

Medical personnel and support staff who died during the Crimean War, 1854–1856

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The absence of an effective system for recording the location of the graves during the early stages of World War One provided the catalyst for the formation of the Imperial (now) Commonwealth War Graves Commission (I or CWGC). Nevertheless, this admirable – and now much valued development – was foreshadowed by an initiative taken by the British army at the end of the Crimean campaign which resulted in the publication of *The Last of the Brave* by Captains John Colborne, 60th Regiment, and Frederic Brine, RE, in which the ‘inscriptions are given exactly as they appear on the tombstones or slabs, without any corrections.’ This provides an invaluable inventory of the grave-markers and memorials in the Crimea and the Haidar Pasha cemetery at Scutari (Üsküdar), on the Asian side of the Bosphorus.¹ One inevitable shortcoming of the survey was that the authors did not visit all the locations where interments were made,² while many casualties, including officers, were buried in either unmarked or unrecorded graves or ones that had a temporary grave-marker that had disappeared by the time of the survey.³

The British Army of the East – the official title of the army commanded by Lord Raglan, and his successors Generals William Simpson and Sir William Codrington – first arrived in Turkey during April 1854, spent the summer of that year in Bulgaria, and invaded the Crimea on 14 September. The battles of the Alma, Balaklava, Inkerman, and Tchernaya – which did not involve British forces – took place on the 20 September, 25 October, and 5 November 1854 and 16 August 1855 respectively. There were two major assaults on the Sevastopol garrison on 18 June and 9 September 1855; the latter being followed by the Russian evacuation of the southern part of the city. A peace treaty was ratified on 27 April 1856 and the British forces finally evacuated the Crimea on 12 July 1856.

There were over 130 cemeteries in the Crimea with nearly 600 monuments scattered over an area measuring about twelve miles east to west and eight miles north to south.⁴ The condition of the cemeteries became a matter of concern within a few years due to the depredations of vandals and treasure seekers, as well as the weather, grazing animals, and re-colonization of the steppe with the natural flora and fauna.⁵ The Prince of Wales visited the Crimea in April 1869,⁶ and though he expressed his concern about the condition of the cemeteries it was not until 1872 that Brigadier John Miller Adye, RA, and Colonel Charles George Gordon, RE,⁷ were sent to the Crimea to investigate matters. Their report was published in 1873 with a recommendation for rationalization with memorials in smaller cemeteries, but not the bodily remains, being moved to the nearest large one, about nine in number; that these should be protected by good walls; and the monuments within them repaired.⁸ Captain Thomas Henry Anstey, RE, subsequently supervised the necessary repairs between April 1875 and August 1876.⁹ Further concern about the condition of the cemeteries resulted in a meeting at the Royal United Services Institute on 10 March 1883. It was attended by the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Cambridge, the Commander-in-Chief of the British Army.¹⁰ It was agreed that money should be collected to fund the preservation of the remaining cemeteries. A committee carried forward the initiative under the chairmanship of Codrington. The principal cemetery on Cathcart’s Hill was enlarged with the granting of an additional 70 feet around the perimeter by the Russian government. This made it possible to ‘collect the tombstones and memorials into an enclosure and not to disturb the remains of the dead but to smooth over the ground.’¹¹ This project was supervised by Lieutenant General James Conolly (1818–

85), a Crimean War veteran,¹² with the assistance of Captain Samuel Henry Harford (1833–1904), also a veteran and the vice consul in Sevastopol.¹³ The completed cemetery was consecrated in May 1884 by the Bishop of Gibraltar, the Rt Revd Charles Waldegrave Sandford.^{14, 15} This rationalization facilitated the maintenance of the monuments though official correspondence involving the government and the IWGC, which assumed responsibility for the cemetery in the mid-1920s, confirmed that it continued to be a challenging undertaking. A retired Russian army officer, Colonel Vasilii Konstantinovich Khlebnokov, was recruited as the custodian in about 1927, and he recorded the inscriptions on the monuments during 1929/30 and his longhand report is preserved in the CWGC archive.^{16, 17} The Crimea was invaded by the Germans between the summer of 1941 and June 1942 and their occupation lasted until it was recaptured by the Russians in April/May 1944. Field Marshal Lord Alanbrooke attended the Yalta conference and visited the cemetery on 7 February 1945. He found it in a: ‘bad way. Evidently it has acted as a strong point [...] and had been heavily shelled. Nearly all the memorial chapels and graves had been badly smashed.’¹⁸ This summary echoes a report made by the Royal Navy’s Black Sea liaison officer on 18 December 1944. He: ‘found [the cemetery] almost completely destroyed. [...] The whole ground is very thickly pitted with shell holes. [...] I found only fifteen [...] tombstones and memorials [...] not irreparably damaged,’ and yet, despite this, he concluded: ‘that, as far as can be judged now, the cemetery must have been looked after and kept in good order up to the outbreak of war.’¹⁹ However, apart from a portion of the tombstone of Sir George Cathcart, who was killed during the battle of Inkerman and was among the first casualties to be buried on Cathcart’s Hill, and that of Lieutenant Oliver Colt, 7th Regiment,²⁰ none from the cemetery had seemingly survived until those of two officers in the Royal Artillery were recovered later; and are now in the Municipal Museum, Simferopol.²¹

