *today* on the concrete slabs in the “new Wanguo gongmu”, i.e. the foreigners’ tombs section of the “Song Qingling Memorial Park”.⁶³ In the case of the post-war 1946 burial of Chiang Kai-shek’s Australian advisor and close friend of Chiang’s wife Soong May-ling (Song Meiling 宋美龄), William Donald,⁶⁴ in turn, the burial was in the (present-day “Song Qingling Memorial Park”) “Wanguo gongmu” in presence of Song Meiling,⁶⁵ with Chinese and Australian flags side by side, which demonstrates

research on the history of the pre-PRC “Wanguo gongmu” for her MA thesis, directed at the aspect of the development of “modern” Chinese funerary culture, for drawing my attention to this discussion. Personal communication May 21, 2018.) In the end, only one of the “martyrs”, an overseas Chinese 14 year-old boy attending school in Shanghai, was buried in the “international cemetery” (see *Shenbao*, Nov. 24, 1925, p. 17). The dispute might be a reason why he was only interred after 6 months, whereas the others had to wait for a full year to be interred in a newly set-up “Thirtieth May Martyrs’ Cemetery” in the northern district of Zhabei 闸北. (See *Shenbao*, May 29, 1926, p. 13, and the later commemoration reported there on May 30, 1927, p. 9.)

⁵⁹ During the time of Japanese occupation following the Battle of Shanghai in 1937 it was destroyed heavily, but under the Chinese collaborationist regime was restored and also kept during the Civil War years by the GMD mayor. Cf. the (politically somewhat “tainted”) information provided on the Shanghai Archives’ websites (Lu Qiguo 陆其国: “Wanguo gongmu” 万国公墓, available online: http://www.archives.sh.cn/shjy/shzg/201406/t20140610_40922.html, 2014). Cf. also Henriot: *Scythe and the City* (2016: 170-172 and 175).

⁶⁰ By checking the Shanghai leading Chinese newspaper *Shenbao*, one finds very few foreigners who were reportedly buried in the “Wanguo gongmu”. One notable case is a female American missionary who died in early 1937 and seems to have had some relationship with the Song family buried there (*Shenbao* April 1, 1937, p. 15).

⁶¹ See *Shenbao*, Nov. 2, 1937, p. 5.

⁶² See *The Times*, Nov. 2, 1937, p. 16. This news was also printed in various other English-language newspapers at the time. The photos of the burial are also showing only Western tombs around.

⁶³ This was recently also turned into a documentary: *Finding Wee Paddy* 2017.

⁶⁴ Donald, in fact, became advisor to Chiang only because Chiang’s wife Song Meiling introduced this life-long friend of her birth family to her husband. Whereas apparently Chiang and Donald did not always get along very well with each other, the Songs kept a close relationship with him.

⁶⁵ A purported (partly) translation of the *Shenbao* report of Nov. 11, 1946, on an English-language website dedicated to Donald strangely translates the district location of the “international cemetery” given in Chinese as Hongqiao 虹桥 into “Hongkew” (Hongkou). See http://www.donaldofchina.com/Don_Who_/Press1/Life1/Book/Play/funeral.html.

that this cemetery had in the meantime taken over a kind of “political” role associated closely with the Chiang/Song family.⁶⁶ Unsurprisingly, Donald’s name does not appear any longer in the present-day “Song Qingling Memorial Park”.

Today, the “foreigners’ tomb area” (waijiren muyuan 外籍人墓园) [ill. 15] and the section of “famous Chinese” (mingren muyuan 名人墓园) [ill. 16] are set up on the two sides of the central tomb of the (Chinese Christian) Soong (Song) family, still commonly called with the old name “Wanguo gongmu” [ill. 17], and the whole is since 1984 integrated into the “Song Qingling Memorial Park” (Song Qingling lingyuan 宋庆龄陵园) in honour of “comrade” Song Qingling who died in 1981, former honorary president of the PRC, the only of her birth family alive in 1949 that opted for remaining in the PRC.⁶⁷ Her siblings all left China before the Communist takeover and are buried now in the U.S., including her younger sister Song Meiling married to Chiang Kai-shek who moved away from Taiwan after her husband’s death.⁶⁸ The Republican-era tomb of the parents of Song Qingling and her siblings who had been buried in the old “Wanguo gongmu” and whom Song Qingling joined in death with a separate tomb in front of it – as her husband Sun Yat-sen is buried in the huge mausoleum in Nanjing and having no children of her own – has thus become the focus which connects the “famous” of China and “the foreigners”.

These “foreigners” *today* include some foreign friends of Song Qingling and the People’s Republic of China. Famous Chinese writer and posthumous cultural icon during PRC times, Lu Xun 鲁迅, who had been buried originally in the “Wanguo gongmu” as well in the area of what is *today* the “foreigners’ cemetery”, had been transferred to the Hongkou 虹口 district to what is now the “Lu Xun Memorial Park” in 1956 at the 20th anniversary of his death, just leaving behind a sign of where his original tomb of 1936 had been [ill. 18].⁶⁹ However, his close Japanese friend Uchiyama Kanzô 内山完造 and his wife who ran the famous influential Uchiyama bookstore in Shanghai in Republican times, are to be found in the “foreigners’ section” of the “Song Qingling Memorial Park” today [ill. 19]. The wife had died in 1945 and had been

⁶⁶ See *Shenbao*, Nov. 10, 1946, p. 5, and Nov. 11, p. 5.

⁶⁷ The “comrade” title on her tomb refers to her being officially accepted into the CCP shortly before her death.

⁶⁸ One may note that Song Meiling rather opted for being buried with her siblings in the U.S. than in Taiwan. Her husband Chiang Kai-shek is not yet buried but “awaits” burial on the mainland, his coffin being put at a “momentary” repose at Cihu in Taiwan. His son Chiang Ching-kuo similarly is not buried yet but his coffin put – in respectful distance – at a “momentary” repose close by. (He, however, is at least “joined” by his Soviet wife whose urn is put at his side.) Only Chiang Kai-shek’s adopted son Chiang Wei-kuo is buried in Taipei’s military cemetery. Although there were attempts to transfer Chiang Kai-shek and Chiang Ching-kuo to that place, too, since that cemetery also “hosts” other important public figures, the Chiang family could not yet reach an agreement over it and blocked the move.

⁶⁹ His tombstone in the “Wanguo gongmu” had to be renewed in the meantime by his Japanese friend Uchiyama Kanzô since it had been destroyed during war times. See the photo of that newer tombstone of 1948 in *Lao zhaopian* 老照片 (Old photos), No. 10, Jinan: Shandong huabao chubanshe 1999, p. 78.

originally buried in Shanghai's Jing'ansi Foreigners' Cemetery, notably not the "Wanguo gongmu", but in 1954 when the Jing'ansi Cemetery was cleared to create a park, she had been transferred to the "Wanguo gongmu". The husband joined her when he died in Beijing in 1959 where he was to take part in the celebration of the 10th anniversary of the founding of the PRC. During the early Cultural Revolution, in 1967, the Uchiyamas' tomb was moved to the eastern district of Pudong 浦东 (probably for protection) and then back again (see also below).⁷⁰ The present tombstone has, however, been set up in 1985 by Uchiyama's Japanese friends to honour his 100th birthday, as the inscription on the back reveals. A further Japanese couple in *today's* "Wanguo gongmu" is the former head of the Sino-Japanese friendship association of Osaka and his wife who died after the Cultural Revolution period and thus were buried there in 1987 (without any need to be "moved around") [ill. 20],⁷¹ but further Asians active in Shanghai in pre-PRC times documented in the present "Wanguo gongmu" (and also at times originally buried in the "old Wanguo gongmu") included several representatives of the Korean exile government in Shanghai during the Japanese colonial period of Korea [ill. 21].⁷² Notably, as the tomb slabs on spot acknowledge, in the meantime their tombs have been transferred to South Korea in 1993, which claims their legacy. This probably has to be seen in the context of the establishment of diplomatic relations between both countries in mid-1992. And some tombstones of Vietnamese of the early PRC times can be found in the present "Wanguo gongmu" with a young Vietnamese student born in 1948 whose likely original tombstone's Vietnamese and Chinese inscription on the front is still in place, though on the backside an apparently earlier Chinese inscription (deducted from its vertical arrangement) has been chiseled away [ill. 22 and 23]. The death date is notably in early 1968 when the Cultural Revolution was fully underway, and one may assume that the tombstone had been of someone else and was simply "re-used" by turning it around. (Another Vietnamese close-by who died even earlier during that period in October 1966, has a tombstone layout which strikingly resembles a copy of a newspaper death notice [ill. 24]).

The newer tombstones of the "friends of China", namely Song Qingling's foreign friends who often had chosen to live in the PRC, include (besides the named Japanese couples) the Romanian doctor Bucur Clejan [ill. 25] who had worked for the Chinese Communists during the war years and whose Chinese wife returned from Romania to China after his death in 1972, bringing his

⁷⁰ See the official description of the "Wanguo gongmu" on the Shanghai Government website: "Wanguo gongmu". <http://www.shtong.gov.cn/node2/node4/node2249/changning/node15435/node63122/node63128/userobject1ai53101.html>.

⁷¹ Their tombstone was – different from the Uchiyamas – remarkably an official joint Japanese-Chinese endeavour. The wife had died in 1985 and the husband in 1987, both in Osaka.

⁷² See, e.g., the case of Sin Kyusik 申圭植, a well-known intellectual, participant in the Chinese Xinhai 辛亥 Revolution of 1911 and later Korean Minister of Justice in the Unified Provisional Government in Shanghai, who died in 1922 and was buried in the "Wanguo gongmu". His family took a picture in 1923 in front of the tomb. Cf. Shi Yuanhua 石源华: "Canjia Xinhai geming de Hanguoren Shen Guizhi" 参加辛亥革命的韩国人申圭植 (The Korean Sin Kyusik who took part in the Xinhai Revolution). In: *Shiji* 世纪 (Century), 2002, no. 5, pp. 34-36. Photo on p. 36.

remains along; American Talitha Gerlach [ill. 26] of the former YWCA, a friend of the Song family who remained in the PRC and died in 1995; or the Austrian-born Ruth Weiss [ill. 27], another friend of Song Qingling and Jewish journalist, who remained in the PRC as well and died in 2006. Her tombstone was set up in 2009 by Chinese institutions she had worked with. The few at first glance older tombstones include the one of Elly Kadoorie (died 1944 during interment by the Japanese) and his wife (died already in 1919 – not 1918 as wrongly stated on the tombstone!) [ill. 28]⁷³ of the important Jewish Kadoorie family, though the couple is not reported to have been buried originally in the “Wanguo gongmu”.⁷⁴ The tombstones of the purportedly three members of the equally famous Jewish Sassoon family (died in 1941 and 1946 and equally not reported to have been buried in the “old” “Wanguo gongmu”) are likely not “old” as often claimed. At least in the *Israel’s Messenger* of October 1941, the last issue available of this local Jewish journal, the dead “Sassoon” of that year is called “Charles Gubbay”, not “Charles Sassoon Gubbay” as on the present tombstone slab [ill. 29], and was a respected member of the Jewish community and contributor to that very journal; the two other “Sassoons” are equally “Sassoon Gubbay” on the present slabs and seem to be brothers of Charles Gubbay. (The Gubbay family had various intermarriages with the Sassoons, though.) The present tombstones thus seem to be “reconstructions”.

The bulk of the so-called “foreigners’ section” tombstones, however, are new small concrete slabs though representing mostly people long deceased [ill. 30].⁷⁵ This suggests that the original tombstones of these people have all been destroyed but that some name lists were kept. According to archival record, in the early PRC some of the thousands of Westerners’ tombs (but usually not the Japanese ones) in all those pre-PRC foreign cemeteries, often divided according to denomination, were shifted to what is now Pudong Park. As it seems (see below), from there several were transferred to the present location in the 1970s, but the tombstones were set up anew as identical small stones in the lawn which just show the name (often with apparent spelling errors probably due to having been done by some Chinese staff at some point and in handwriting which then was copied onto the concrete slabs). From them one may sometimes guess the nationality, but not always, neither are the living dates nor the religious affiliation clear [ill. 31]. Only research into the pre-PRC sources may reveal who is intended. (Whether this corresponds to respective human remains beneath has often been questioned, although we will see that the Chinese undertook transfers. This is also suggested by slabs of “unknown persons”

⁷³ See *Israel’s Messenger*, March 14, 1919, pp. 15-20, detailing her tragic death by fire, the funeral and memorial services.

⁷⁴ The funeral of Elly’s wife, at least, would have been at the Jewish cemetery then in use of the Sephardi Jews, i.e. the Mohawk Road Cemetery in the International Settlement; that the tomb thus is not “still in place in the Wanguo gongmu”, as often claimed, is also additionally confirmed by a grandson who speaks of at least three relocations: see <http://shanghaijewishmemorial.com/68.htm>.

⁷⁵ Typically, only the name is given and no life dates, but the names are usually of pre-PRC foreign dead, and some of the early PRC period. One notable exceptional case – as the life dates 1909-1983 are given – is Horace V. Holder who died only in 1983 in Shanghai and who is also briefly described as a “devoted Quaker teacher”.

which only make sense if there were remains transferred [ill. 32].) For the (surprisingly few) individuals that seem to be Russian in the cemetery [ill. 33], given the large Russian community in Shanghai in Republican times, Viktorija Sharonova has started to individuate them in the context of her research on Russians in Shanghai in Republican times.⁷⁶ Of those 14 individuated from the stone slabs in the “Wanguo gongmu”, most figure in Sharonova’s list of (often corrected) names with brief descriptions. As can be concluded from her single entries, most of these were originally buried in the Hongqiao Cemetery 虹桥公墓 west of the foreigners’ areas (which appears as a burial place of Russians second only to the Lujiawan 卢家湾 Cemetery in the French Concession where most – non-Jewish – Russians lived, with only the wealthy choosing Jing’ansi 静安寺 in the International Settlement for burial and the paupers Xujiahui 徐家汇 in the French Concession, the Jewish going to “their” cemeteries, mostly the one on Baikal Road in the Northern Hongkou District). Notably, *Chinese* studies on Russians in Shanghai concentrate on the non-Jewish, the Jews being seen as an “ethnicity” on their own and thus classified together, irrespective of their nationality.⁷⁷ Western attempts, in turn, typically concentrate on the Westerners.⁷⁸ The following paragraphs will therefore try to reconstruct as much as possible the background and trajectory of this present-day “foreigners’ cemetery” in Shanghai which above has been presented mainly as it appears today. To understand the larger context, we, however, first need to take a look into the more general picture of PRC funeral policies and practices on a *national* level concerning also foreigners, before moving on to the specific case of Shanghai.

Foreigners’ tombs were and are a sensitive issue, and thus to this day the PRC tries to rather discourage foreigners to bury their dead in Chinese soil to not “perpetuate” the problem. This way, the shipping of foreigners’ remains has even developed into a “business”.⁷⁹ In 2004, an official “Chinese funerary yearbook” appeared – as such already a sign that these matters were considered of increasing importance.⁸⁰ This yearbook, nevertheless, still refers to a respective

⁷⁶ Viktoriya Sharonova: *Nekropol’ russkogo Shankhaiya*. Moscow: Staraya Basmannaya 2013, pp. XXXII-XXXVI. As such, the book is rather interested in pre-PRC Russians who died in Shanghai and were buried wherever in the city, and it uses mainly Russian publications of the time.

⁷⁷ Cf., e.g., various publications of the well-known specialist on Russians in Shanghai, Wang Zhicheng 汪之成, and of the specialists on Jews in Shanghai, Pan Guang 潘光 and Wang Jian 王健. For a brief overview of the various Jewish Cemeteries in pre-PRC Shanghai, see Tang Peiji 唐培吉 et al.: *Shanghai Youtairen* 上海犹太人 (Shanghai Jews), Shanghai: Sanlian shudian 1992, pp. 273-275. According to this book (p. 274), the extant Jewish tombs were centralised and transferred in the late 1950s and early 1960s to the Ji’an Cemetery in Shanghai’s West.

⁷⁸ See, above all, the “Find a Grave” website to which volunteers contribute. It individuates at present 386 tombs of the over 600 in the “foreigners’ section”. The information given is not always accurate, but in several cases sources are provided on which the occasional additional information on a person is based.

⁷⁹ See, e.g., the 2014 interview by the English-language official Chinese newspaper *China Daily* with a Belgian businessman running a body repatriation service in Beijing: “Foreigners’ cemeteries undergo transformation in China”. Available online: http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2014-04/05/content_17310191.htm.