In contrast, the cemetery at Haidar Pasha fared very much better. Sergeant William Henry Lyne, RE, was appointed the custodian shortly after the war and continued in this role until his death in 1914. He was succeeded by Petty Officer Walter Isaac Lee, RN, until he died in 1924. The property contains the graves of casualties of both World Wars and since the mid-1920s the whole property has been under the care of the CWGC. A gratifying consequence of this long-term supervision is that most of the monuments listed by Colborne and Brine still survive in relatively good condition.

Dramatis personae

Eighty-seven medical officers and support staff who died during the campaign are listed in alphabetical order in Table 1.²² This is inevitably an underestimate for the support staff as an unknown number of casualties would have been included in unpublished muster roles or similar official returns, if at all. In order to avoid unnecessary repetition of their names in the text and figures the number in the left hand column has been used to identify them where appropriate. The government sent three commissions of enquiry to the East to investigate problems on the spot, viz. the hospitals, sanitary and supplies commission;²³ and two of commissioners who were medically qualified died tragically during their time in the East (Table 2).

Table 1: Eighty-seven medical officers and support staff that died in Bulgaria, the Crimea, Turkey, and the UK during the Crimean campaign, 1854–1856

No.	Name	Status	Cause of death	Place	Date
1	Alibert, Louis	Civilian Surgeon	Fever	Kuleli	Feb 55
2*†	Ancell, Malcolm Currie	Assistant Surgeon, 11th Hussars	Fever	Camps	Aug 55
3*†¶	Anderson, David	2nd Class Staff Surgeon	Cholera/lung disease	Scutari	Nov 54
4*†	Anderson, William Abbot	Surgeon, 41st Regt	Typhus	Camps	Jan 55