⁸⁰ The funerary system in China had changed over time with the Communists strongly advocating cremation to save space, though at more “lenient” phases minorities, e.g., the Muslims who rejected cremation on religious grounds,

appeal for instructions by the Foreign Ministry to the State Council of 1974 during the later phase of the Cultural Revolution, which provides a good starting point for understanding the agenda, motivation and partly the happenings during the critical stages of the early Cultural Revolution when cemeteries in general were attacked most severely, though not for the first time certainly. On the one hand, this reference of the much later yearbook insinuates that policy readjustment already during the later phase of the Cultural Revolution are seen as still valid, on the other this presents the early Cultural Revolution as the main cause of a need to readjust policies in the first place. However, such destructive activities had been undertaken on a smaller scale already in the 1950s, first during the early 1950s when the Korean War led to a wave of anti-Western and anti-Christian agitation resulting in attacks against living people but also in destruction of tombs; then, in the mid-1950s, more generally and with more explicit “guidance” from above, not the least because Mao, who sustained cremation against earth burial, was reported to have commented on the tombs of famous people of the past close to the West Lake of Hangzhou, where he liked to retreat to, that there were “too many” of them and that they should at least be shifted away from the city to “live collectively” out there.⁸¹ Several tombs of famous Chinese were thus duly moved,⁸² but obviously this was not enough, since Mao insisted, when back in Hangzhou, in an exchange on a poem of Hu Qiaomu 胡乔木, his secretary, on Hangzhou’s West Lake in late 1964, that the “old ghosts” had to be driven away, even digging them up, leading to a whole movement of attacks on graves in Hangzhou, smashing steles and desecrating human remains.⁸³ Thus, this Hangzhou movement of late 1964 to early 1965 predated the “Cultural Revolution” (as in official dating). Then, in 1966, it went under the motto of “Destroy the Four Olds” (po siju 破四旧). This slogan, first raised in June 1966 and in full swing since August 1966, had called for the destruction of the “old customs, old culture, old habits, and old ideas” to be ideally replaced by respective “new” ones. Typically, the precise meaning of what was to be attacked had been left undefined and thus was open to local

were exempted. For a first overview on the development of the funerary system in 20th century China, see beyond the yearbook itself also Vincent Goossaert and Fang Ling: “Les réformes funéraires et la politique religieuse de l’État chinois, 1900-2008” in: *Archives de sciences sociales des religions*, no. 144 (2008), pp. 51-73. It might be also noted that Shanghai has a specialised Funerary Museum which also printed its catalogue: *Shanghai Binzang Bowuguan* 上海殡葬博物馆 (“Shanghai Funerary Museum”), n.p. [Shanghai], n.d. [2009 or after]. The museum is attached to the funeral parlor in Longhua. It is, unsurprisingly, more interested in the Chinese side than the foreigners.

⁸¹ This, at least, has been claimed by Chen Xiuliang 陈修良, local cadre who soon would suffer in the anti-Rightist campaign of 1957, in her memoirs. See He Yueming 贺越明: “Xihu huimu fengbo yu Hu Qiaomu de yishou ci 西湖毁墓风波与胡乔木的一首词 (The craze of destroying tombs at West Lake and a poem by Hu Qiaomu). In: *Tongzhou gongjin* 同舟共进 (Travelling forward in the same boat) 2013, No. 4, p. 37. (The journal *Tongzhou gongjin* has an official political background.)

⁸² The fact that this was stopped soon is usually credited to Zhou Enlai’s intervention.

⁸³ The “corrected” poem of Hu was prominently published also nation-wide on the 1965 New Year’s edition of the authoritative *Renmin ribao* 人民日报 (People’s Daily), p. 6. The Hangzhou movement included not only the levelling of “feudal” representatives, but also tombs like that of Chinese famous female “revolutionary martyr” executed in 1907 by the Qing dynasty, Qiu Jin 秋瑾. In all, at the time the local press boasted of 654 tombs having been “dealt with” of which only 28 had been “transferred”. See He Yueming (2013: p. 38).

interpretation, but, as mentioned, there was already some precedence to “guide” interpretation.⁸⁴ Cemeteries (together with religious buildings) were thus a kind of “standard target” throughout the country – and of course also fairly easy targets to attack. This applied to Chinese and foreign tombs likewise, though foreign tombs had even less chances of being spared as there was mostly no one caring in particular for them around, they were easy to single out and often were of dead hailing from countries considered “capitalist” or “imperialist” enemies. A fairly prominent case was the West Lake tomb of the missionary parents of Hangzhou-born John Leighton Stuart, last pre-PRC American ambassador and earlier founder of Yenching University in Beijing, which was desecrated (as many Western missionaries’ tombs were as well, representing two “problematic” categories at the same time: foreign “unfriendly” nationalities and “imperialist” religion). Stuart’s was a household name in China since he had been publicly ridiculed by Mao in August 1949 on his leave from China in a well-known piece: “Farewell, Leighton Stuart!”,⁸⁵ calling him “a symbol of the complete defeat of the U.S. policy of aggression” who “had to take to the road, his briefcase under the arm”.⁸⁶ Stuart’s own last wish to have his ashes buried in China was fulfilled only over 40 years after his death, in 2008 in Hangzhou, as a gesture to improve Sino-American relations.⁸⁷ Thus, both desecration as well as granting burial was closely intertwined with foreign relations.

The mentioned appeal of the Foreign Ministry of 1974, in view of the preceding destruction of cemeteries, now pointed out that foreigners who had heard of it kept asking for the fate of foreigners’ graves and for being allowed to visit. Obviously, the Foreign Ministry had ordered investigations to be done throughout the country, reporting that the category of “foreigners’ tombs” comprised some “martyrs” from the Soviet Union, (North) Korea and Vietnam, and some “foreign friends”, but also many other (more problematic) foreigners since the times of the Opium Wars: soldiers, officials, missionaries, merchants and their families. The numbers reported for the destructions attributed to the “Red Guards” in this official source of 1974 are quite appalling: 60% had been totally destroyed, 30% in part. Thus only 10% were still extant, mostly tombs of “friends of China”, celebrities from “befriended nations” and so-called “red martyrs”. However, since in the meantime Chinese had often been buried in the former “foreign” cemeteries in between, the Foreign Ministry argued it felt uneasy to let foreigners see the rather chaotic and untidy sites and thus always turned down the foreigners’ requests. However, it had a

⁸⁴ A further Mao quote referred to was of 1939: “We should support whatever the enemy opposes and oppose whatever the enemy supports,” of which typically only the second “opposing” part was cited for attacking everything the GMD would cherish, e.g. its “martyrs”. Ironically, the original quotation in 1939 was arguing for close collaboration between the GMD and the CCP to counter Wang Jingwei’s 汪精卫 pro-Japanese government. (See “Interview with three correspondents from the Central News Agency, the Sao Tang Pao and the Hsin Min Pao” in: *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, vol. 2., Peking: Foreign Languages Press 1965, p. 272.)

⁸⁵ See in *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, vol. 4, Peking: Foreign Languages Press 1961, pp. 433-440.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.* p. 433 and p. 438.

⁸⁷ See David Barbozanov: “John Leighton Stuart, China Expert, Is Buried There at Last”. In: *The New York Times*, November 19, 2008.

clear sense of this being problematic in the long run and suggested to the State Council that this might engender a very negative impression of China in foreign countries. The source also referred to an earlier announcement of the same Foreign Ministry of September 1966, i.e. just after the destruction of cemeteries was officially sanctioned by the slogan of “Destroy the Four Olds” in the initial phase of the Cultural Revolution. In this 1966 announcement, the Foreign Ministry obviously had tried to at least channel the destruction in requesting that all cemeteries which hosted dead related to the “armies of the invading eight powers allies” (i.e. the Allied army fighting the Boxers in 1900-1901) should be destroyed, but those of the “friends of China” should be preserved.⁸⁸ Building upon this precedence, the State Council in 1974 agreed to the baseline that all remaining traces of imperialism should be destroyed; missionaries’ tombs – but for the “most important” ones – should be erased, too.⁸⁹ However, the tombs of “friends of China” should not be touched, neither those of “red martyrs” or of all those foreigners who had died in China as foreign experts or students *after* 1949. For all others, those still well preserved should be kept, but those already decayed or damaged erased, and all human remains encountered should receive a “deep burial” and “should not be thrown around” – a call that reflects what had been sad practice at the time.⁹⁰ All procedures were required to be documented, and the reaction of foreigners should be taken note of. Those still extant and well preserved should be opened to foreign visit, but to the areas where cemeteries or tombs had been erased, foreigners should not be admitted. And those foreigners who would die in the future in China should all be cremated but for those who would object on religious grounds.⁹¹

⁸⁸ This call had to be repeated in the following months because of the ongoing random destruction. (See, e.g., Shanghai Municipal Archives: B257-2-805, a report of 1973 which acknowledges an appeal to a similar avail of the Foreign Ministry of late 1967).

⁸⁹ One may assume this meant those missionaries that were most likely seen to have “contributed” something to China, namely Matteo Ricci and the early Jesuits, i.e. missionaries before the Opium War conflicts, and possibly some outstanding medical missionaries also later. One may note that the above reference to the Eight Powers’ Army is of relevance only to sites in Northern China and may reflect the recent happenings in Beijing and surroundings in the summer of 1966. The later request of keeping “important” missionary sites thus could intend, above all, the Zhalan 栅栏 cemetery in Beijing where Matteo Ricci, Adam Schall von Bell and Verbiest (whose tombs had been all declared cultural relics of the PRC before the Cultural Revolution!) etc. were buried. The Zhalan site, nevertheless, had suffered severely during the Cultural Revolution. See the somewhat cautious description by Yu Sanle on “Zhalan from 1949 until 1994” in Edward J. Malatesta, S.J. and Gao Zhiyu (eds.): *Departed, yet present: Zhalan, the oldest Christian Cemetery in Beijing*. Macau and San Francisco: Instituto Cultural de Macau and Ricci Institute, University of San Francisco 1995, pp. 95-102.

⁹⁰ It should be stressed that this, of course, also applied to Chinese deemed “enemies of the people” at the time. A notorious case was the digging-up of Confucius and the exhumation and desecration of his most recently died descendent and family in Qufu, but also the Ming official Hai Rui’s 海瑞 remains were paraded through Haikou (instigated by the criticism of Ming historian Wu Han’s 吴晗 play “The Dismissal of Hai Rui” as starting salvo of the Cultural Revolution), or late Qing intellectual and champion of constitutional monarchy, Kang Youwei 康有为, whose exhumed skull was transferred to a museum for displaying a “reactionary” in Qingdao.

⁹¹ „Guowuyuan pizhuan Waijiaobu guanyu qingli zai Hua waiguoren fenmu de qingshi“ 国务院批转外交部关于清理在华外国人坟墓的请示 (State Council endorses the appeal for instructions of the Foreign Ministry on the handling of foreigners’ tombs in China), Nov. 21, 1974, cited in *Zhongguo binzang nianjian 2004* (2004 Chinese Funerary Yearbook), Beijing: Zhongguo shehui chubanshe 2007, pp. 171-172.

This official pronouncement from Beijing sums up very clearly the attitude towards foreigners' tombs: since foreigners keep asking and show interest, a tidy appearance is of overall importance to not lose face. Thus, where possible and necessary – because of foreign interest – reconstruction was to be undertaken, sites should either be well kept or totally erased, and the dead should be treated with some basic respect to not further appall foreigners at a time when China cautiously started to readjust its foreign policy.

With this national background in mind, we may now turn to the Shanghai case. The Shanghai Municipal Archives, one of the very rare places where one may check on archival material about local cemeteries, provides some glimpses of what happened during the tumultuous years of the PRC with foreigners' tombs on a local ground – and also provides an opportunity to counter-check “official narratives”. Thus, even though the present administration of the “Song Qingling Memorial Park” has not itself released more detailed information yet, although a database has been set up already internally as work-in-progress,⁹² the assembled bits and pieces in the archives sketch out some of the background which might be also relevant for other places in China. And the archival material also helps to set the Cultural Revolution period into a broader perspective, although one should stress that also in Shanghai archival access is not without restrictions, and that in general archives cannot answer all questions. With this caveat in mind, the following tries to sketch out the situation in Shanghai, first as it developed *after* the destructions of the early Cultural Revolution years when attempts were started to rebuilt the “international cemetery”, and then basically moves backward through time to try and figure out more details of the process *before* these rebuilding attempts to figure out more details behind today's “foreigners' cemetery” there.

As said, today the former “international cemetery” is set in the “Song Qingling Memorial Park”, but the foreigners' section is still called often with that old name: “international cemetery” (Wanguo gongmu), together with the section of “famous Chinese”.⁹³ Given the fact, that Song Qingling in Beijing was very distressed when she heard of the destruction (and even digging-up) of the tombs of her parents (her father having been a U.S.-educated Christian minister) during the “Destroy the Four Olds” activities in the early phase of the Cultural Revolution, it was her to pressure for having an investigation and restauration of the tombs done. As it seems, prime

⁹² The administration kindly provided me with a preliminary list of the 23 assumed Germans in their database and showed me one page of a 1981 names' list of assumed Americans. These handwritten lists are used for setting up the database and were obviously created when after Song Qingling's death the “Wanguo gongmu” was to be upgraded. These two pages, at least, show that the “original cemeteries” of the people named had been either the Jing'ansi or the Hongqiao Cemetery – and in one case the Baxianqiao Cemetery. (For a brief overview of the cemeteries for foreigners in Shanghai, see the website of the University of Bristol Chinese Maritime Customs Project: <http://www.bristol.ac.uk/history/customs/ancestors/shanghai.html>.)

⁹³ See the already referred-to brief description of the “Wanguo gongmu” on the Shanghai Archives' information platform by Lu Qiguo (2014).

minister and foreign minister Zhou Enlai supported her in this, and thus during 1973 the whole rebuilding process started to be documented. The area of the old “Wanguo gongmu” which had been used in the meantime by various work units was to be cleared, and also the “foreigners’ section” was to be “newly” set up.⁹⁴ – This shows very clearly that the present “foreigners’ section” was only created after 1973. As at the time the Cultural Revolution was still ongoing, the tomb of the Song parents which according to the report had been destroyed at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution was agreed to be restored, but the names of the “reactionary” siblings of Song Qingling appearing on the original stele could not be mentioned again. The decision thus was to only put up a stele with the names and the life dates of the parents.⁹⁵ (Years later, this decision was revoked and today the names of the siblings – in the meantime all dead – appear again [ill. 34]).

As for the foreigners, in Shanghai where so many foreigners’ tombs had been placed (the local report mentioned 20.033 tombs!), the authorities had to react to the nation-wide requests to investigate from the Foreign Ministry in Beijing mentioned above in the context of the final State Council’s decisions of 1974, which cared for China’s international image, and it also received continuously enquiries from preoccupied foreign relatives and consulates about the fate of tombs during the Cultural Revolution. The “opinion paper” of the foreign relations office of Shanghai of 1973 first sketched out the general picture in Shanghai in the following terms: before 1949, the originally 20.033 foreigners’ tombs, covering (probably ranked according to number) Russians, British, French, Germans, Portuguese, Pakistani, Americans, Vietnamese etc. and Jews, all in all 42 nationalities, had been buried in 22 cemeteries. After 1949, the 11 inner-city cemeteries were closed one after the other, and the foreigners were moved to suburban ones, namely the Ji’an 吉安 and the Dachang 大场 cemetery (located to the west and northwest of the city).⁹⁶ During the pitch of the “Destroy the Four Olds” campaign at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution, more than 10.000 tombs were destroyed, and many more were damaged but the human remains, the report states, were undisturbed in those latter cemeteries. Although the “imperialists’ tombs” were all razed, those of people whose tombs had been registered with the authorities after 1949 (and who thus had relatives or else to care for the tombs in China) and

⁹⁴ See Shanghai Municipal Archives (from now on: SMA): A 33-4-44-4. The appeal for restauration was signed by the Shanghai Civil Affairs Bureau’s Revolutionary Committee, referring to the territorial plot assignment by the Shanghai Committee Bureau earlier that year (1973).

⁹⁵ Ibid., SMA: A33-4-44-5.

⁹⁶ For the step-by-step “concentration” of cemeteries in Shanghai during PRC times, see the official overview on the Shanghai government’s website: “Sheshi he fuwu” 设施和服务 (facilities and services), section 4: “Gongmu” 公墓 (cemeteries), available online: <http://www.shtong.gov.cn/node2/node2245/node65977/node66002/node66042/userobject1ai61642.html>. According to this, the Jing’ansi Cemetery (in the former International Settlements) was moved to the Dachang Cemetery in 1953, the Baxianqiao Cemetery (in the former French Concession) in 1957 to the Ji’an Cemetery. Other cemeteries were subsequently dissolved. In 1965 concentration reached its peak with two large centralised cemeteries. After the Cultural Revolution, however, policies relaxed and, e.g., a Muslim one was set up anew.