5¶	Barnes, Sophia	Nurse	Disease	Scutari	Apr 55
6*†	Bassano, Christopher Bakewell	2nd Class Staff Surgeon	Fever	Camps	Feb 56
7*†	Beckwith, Henry	Assistant Surgeon, 49th Regt	Cholera	Camps	Oct 54
8*†¶	Beveridge, John Martin	Dispenser	Cholera	Scutari	Nov 55
9*	Boxall, Robert	2nd Class Staff Surgeon, Turkish Contingent	Disease	Yenikale	Nov 55
10†	Boyle, Edward Patrick	Assistant Staff Surgeon	Cholera	Camps	Dec 54
11*†¶	Browne, William	Surgeon, 95th Regt	Fever/dysentery	Scutari	Nov 54
12*	Butler, Mary Elizabeth	Nurse	Fever	Camps	Feb 56
13¶	Clough, Martha ^A	Nurse	Epilepsy	Ship	Sep 55
14¶	Coates, Charles	Dresser, Turkish Contingent	Disease	Büyükdere	Jul 55
15*†¶	Complin, Edward John	Civilian Surgeon	Fever/dysentery	Scutari	Oct 55
16*	Drake, Elizabeth	Nurse	Fever	Camps	Aug 55
17†	Edmonds, James Humphries	Civilian Dispenser	Fever	Smyrna	Apr 55
18	Edsall, Horatio	Surgeon, Ottoman Imperial Army	Typhus	Trebizond	Jan 56
19	Farley, Nathaniel	Assistant Staff Surgeon	Disease	Camps	Jun 56
21†	Fell, Thomas	Dresser	Fever	Ship	Aug 55
21	Flewitt, John Alexander	Dresser	Disease	UK	Jun 56
22*†	Gilborne, John Henry	Assistant Surgeon, 71st Regt	Typhus	Yenikale	Jan 56
23*†¶	Grabham, John	Assistant Surgeon, 11th Regt	Fever/lung disease	Scutari	Feb 55
24†	Graham, Frederick M.	Assistant Staff Surgeon	Typhus	Kuleli	Mar 55
25*†	Harrison, Harry ^B	Dresser, 95th Regt	Fever	Camps	May 55
26*	Henty, Frederick	Purveyor's clerk	Cholera	Camps	Jun 55
27	Holland, Thomas S.	Civilian Assistant Surgeon	Epilepsy	UK	Jun 56
28†	Huthwaite, Francis Cornelius	Surgeon, Grenadier Guards	Cholera	Camps	Sep 54
29†	Jane, Michael Allen	2nd Class Staff Surgeon	Fever	Scutari	Mar 55
30†	Jenkin, Ebenezer Alfred	Assistant Surgeon, 23rd Regt	Cholera	Bulgaria	Aug 54
31	Johnston, Alexander	Assistant Surgeon, 68th Regt	Disease	UK	Jun 56
32*¶	Keital, F.	Surgeon, British German Legion	Cholera	Scutari	Nov 55
33*†	Lamont, James	Assistant Surgeon, 41st Regt	Fever	Camps	Jan 55
34†	Langham, John Philipson	Assistant Surgeon, 7th Regt	Fever	Ship	Feb 55
35†	Le Blanc, Edward ^C	Surgeon, 9th Regt	Shot accidentally	Camps	Mar 55
36	Le Mesurier, Mrs	Nurse	Disease	Smyrna	Nov 55
37*†	Longmore, John	Assistant Staff Surgeon	Cholera	Camps	Aug 55
38†¶	Ludlow, Henry Harvey	Assistant Staff Surgeon	Fever	Scutari	Apr 55
39*†	Macartney, Christopher	Surgeon, 77th Regt	WIA/erysipelas	Camps	Apr 55
40*†¶	Macartney, Frederick Arthur	Assistant Staff Surgeon	Fever	Scutari	Feb 55
41¶	Macauley, Arthur Frederick	Surgeon, Turkish Contingent	Dysentery	Büyükdere	Oct 55
42*†	Mackey, Peter	2nd Class Staff Surgeon	Cholera	Scutari	Oct 54
43*¶	Marks, Mary	Nurse	Cholera	Scutari	Oct 55
44†	Marshall, John	1st Class Staff Surgeon	Fever	Kuleli	Feb 55
45†	Martel(l), Philip Gifford	Assistant Surgeon, 50th Regt	Fever	Ship	Sep 54
46*†¶	Mayne, Joseph	Assistant Staff Surgeon	Cholera	Scutari	Nov 55
47*†¶	McGrigor, Alexander	Deputy Inspector General of Hospitals	Cholera	Scutari	Nov 55
48†	McKenzie, Richard James	Civilian Surgeon	Cholera	Camps	Sep 54
49	McKutcheon, Andrew	Assistant Staff Surgeon	Fever	UK	Nov 55
50	Millard, Ray Samuel	Surgeon, Ottoman Imperial Army	Typhus	Eupatoria	Jun 55
51†	Mitchell, John	1st Class Staff Surgeon	Cholera	Ship	Sep 54
52†	Mitchell, Thomas Oak	Assistant Staff Surgeon	Cerebral disease	Camps	Dec 55
53*¶	Moore, Charlotte	Matron	Dysentery	Scutari	Nov 55
54†	Newton, John	2nd Class Staff Surgeon	Fever	Scutari	Jan 55
55*†	Norris, John James	Assistant Surgeon, 55th Regt	Cholera	Camps	Nov 54
56*†	O'Connor, Nicholas	1st Class Staff Surgeon	Suicide	Camps	Jun 56
57*†	O'Leary, John Francis	Assistant Surgeon, 68th Regt	KIA	Camps	Oct 54
58	Ormerod, Lawrence	Surgeon, Ottoman Imperial Army	Cholera	Camps	Jun 55
59*†	Pine, Chilly	1st Class Staff Surgeon	Typhus	Camps	Mar 55
60†	Pitcaim, George Kinkaid	1st Class Staff Surgeon	Cholera	Bulgaria	Aug 54
61*¶	Platt, Charles	Hospital Steward	Cholera	Scutari	May 55
62*†¶	Reade, George Hume	Apothecary	Cholera	Scutari	Nov 54
63†	Reid, Alexander Rothnay	Assistant Staff Surgeon	Cholera	Camps	Oct 54
64*†	Renwick, William	Assistant Surgeon, 14th Regt	Fever/cerebral disease	Ship	Mar 55
65†	Shegog, Frederick Yorke	Assistant Surgeon, 88th Regt	Cholera	Bulgaria	Aug 54
66*†	Shorrock, James Alysius	Assistant Surgeon, Rifle Brigade	Cholera	Camps	Sep 54
67¶	Sibbald, Andrew	Assistant Surgeon, Turkish Contingent	Cholera	Büyükdere	Jun 55
68*†¶	Simons, Robert Thomas	Assistant Staff Surgeon	Fever/lung disease	Scutari	Apr 55
69*†	Simpson, Walter	Surgeon, 17th Regt	Fever	Camps	May 55
70*†	Smith, Francis	Surgeon, 95th Regt	Typhus	Camps	Feb 55
71	Smyth, Elizabeth Anne	Nurse	Fever	Kuleli	Apr 55
72†	Spence, Thomas	Deputy Inspector General of Hospitals	Drowned accidentally	Ship	Nov 54

73*	Spry, Winifred	Nurse	Cholera	Camps	Oct 55
74*	Stanley, F. J.	Hospital Sergeant	Disease	Camps	Apr 55
75	Stewart, George	Assistant Surgeon, 33rd Regt	Cholera	Scutari	Feb 55
76*†¶	Struthers, Alexander	Assistant Staff Surgeon	Fever	Scutari	Jan 55
77*	Swyny, Edward S. ^D	Hospital Sergeant	Disease	Bulgaria	Jul 55
78	Thompson, James Bowen	Civilian Surgeon	Fever	Kuleli	Aug 55
79*†	Thomson, James	Assistant Surgeon, 44th Regt	Cholera	Camps	Oct 54
80	Walkinshaw, Edwin	Dispenser, Ottoman Imperial Army	Cholera	Eupatoria	Aug 55
81*†¶	Walford, Sophia	Matron	Cholera	Scutari	Aug 55
82*¶	Ward, Lucas	Purveyor	Cholera	Scutari	Jan 55
83*†¶	Wason, Edmund Sidney ^E	Assistant Surgeon, 13th RegT	Fever	Scutari	Feb 55
84*	White, John Horsley	Assistant Staff Surgeon, 3rd Regiment	Cholera/fever	Camps	Jul 55
85*†¶	Whitwell, John Herring	Dispenser	Fever	Scutari	Sep 55
86*†¶	Wishart, James Alexander	2nd Class Staff Surgeon	Typhus	Scutari	May 55
87*†¶	Wood, Henry William	Assistant Staff Surgeon	Cholera	Scutari	Nov 55

* Recorded in Colborne and Brine, *The Last of the Brave*.

† Commemorated on the Netley Memorial.

¶ A monument survives in the Haidar Pasha cemetery.

A Miss Clough died on the voyage to Scutari and was buried in Haidar Pasha.

B Designated an acting assistant staff surgeon on the tombstone; Colborne and Brine, *The Last of the Brave*, 51, No. 86.

C Le Blanc's tombstone was found later and relocated to Cathcart's Hill.

D Swyny died in Bulgaria but was commemorated on a memorial erected in the Crimea by his brother; Colborne and Brine, *The Last of the Brave*, 3, No. 30.

E Transcribed incorrectly as Mason in Colborne and Brine, *The Last of the Brave*, 55, No. 52.

Table 2: Medically qualified Government Commissioners

No.	Name	Status	Cause of death	Place	Date
1	Spence, Thomas ^A	Hospitals Commissioner (DIGH)	Drowned	On <i>Prince</i>	Nov 54
2	Gavin, Hector ^B	Sanitary Commissioner (Civilian)	Shoot accidentally	Camps	Apr 55

A Spence was a passenger on the steam transport *Prince* No. 107 that was lost at sea during the storm of 14 November 1854.

B Gavin was shot accidentally on 21 April 1854 by his brother William, a veterinary surgeon with the 17th Lancers. He died of cholera on 11 June 1855. Their grave was not recorded by Colborne and Brine but it was recovered later and was recorded in the IWGC 1929/30 survey (See Figure 4: C).