especially all Asian, African and Latin American post-1949 tombs (supposedly intending above all students in the early PRC) had been preserved. (This, as we have seen from the above-mentioned Foreign Ministry suggestion approved by the State Council in 1974, shows that the Shanghai authorities had been fully in line with Beijing during the preparation of the Foreign Ministry's appeal to the State Council and might have been the ones helping to formulate the details as Shanghai was the main place of foreigners' tombs in China). Furthermore, "friends of China" like Lu Xun's Japanese friend Uchimura Kanzô and further 1.200 tombs had been moved to Pudong's "foreigners' cemetery", whereas other foreigners were moved to the Ji'an, Dachang, Xiyān 息焉 and Hongqiao 虹桥 cemeteries (the latter two located in the West of the city), a total of 9.000 dead. (These cemeteries were general cemeteries, so this means the foreigners were obviously aside Chinese there or just in one section). Whereas these latter cemeteries were administered by either the military or communes at the time of the report, the Pudong "foreigners' cemetery" was under the auspices of the Garden and Forest Office. It was further reported that France had in the meantime repatriated 8 dead, Italy was still enquiring about more than 30 tombs, but also private people went on requesting. The main problem at the time, according to the report, was what to do with those 9.000 foreign dead (which obviously had been requested to be moved away again from the "general" cemeteries), as the Pudong "foreigners' cemetery" was already full. After this general picture, the "opinion paper" went on to provide some possible solutions: The suggestion was to on the one hand care for the Song parents' tombs, and on the other to remove the work units that were using the former "Wanguo gongmu" grounds for growing vegetables (!) and use the space for a big "foreigners' cemetery".⁹⁷ More concretely, the suggestion was to move here: 1. Uchimura Kanzô and further "friends of China"; 2. To leave those tombs not destroyed in the Ji'an, Dachang, Xiyān and Hongqiao cemeteries where they were, but if feasible to move them to the "Wanguo gongmu", too; 3. To restore the Song parents' tomb; and 4. To have the new "Wanguo gongmu" administered by the Civil Affairs Bureau, while the ruins of the original Christian Chapel built on the "Wanguo gongmu" grounds should be razed (presumably to avoid any religious connotation). The "opinion paper" also attached a map with its proposed restoration plan which shows the position of the dilapidated chapel, the location of the Song parents' tomb and the new (more restricted) limits of the new "Wanguo gongmu" which should be surrounded by a wall.⁹⁸

This tells us that the "new" "Wanguo gongmu" as a "foreigners' cemetery" was closely connected to the Song family tomb and above all aimed at "hosting" "friends of China" and only secondarily at also "hosting" other foreigners.

⁹⁷ It should be noted that the use for vegetable growing was argued for during the Cultural Revolution with Mao's call to further agriculture and use "good soil" productively. (See the 1969 report of the Bureau No. 6 of the Municipal Labour Propaganda Team: SMA: B248-2-193-31.)

⁹⁸ SMA: A33-4-44-21 to A33-4-44-24. This deliberation on foreigners' tombs and what to do with them was signed by the Foreign Affairs Bureau of the Shanghai Revolutionary Committee and the Shanghai Civil Affairs Bureau's Revolutionary Committee (1973).

In practical terms, a report of 1977 by the Garden and Forest Bureau responsible for the Pudong “Foreigners’ Cemetery” shows that the transfer from Pudong to the “new” “Wanguo gongmu” was de facto only undertaken in 1976/1977 since the report was written on completion of the work.⁹⁹ The Pudong area had been a space for foreigners’ burial early on, namely for British sailors in pre-PRC times,¹⁰⁰ but now the area was turned into a park and thus the foreign tombs were finally moved.

When Song Qingling herself died in 1981, the “Wanguo gongmu” came into the spotlight again. At her funeral, many foreigners were present. Shortly before, when her life-long maid and companion, Ms. Li Yan’e 李燕娥, had died, she had asked for her maid being buried symmetrically arranged to her own planned tomb in front of the one of her parents to keep her company, so to speak, also in death [ill. 35 and 36],¹⁰¹ although she was already too ill to participate in her maid’s funeral. In the meantime, the stele of her parents who had died in 1918 (father) and 1931 (mother) respectively, had been restored (at present it is in the original fashion showing also the siblings’ names).¹⁰² None of her siblings was present at her burial, since her sister Meiling, widow of Chiang Kai-shek, who would live until 2003, did not accept the official invitation to come over, neither did her brother Ziliang who died a few years after Qingling in the 1980s. (The other three had already died before Qingling.)¹⁰³ Thus, only other relatives living in the PRC attended.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ SMA: B326-2-69-87.

¹⁰⁰ See Ellison: *Shantung Road Cemetery...* [1946], pp. 37-43. Also here, soon, non-British sailors were hosted as well. The place was simply logistically best for ship crews to visit.

¹⁰¹ Ms. Li was more than 20 years younger than Song Qingling. As mentioned, Song Qingling had no further family to “join” her. She had adopted, however, two children, and is said to have quietly remarried a secretary in her later years. In how far she was free to choose her burial place which also served political agendas, is open to speculation.

¹⁰² When the father died – a fact surprisingly not reported in public, probably due to his having become a *persona non grata* after the clash with his long-term friend Sun Yat-sen in 1915 over the latter’s “snatching away” his daughter Qingling without consent on top of being already married –, the family acquired the slot in the “old” “Wanguo gongmu”; but only after the mother had died, too, the “common” tombstone of the couple was set up. (A photo reproduced in the memorial museum of Song Qingling and her brother Song Zian in front of the tomb to be reconstructed, shows the original stele of the father.) The Song siblings and in particular Song Meiling and Chiang Kai-shek were reported to have visited the tomb regularly (which was interestingly always called the “Song mother’s tomb” in various reports of the *Shenbao*, again sidelining the father), thus showing their “filial piety”. A photo of the parents’ tomb at the time of Song Qingling’s death (yet without the siblings’ names) can be seen, e.g., in the *Jiefangjun bao* 解放军报 (The People’s Liberation Army), June 5, 1981. Whether the siblings of Song Qingling still alive in 1981 were informed about the integration of the tomb of the maid into the set-up of the Song family tomb, and if so, whether they agreed, is open to question.

¹⁰³ Since her siblings died during the years of the Cultural Revolution and were buried in the U.S., it was out of question for Song Qingling to attend their funerals, even if she should have liked to. The official picture, however, is that she had broken with her siblings over politics, but could now at least claim the parents’ legacy. This is ironic since she was the only of the 6 Song children who had revolted against the parents by running away from home to marry Sun Yat-sen, ignoring her parents’ veto.

¹⁰⁴ See, e.g., the *Jiefang Ribao* 解放日报 (Liberation Daily) report of Song Qingling’s burial of June 5, 1981, pp. 1-2.

After Song Qingling's death discussions around the "new" "Wanguo gongmu" gained momentum. The Shanghai Civil Affairs Bureau, now responsible for the whole, reported that the Chinese visitors complained that Song Qingling's tomb was too small, given her high status, and that also many foreigners came to visit the "foreigners' cemetery" section, namely the tomb of the Uchimura couple which in the meantime had returned to the "Wanguo gongmu" where it had been set up in the 1950s.¹⁰⁵ In fact, the "new" "Wanguo gongmu" was much smaller than the old one and thus the proposition was to evict the work units still using parts of the old, recalling also the fact that there were still many corpses under the soil now used not only for vegetable growing but also for pigsties (!). This situation annoyed many visitors and thus the proposition was to move those units out. At the "foreigners' section" the report mentioned 627 tombs as of 1981. It also suggested their value for building foreign relations, and it also pleaded for restoring the section for "famous Chinese" which originally was the main part.¹⁰⁶

This shows that after the transfer from Pudong in 1976/77 the "foreigners' section" comprised 627 tombs, and that the "famous Chinese section" was set up only subsequently.

Although the Municipal Government had supported these suggestions of the Shanghai Civil Affairs Bureau, it obviously took some time to move the various work units (and their pigs) out, since the government had to set another deadline of 1983 for finally setting up the "Song Qingling Memorial Park".¹⁰⁷ Song Qingling's tomb, however, had been already declared a national-level "cultural relic" in 1982 [ill. 37]. Furthermore, in 1984 it was decided to finally recreate the "famous Chinese" section, setting up steles for some chosen Chinese to represent Shanghai.¹⁰⁸

This shows that the "Chinese section" was only realised after 1984, and it covers people that never had been buried in the "old" "Wanguo gongmu", whereas the once "famous" originally

¹⁰⁵ As noted above, Uchimura Kanzô's wife died 1945 already and was buried in Shanghai in the Jing'ansi Cemetery and only at the latter's clearance was moved to the "Wanguo gongmu" in 1954. When he himself died in 1959 during his visit to Beijing, he was buried according to his wish in the "Wanguo gongmu" together with his wife. See also SMA: B244-3-454-97: p. 2 (1972). The tomb was then transferred to Pudong where during the Cultural Revolution many of the remaining foreigners' tombs were kept.

¹⁰⁶ SMA: B1-9-509, pp. 28-31. This appeal of the Shanghai Civil Affairs Bureau for setting up the Song Qingling tomb was dated September 10, 1981.

¹⁰⁷ SMA: B1-9-816. This approval of the Shanghai People's Government of the appeal in 1982 had to be reinforced later the year.