The individuals in Table 1 comprise staff and regimental surgeons (27 & 24), surgeons with the Turkish Contingent (which was in British pay) and Ottoman Imperial Army (3 each) and British German Legion (1), civilian surgeons (5), nurses, including two matrons (10),²⁴ dressers, including one in the TC,²⁵ dispensers of medicines, including one in the OIA (4 each), hospital sergeants (2), and one apothecary, purveyor,²⁶ hospital steward, and purveyor's clerk. The names of fifty-five (65%) were commemorated on a war memorial erected at Netley Hospital on Southampton Water. The foundation stone of the monument was laid by the Prince of Wales on 1 August 1864. 'Sixty feet high and in the form of a 13th century cross.'²⁷ It was demolished in 1973.²⁸

The individuals died in Bulgaria (4); Crimea: Camps before Sevastopol (30), Eupatoria (2), and Yenikale (2); Turkey: Scutari (27), Kuleli (5), Büyükdere (3), Smyrna (2), and Trebizond (1); on board ship (7; 5 were surgeons); and the United Kingdom after repatriation (4). The principal causes of death included cholera (32, 37%),²⁹ fever (28, 32%),³⁰ typhus (8, 9%), epilepsy/cerebral disease (3), dysentery (2),³¹ unspecified disease (9), battle injuries (2), and accidents/misadventure (3). Colborne and Brine's inventory recorded twenty-six individuals in the Crimea, including four individuals on regimental memorials (Table 1: 33, 55, 66 & 79), and twenty-five in the cemetery at Haidar Pasha. Thirty-one individuals who died at either of these locations had no recorded grave or memorial, while twenty-two others died at places outside the scope of their survey.

Bulgaria

The British army moved from Turkey to Bulgaria in June 1854 and cholera was responsible for most of the fatalities from disease from July onwards; and it accounted for the deaths of a staff surgeon, assistant regimental surgeon, and a probably a hospital sergeant (Table 1: 60,

65 & 77); and the ‘pestilence’ followed the troops to the Crimea where they landed on 12 September. Their graves were not recorded by Colborne and Brine.

Crimea

The army remained in the Crimea from September 1854 until the final evacuation on 12 July 1856. Cholera accounting for 13 (43.5%) and fever/typhus for 10 (33.5%) of the thirty fatalities with nineteen of the twenty-three medical officers (82.5%) being regimental surgeons (Table 3).

Table 3: Cause of death of thirty medical officers and support staff dying in the Crimea

Status	Cholera	Fever	Typhus	Disease	KIA/DOW	Accident	Suicide	Total
Staff surgeons	-	2	-	1	-	-	1	4
Regimental surgeons	10	3	2	1	2	1	-	19
Civilian surgeon	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Nurses	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	3
Support staff	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	3
Total	13	8	2	3	2	1	1	30

[Summarized from Table 1]

The principal cemetery at the time of the evacuation was on Cathcart’s Hill and the location of the tombstones or regimental memorials of seven individuals can be identified in an explanatory sketch in Colborne and Brine (Figure 1: 4, 25, 55, 57, 66 & 79).