¹⁰⁸ SMA: B1-9-1427-1. The report of the Civil Affairs Bureau was dated June 13, 1984. For a 1995 list of the "15 most famous" of the "famous Chinese" section, see the "Wanguo gongmu" description on the Shanghai government's website: available online: <http://www.shtong.gov.cn/node2/node4/node2249/changning/node15435/node63122/node63128/userobject1ai53101.html>. Later, further more recent tombs were added.

buried there, including some high Qing officials, have disappeared. In fact, it seems only the tomb of Li Zhongshi 黎仲实, a revolutionary comrade of Sun Yat-sen who died of illness in 1919 and whose obituary was penned by Sun personally, is an overlap with Republican times. However, the inscription on the back of the stele reveals that although Li had been buried in the old Wanguo gongmu, his tomb, too, had been destroyed during the Cultural Revolution. Thus, the present one was set up only in 1985 [ill. 38 and 39]. In fact, most tombs found there today were set up in the late 1980s, including Chinese friends of Song Qingling who had come under attack during the Cultural Revolution and died, but also earlier friends who had died during the Republican period and had been buried in other cemeteries in Shanghai before. The earliest dead recorded is Li Zhongshi. Famous Republican-era figures like political activist Yang Du 杨度 (died 1931) [ill. 40] or educator Ma Xiangbo 马相伯 (died 1939) [ill. 41] were shifted to the “new” “Wanguo gongmu” only in the late 1980s. The work thus was not so much a “restoration” but rather turned the place into a kind of “who’s who” of “officially endorsed” Shanghainese.¹⁰⁹ Thus, but for the centrally placed Song parents, it seems that the foreign and the Chinese sections of today show hardly any overlap with the tombs there during the pre-1949 era. In other words: today’s “Wanguo gongmu” is a new creation in content and suggests continuity with the Republican era only by the name – and the Songs.

It is, furthermore, notable that the spatial arrangement of “Song Qingling Memorial Park” has its focus on the tomb of the (“Christian bourgeois pre-PRC”) Song parents, and Song Qingling herself, although the “honorary president of the PRC”, was “only” the daughter with a small tomb in front (even paralleled with her maid as she had asked for), as mentioned, which was probably the reason why the Chinese visitors cited in the report above were irritated. Thus, subsequently, a marble statue of Song Qingling was added to the main axis in front of the tombs [ill. 42], and a stele with Deng Xiaoping’s eulogy and a large memorial hall to commemorate her life counterweighted the tomb area. Today, the Memorial Park also includes a Children’s Museum in her honour and is as a complex declared a national-level “patriotic education showcase base”.

As for the tombs, the “foreigners’ section” – like the “famous Chinese section” – covers, as mentioned, many individuals not formerly in the “Wanguo gongmu”, be it the Republican era “Wanguo gongmu” or even the “Wanguo gongmu” of the 1950s or early 1960s, and also many not chosen for being proven “friends of China” or having died after 1949 as the original regulations of the State Council cited above would have it. Although the documentation is

¹⁰⁹ On a side note one may add that this function is now primarily taken over by the huge Fushouyuan 福寿园 Cemetery in the far West of Shanghai (see also below). This, however, is a private enterprise, whereas the “new” “Wanguo gongmu” is municipal and basically closed for new burial requests.

sketchy, some glimpses of the background of what is found today can be gleaned from the archival record. As seen in the above general report of the state of foreigners' tombs in Shanghai of 1973, most foreigners had been transferred to the cemeteries on the Western outskirts of Shanghai, others to Pudong in the Eastern part of Shanghai. A report of 1972 gives a clue as to how the division between these had been arranged: The Bureau of the People's Air Defense obviously responsible at the time for the Hongqiao Cemetery stated that there had been more than 3.000 foreigners' tombs there among the over 8.000 in total. Since the start of the Cultural Revolution, also "martyrs' tombs" had been transferred there, and the military had taken over the Hongqiao Cemetery in 1967. (This suggests that the destruction of tombs during the "Destroy the Four Olds" activities had also endangered these "martyrs'" tombs and thus they were moved; and the military, which was the only entity able to check the revolutionary overzeal, was put in charge.) Although many of the other tombs had been demolished, the report of 1972 states that there were still 4.000 tombs there, among which more than 1.000 foreign ones. It suggested to dispose of the 3.000 Chinese ones by deep burial, reusing all materials like coffin wood, metal etc., whereas the foreigners' should be decided upon by the department of foreign affairs. When the decision was communicated that those died after 1949 should be transferred to Pudong, the Air Defense Bureau acted accordingly and reported that by June 1972 the transfer of foreign tombs had been completed.¹¹⁰ Another report of late 1972 specified the number of the transferred tombs as 683 which included those who had been registered for transferal by some relative (i.e. might have also died before 1949). Of these dead only 39 were registered under some nationality, i.e. 16 British, 6 U.S., 5 Germans, 4 Soviet Russians, 3 North Koreans, 2 Spaniards, and one Portuguese, Polish and Japanese each.¹¹¹ This suggests that most of the transferred belonged to the large group of "White" Russians in Shanghai which were counted as with "undefined" nationality since they had refused to take up a Soviet nationality (and Tsarist Russia had long ceased to exist).

This tells us that in 1972 there were 683 foreigners' tombs moved to Pudong (which already had "own" tombs there).¹¹² As we have seen above, in the further move of 1976/77 from Pudong to the "new" "Wanguo gongmu" there were only 627 left.

Going one step further back in time, at the height of revolutionary zeal during the early Cultural Revolution, in late 1966, the CCP Shanghai Civil Affairs Bureau Committee had proposed to the CCP Municipal Committee to get rid of the old cemeteries altogether. According to their

¹¹⁰ SMA: B120-2-25. The whole process had been initiated by a request of 1971 to use the area of the Hongqiao cemetery for dumping earth.

¹¹¹ SMA: B168-2-171: p. 16.

¹¹² At least according to Ellison: *Shantung Road Cemetery...* [1946: p. 37], at his time of writing in 1946 there were 88 identifiable tombstones there and many further tombs without tombstones.

proposal, the city had the impressive number of 69 cemeteries with more than 400.000 tombs, most of them pre-1949, which – in the diction of the time – comprised not only Chinese reactionaries or “national traitors”, landlords and capitalists, but also over 20.000 foreigners. Since tombs occupied territory and furthered superstition, they potentially corrupted young people’s thinking. Thus, to follow the call to “destroy the Four Olds”, since months steles were broken and tombs “levelled”, but for the “martyrs’ cemeteries”. Of the foreigners’ steles, this report of late 1966 claimed that nearly one half was already rooted up, and that some “foreign devils’ tombs” were dug up. To show their revolutionary fervour, workers in the funeral industry were said to have proposed to level *all* graves. Where relatives were encountered, they were “convinced” to have the remains deep buried. Cremation, however, was stopped temporarily as the crematoria were not working. Still, the report suggested to leave some tombs, but to centralise them: the “martyrs” as well as those foreigners to be kept should have their special cemetery. That deep burial also meant opening the graves becomes clear by the fact that the report explicitly mentions that “all treasures found” should be nationalised. And the materials of coffins etc. should be reutilised.¹¹³

Going further back in time, we find for the times before the Cultural Revolution in 1961 some information about “religious” cemeteries still extant at that time, namely one Buddhist, one Catholic (Xiyangongmu 息焉公墓), and two Protestant ones (the Zilihui gongmu 自立会公墓 and the Jidujiao gongmu 基督教公墓). Of these, the Catholic one dated from the 1920s and held 943 tombs at the time, the Buddhist was from 1936 with 4.000 tombs, the Zilihui of 1948 with 390 tombs, whereas the Jidujiao Cemetery was already declared full. At the time the Shanghai People’s Committee suggested to leave them in place and also the extant churches, but to use the latter only for funerals.¹¹⁴

This shows that at least up to the early 1960s religious cemeteries (and even religious funerals) could still exist, though it is not clear whether these denominational cemeteries also “hosted” foreigners. But the decision was revoked already in 1962 and the religious cemeteries declared “discontinued”.¹¹⁵ Part of the Catholic Xiyangongmu territory, e.g., was used by 1965 by a factory.¹¹⁶ However, at least transferal was offered. In 1964 there was still a “Muslim corner” in the large inner-city Longhua 龙华 cemetery open to which dead of the former Muslim

¹¹³ SMA: B257-1-4714-45. On a side note one can glean from the archival sources the astonishment (and delusion) of the revolutionary desecrators which encountered foreign burial practices by their activities, that the foreigners had nothing of much worth in their tombs, just a bible or a cross.

¹¹⁴ SMA: B123-1-1341-93.

¹¹⁵ SMA: B168-1-573-11.

¹¹⁶ SMA: B246-1-520-35. (This report is itself from 1972).

cemeteries could be transferred.¹¹⁷ And the closing of the Xuhui 徐汇 Cemetery which “hosted” almost only (poor) foreign dead, including 70% of “White Russians”, but also 29% of Vietnamese with some French, was accompanied with the offer of transfer to the Ji’an 吉安 cemetery to the West of the city in 1964. As most of the grave markers (probably wooden and rotten) had disappeared, the idea was proposed to use small concrete slabs with the name on.¹¹⁸ (As mentioned, such grave markers are today to be found in the foreigners’ section of the “new” “Wanguo gongmu”). However, as the Xuhui cemetery seems to have been a pauper cemetery, it is unlikely that there were many relatives coming forward to request the costly procedure of transferal. This might be also one of the reasons why today’s “Wanguo gongmu” has comparatively few Russian tombstones, as mentioned, since these probably had been “lost” on the way of the multiple transferals.