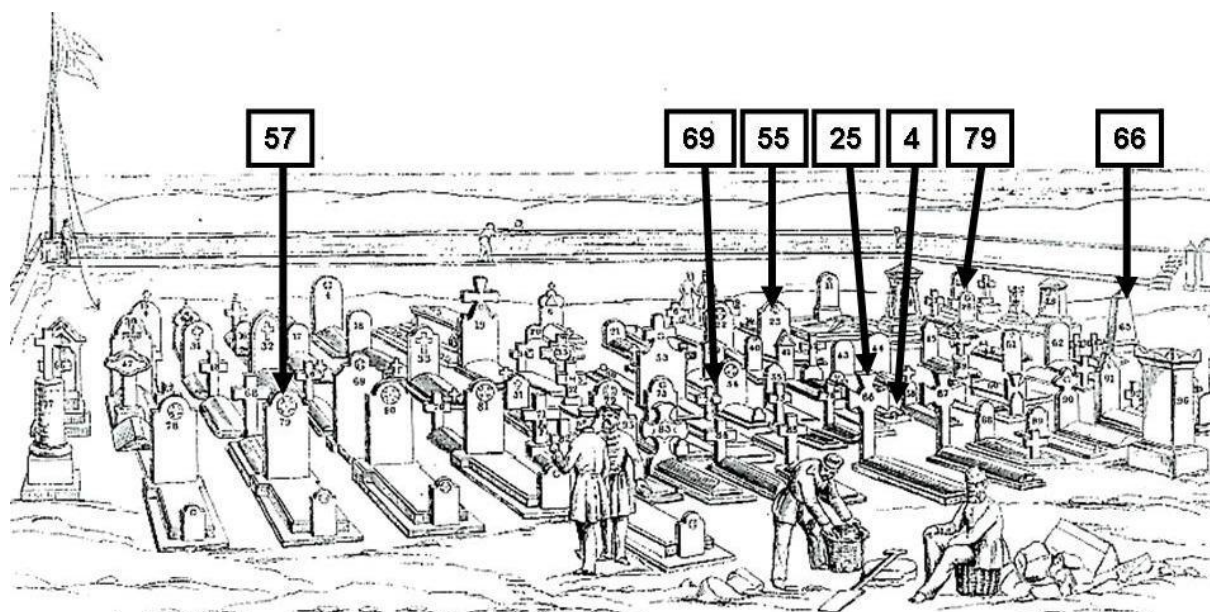


Figure 1: The Cathcart’s Hill cemetery on the heights of Sevastopol
(Colborne and Brine, preceding p. 45)

Further information on a selection of those who died in the Crimea follow:

- Surgeon James Thomson (1823–1854), 44th Regiment, assisted by Private John McGrath, remained at the Alma to tend the Russian wounded after the allies advanced towards Sevastopol. An undertaking not without danger as pointed out by correspondent of *The Times* on 8 October 1854: ‘Now surely, when the Humane Society rewards a man who saves one single individual, the Society will not fail to do something for two men who,

under dreadful trials, saved the lives of 340.³² Thomson died of cholera at Balaklava on 5 October 1854 and the government subsequently granted his mother a pension in recognition of him having: ‘distinguishing himself so signally in attending the Russian wounded after the battle of the Alma.’³³ He was commemorated on the regimental memorial on Cathcart’s Hill (Figure 1: 79).

- Richard James McKenzie (1821–1854) died of cholera after the battle of the Alma. He was an assistant surgeon at the Edinburgh Infirmary and had volunteered to serve as a civilian in order to gain experience of military surgery and medicine. His death resulted in a vacancy that was filled by Joseph Lister (1827–1912) who subsequently became the Regius Professor of Surgery at Glasgow University in 1861, and, in 1877, Professor of Clinical Surgery at King’s College London.³⁴ A photograph taken during the summer of 1854 depicts seven medical residents in Edinburgh who all served in some capacity during the war, with the exception of Lister, who was a Quaker (Figure 2).³⁵



Figure 2: The house surgeons at Edinburgh Infirmary, early 1854. Standing: J. Kirk, G. Pringle, P.H. Watson; Sitting: J. Beddoe, J. Lister, D. Christison, A Struthers

- Alexander Struthers (1830–1855) died in Scutari and was buried in the Haidar Pasha cemetery (see below).
- George Hogarth Pringle was reported to have acted as a surgeon on transports conveying the sick and wound from the Crimea to Scutari,³⁶ though his name was not in the lists of surgeons employed in this service between September 1854 and June 1856.
- Patrick Heron Watson (1832–1907) served in both Turkey and Crimea, and like Alexander Struthers, was not particularly enamoured by Miss Nightingale. He enjoyed a successful career and was knighted in 1903.³⁷

- John Beddoe (1826–1911) was an assistant physician at Renkioi and later published an account of his experiences.³⁸ He practised as a physician in Clifton, Bristol, from 1857 to 1891 and was appointed a physician at the Bristol Royal Infirmary in 1862. He obtained distinction as an anthropologist, being elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. He married a cousin of his colleague, David Christison.³⁹
- David Christison (1830–1912) was an assistant physician at Renkioi. He became an authority on ancient fortifications and a prominent member of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.⁴⁰
- John, later Sir John, Kirk (1832–1922) served for a time in Scutari and at Renkioi and was subsequently appointed to the staff of Dr David Livingstone's expedition to East Africa in 1858 where he continued to work until retiring on a pension in 1887. He died in Sevenoaks, Kent on 16 January 1922 and was buried in the graveyard of St Nicholas where his tombstone can be found.⁴¹
- John Francis O'Leary (1825–54), 68th Regiment, was 'cut in two by a shell' during the opening day of the First Bombardment on 17 October 1854 (Figure 1: 57).⁴²
- Assistant Surgeon Henry Beckwith (1824–54), 49th Regiment, died of cholera on 17 October 1854. His tombstone was moved to Cathcart's Hill in the 1880s and photographed in 1909 by Major George Holme Arbuthnot (1864–1952), 49th Regiment, who accompanied his father, Major General Henry Thomas Arbuthnot (1834–1919), RA, a Crimean War veteran, on a visit to the Crimea and Constantinople (now Istanbul).⁴³ (Figures 3 & 4: 7). Arbuthnot senior noted in a report he gave of his visit that the cemetery was: 'beautifully kept; it is just as well kept as the one at Scutari. A German gardener is in charge of it, and his heart is absolutely in his work. [...] It is quite a pleasant spot to visit.'⁴⁴