Still more back in time in 1953 we get an early view on how the Communists tried to deal with the many foreigners’ tombs in the city. A report by the CCP Shanghai Committee Bureau states that the Jing’ansi (“Bubbling Well”) Cemetery, one of the biggest in the city which was to be closed and changed into a park, “hosted” 4.828 foreign tombs of which 2.478 were either of “democratic” countries, i.e. Soviet Russia or Eastern European countries; “friendly” nations, i.e. India or “neutral” states; or “others”, i.e. Western or Western-affiliated ones. The by far largest single group was the “undefined”, i.e. very probably the many “White” Russians living in Shanghai before 1949, who made up 2.623 of the tombs. Since many foreigners had left China before the Communist takeover or during the very first years of the PRC, the 1953 report stated that only 329 foreign tombs were registered with the new authorities, and that only 145 of them had been transferred since the relatives had arranged for it. The trigger of the whole process obviously was the British who had a substantial amount of tombs in the Jing’ansi Cemetery (according to the report: 861) who protested when the city announced the closure of the cemetery and asked about possible transfer of British tombs. Thus it was decided to give more time for relatives to come forward with transfer applications (which meant that all those not applying – and funding the transfer – would have the tomb erased and the remains deep buried).¹¹⁹

This was the basic pattern that would also be repeated later elsewhere in China: whenever a cemetery was to be closed, an announcement was published in the leading newspapers for those asking for a transfer to register (and pay) for the latter. Those not registered in time were to be treated as “ownerless tombs” and the remains deep buried with the tombstone erased. Many of

¹¹⁷ SMA: B257-1-3815-55.

¹¹⁸ SMA: B257-1-4182-37.

¹¹⁹ SMA: B168-1-8. Only very few British did apply which means most of their dead were deep buried. See Henriot: *Scythe and the City* (2016: p. 189). One local transferal, as mentioned, was the wife of Uchimura Kanzô who was moved in 1954 to the “Wanguo gongmu” in the context of the Jing’ansi Cemetery closure.

the former cemeteries were turned into parks for recreation, but some, as seen, also into sites of factories, agriculture – or pigsties.

In contrast, during the pre-PRC period, burial spaces were simply closed when full, but exhumation and reburials were largely avoided.¹²⁰ A 1946 table provides a detailed overview of the cemeteries in Shanghai which were either municipal or private at the end of the pre-PRC period. During the war, with the end of the Settlements after Pearl Harbor and of the French Concession in 1943, Shanghai municipality had taken over the former settlement/concession-run cemeteries. Some of the cemeteries (basically those already full) were listed as only for foreigners, others mixed (including those originally “foreign” but then opened up to Chinese burials),¹²¹ some faith-specific, covering not only Christians (including notably the many orthodox “White” Russians),¹²² but also Jews, Muslims or Parsees, some attached to nationalities, e.g. the French (which included usually people from the French Colonies as well, if in a special corner).¹²³ The military, as well, often had its own “corners” in the cemeteries, but these dead were more likely to be repatriated prior to the Communist takeover.¹²⁴

The above is what can be pieced together about the history behind today’s “Wanguo gongmu” in Shanghai. Apart from this site, which is now also a site to be preserved, Jewish journalist Dvir Bar-Gal has started to collect Jewish tombstones scattered around Shanghai, either used by villagers on the outskirts of town in various ways, just turning them around, or dug under, or sold in antiques shops, as he details his search.¹²⁵ They have been started to be listed on his website, and some other Jewish websites also provide some more general information (if not always accurate in details),¹²⁶ but physically they are not accessible, let alone set up as a physical

¹²⁰ SMA: Q1-6-741, a “Municipal Notification” of 1945.

¹²¹ Understandably, with the switch of management during the war to the Chinese “collaborationist” municipality, there was no reason to bar Chinese from burial in a municipal cemetery.

¹²² On a side note, one can glean from a 1940 price list that the wooden crosses had different prices and options, the orthodox versions (which typically have three bars) being somewhat more expensive than the Latin cross versions, although there were also for both more costly and more economic versions available. See SMA: U38-1-1006-18.

¹²³ SMA: Q5-3-5645-61. See also SMA: U38-1-998-5: according to this French source of 1936, the French wanted to move the “Annamites” (Vietnamese) out of their corner in the Lujiawan Cemetery at this point in time to gain space to sell, and move them over to the Vietnamese corner in the more “plebeian” Xujiahui Cemetery. Usually, whereas the French could opt for an “eternal” resting place, the Vietnamese slots were only for several years.

¹²⁴ See, e.g., with the Americans who announced to the Shanghai mayor in 1946 that they would repatriate their military dead during the following year, partly out of frustration that in spite of “having fought with and for you” the maintenance of the tombs by the Shanghai authorities was found lacking. See SMA: Q400-1-3916-32.

¹²⁵ See his reports on his website: “Shanghai Jewish Memorial” (available online: <http://shanghaijewishmemorial.com>).

¹²⁶ Further Jewish websites include the International Jewish Cemetery Project: available online: <http://www.iajgsjewishcemeteryproject.org/china-inc-hong-kong-a-macao/shanghai.html>; see also the report on the website of the Jewish Communities of China as an addendum to Dvir Bar-Gal: available online: <http://www.jewsofchina.org/shanghai%E2%80%99s-lost-foreigner-cemeteries>.

memorial space. Obviously, they are not connected to any human remains any longer, but now just cenotaphs as the former Jewish cemeteries have all disappeared. The Chinese, however, are well aware of the diplomatic potential of Jewish former presence in Shanghai in foreign relations with Israel after the establishment of official diplomatic relations in 1992,¹²⁷ above all in connection to the wave of Jewish refugees during the Nazi era who had found in Shanghai a “port of last resort” – to cite Ristaino’s book title – before moving on to Israel, the U.S., Australia or elsewhere after the war.¹²⁸ Thus, beyond the former “Ghetto” in Hongkou and the Synagogue there with its exhibition, which tell the story of this aspect of Jewish history and Shanghai’s “hospitality” during a hard time when China herself was at war with Japan, at the nowadays “top-end” cemetery Fushouyuan 福寿园 to the far West of the city [ill. 43, 44 and 45], the Jewish community in Shanghai has set up a memorial together with the Shanghai Center for Jewish Studies and the Hong Kong-based Fushouyuan Cemetery Group in 2015 [ill. 46], commemorating the 70th anniversary of the “victory in the anti-fascist struggle”, i.e. end of WW II, which collectively remembers all Jews who had contributed or fled to Shanghai, and the Chinese helping them.¹²⁹ Thus, the place serves foreign relations and domestic politics in China which increasingly tries to foster nationalism by referring to the war and Japanese aggression in China. Shanghai – together with Harbin in Northeast China, the other main place of Jewish presence in pre-PRC China – hosts a Center for Jewish Studies at the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences and thus helps sustain bilateral relations via academics. In short, although the Jews in Shanghai were of various nationalities,¹³⁰ they are today seen by the Chinese as, above all, connected to Israel.

Looking at the extant Westerners’ cemeteries in Guangzhou and Canton, it becomes clear that their existence largely depends on their perceived usefulness in foreign relations and only partly on their “historic value”. In fact, as we have seen, the “historicity” is often questionable, and continuity is more constructed than real, even if it would be unfair to state that all is “fake” as there have been clearly attempts at preservation, and transferals have been undertaken. Guangzhou mainly focused on the preservation of tombstones, whereas Shanghai undertook

¹²⁷ Notably, Israel had recognised the PRC almost immediately in early 1950, but China which supported the Palestinian cause and had many ties to the Arab world, only agreed to establish official diplomatic relations in 1992.

¹²⁸ Cf. Ristaino, Marcia: *Port of Last Resort. The Diaspora Communities of Shanghai*. Stanford: Stanford University Press 2001.

¹²⁹ See, e.g., the Hong Kong report of September 7, 2015, about the inauguration the day before: “Chinese shelter in the storm”. Available online: <https://www.scmp.com/news/china/society/article/1855841/chinese-shelter-storm-shanghai-park-honours-citys-links-jewish>. There were plans to transfer the preserved Jewish cenotaphs to this area. As of mid-2018, this was not yet realised, though.

¹³⁰ The Jews in Shanghai were therefore also not a unified group, with the fragmentations not only originating from being either Sephardim or Ashkenazim, but also going along “national lines”. See, e.g., a 1941 discussion among the French Concession staff, pointing to religious, political and national issues dividing the Jewish community: SMA: U38-2-730.

several transferals of human remains but has hardly any old tombstones left.¹³¹ Often it seems the involved actors had different agendas, and at times of upheaval it was simply hard to keep track. Thus, it is mainly foreign relations that seem to be on mind for any heritage assessment today that will guarantee the sites of foreigners' cemeteries being cared for. This, however, is only an extension of what happens to Chinese historical tombs which equally are placed in between of history and heritage, in this case not serving foreign relations but "patriotic" concerns in the name of a largely constructed "tradition".¹³²

¹³¹ As mentioned, there have been several ones found by Jewish journalist Dvir Bar-Gal and others at the outskirts, but it seems the Shanghai municipality did not have any comparable programme of collecting them like Guangzhou did. In other words, they seemed not too important, and the present small concrete slabs in the "Wanguo gongmu" are deemed fine.

¹³² An amazing case in this regard is the "tomb" of a literary figure: Wu Song 武松 of the novel "Water Margin" (*Shuihuzhuan* 水浒传) which is situated at Hangzhou's West Lake and said to contain a real coffin, had been "moved away" in 1964, following Mao's call to get rid of the "old ghosts", and was "reconstructed" in 2004.

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1 Guangzhou: Foreigners' Cemetery ©2018



2 Guangzhou: Tomb of the First U.S. Minister to China ©2018



3 Guangzhou: Inscription on the tomb of the First U.S. Minister to China ©2018



4 Guangzhou: Foreigners' Cemetery: Danish tombstone with explanations provided by the Danes ©2018



5 Guangzhou: Foreigners' Cemetery: Broken tombstone ©2018



6 Guangzhou: Foreigners' Cemetery ©2018



7 Guangzhou: Protestant Dawoling Cemetery: Westerners' tombs area ©2018



8 Guangzhou: Kerr Memorial Garden ©2018



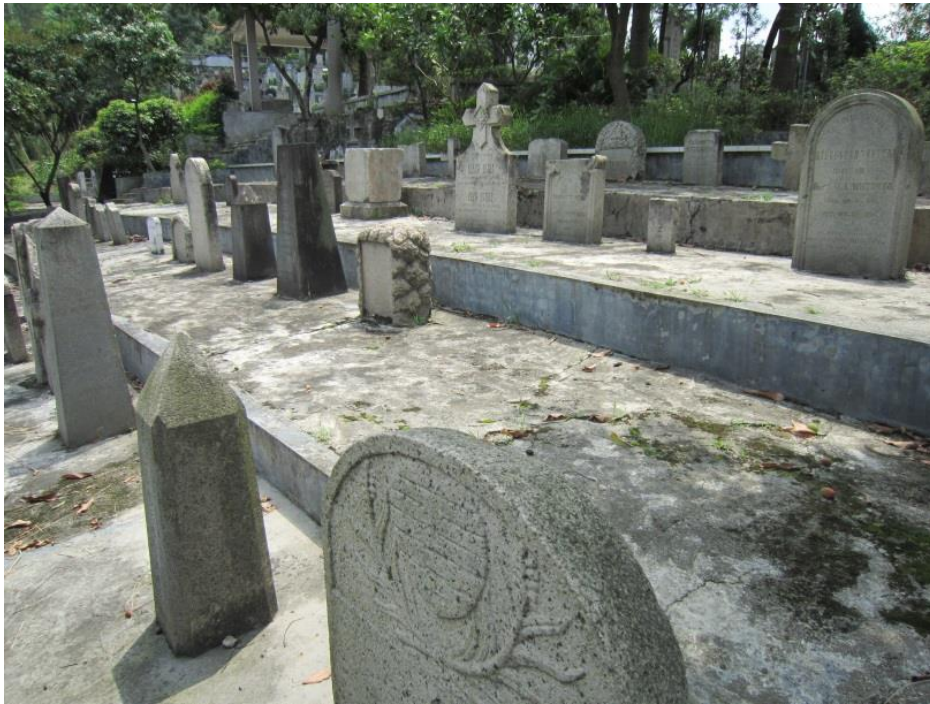
9 Guangzhou: Kerr family tombs ©2018



10 Guangzhou: Photograph of the old Kerr tomb shown on spot ©2018



11 Guangzhou: New Kerr tomb ©2018



12 Guangzhou: Protestant missionaries' tombs ©2018



13 Guangzhou: Lingnan University Cemetery ©2018



14 Guangzhou: Lingnan University Cemetery: broken foreigner's tombstone ©2018



15 Shanghai: Song Qingling Memorial Park: “Foreigners’ Tomb Area” ©2018



16 Shanghai: Song Qingling Memorial Park: section of the famous Chinese ©2018



17 Shanghai: Song Qingling Memorial Park: old site of the “Wanguo gongmu” ©2018



18 Shanghai: Song Qingling Memorial Park: original place of Lu Xun's tomb ©2018



19 Shanghai: Song Qingling Memorial Park: tomb of the Uchimura couple ©2018



20 Shanghai: Song Qingling Memorial Park: tomb of the Amemiya couple ©2018



21 Shanghai: Song Qingling Memorial Park: one of the repatriated Koreans: Sin Kyusik ©2018



22 Shanghai: Song Qingling Memorial Park: Vietnamese student's tombstone ©2018



23 Shanghai: Song Qingling Memorial Park: Vietnamese student's tombstone: the backside ©2018



24 Shanghai: Song Qingling Memorial Park: Vietnamese tombstone resembling a death announcement ©2018



25 Shanghai: Song Qingling Memorial Park: tomb of Bucur Clejan ©2018



26 Shanghai: Song Qingling Memorial Park: tomb of T. Gerlach, friend of China© 2018



27 Shanghai: Song Qingling Memorial Park: tomb of Ruth Weiss ©2018



28 Shanghai: Song Qingling Memorial Park: tombstone of the Kadoorie couple ©2018



29 Shanghai: Song Qingling Memorial Park: one of the Sassoon Gubbay tombstones ©2018



30 Shanghai: Song Qingling Memorial Park: small concrete slabs ©2018



31 Shanghai: Song Qingling Memorial Park: mixture of nationalities, including even Japanese, and unclear identities ©2018



32 Shanghai: Song Qingling Memorial Park: examples of unclear identities ©2018



33 Shanghai: Song Qingling Memorial Park: concrete slabs including one Russian woman's name ©2018



34 Shanghai: Song parents' tomb with all children's names ©2018



35 Shanghai: Song Qingling's tomb ©2018



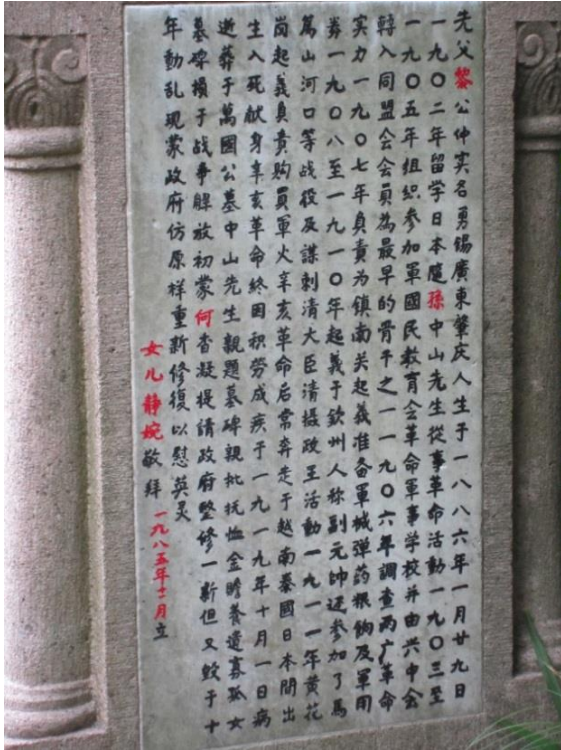
36 Shanghai: Song parents' tomb with Song Qingling's and Ms. Li's in front ©2018



37 Shanghai: Song Qingling Tomb heritage plaque ©2018



38 Shanghai: Song Qingling Memorial Park: tombstone of Li Zhongshi ©2018



39 Shanghai: Song Qingling Memorial Park: backside of Li Zhongshi's tomb telling its being reconstructed in 1985 though originally in the "Wanguo gongmu" ©2018



40 Shanghai: Song Qingling Memorial Park: tomb of Yang Du ©2018



41 Shanghai: Song Qingling Memorial Park: newly set up tomb of Ma Xiangbo ©2018



42 Shanghai: Song Qingling tomb: statue ©2018



43 Shanghai: Fushouyuan ©2018



44 Shanghai: Fushouyuan ©2018



45 Shanghai: Fushouyuan ©2018



46 Shanghai: Fushouyuan: Jewish memorial ©2018