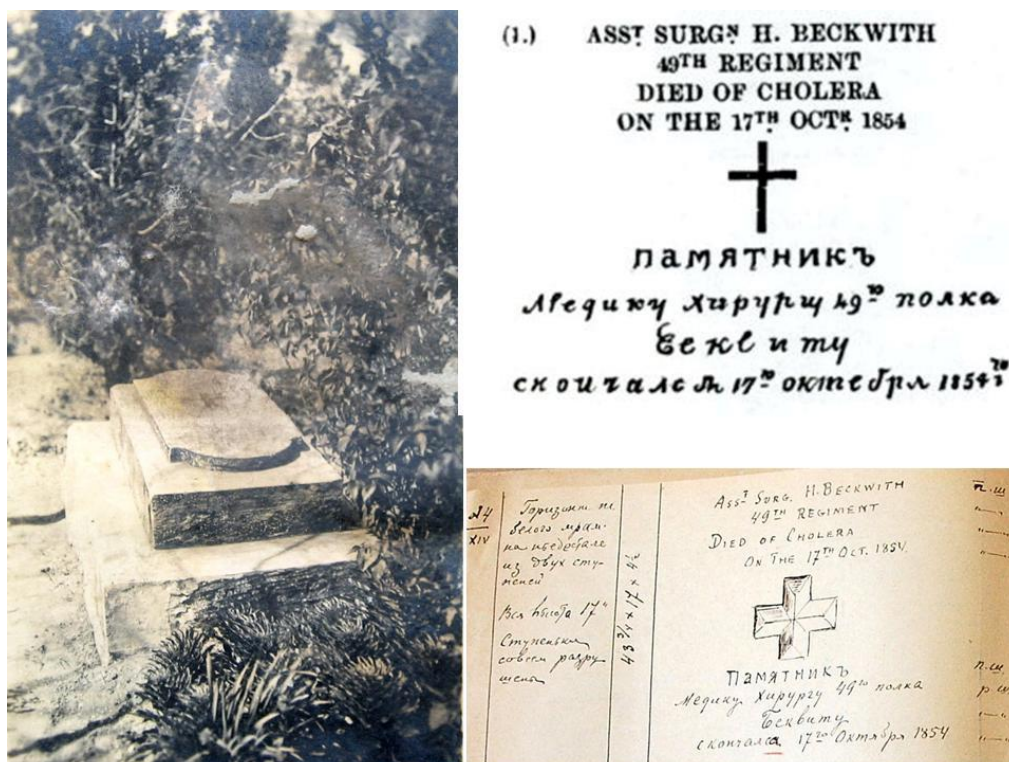


Figure 3: The tomb of Assistant Surgeon Beckwith, 49th Regiment, in 1909, together with the inscription in Colborne and Brine and the transcription made during the 1929/30 IWGC survey

- Assistant Surgeon John James Norris (1832–54), 55th Regiment, died of cholera on 22 November 1854. His grave was not recorded by Colborne and Brine but he is commemorated on the regimental memorial on Cathcart's Hill (Figures 1 & 4: 55)
- Surgeon William Abbot Anderson (1822–55), 41st Regiment, died on 3 January 1855 and was buried on Cathcart's Hill (Figures 1 & 4: 4). He was also commemorated with other officers of the regiment on the tombstone of Lieutenant Colonel James Eman the regiment's commanding officer who died of wounds received on 8 September 1855.
- Staff Surgeon Chilly Pine (1810–55) was the PMO in the 3rd Division and died of typhus in Balaklava on 6 March 1855 and his grave stone was moved from near the General Hospital, Balaklava to Cathcart's Hill (Figure 4: 59). He had constantly pressed his senior officers, including Lord Raglan, for improvements for the troops, and was one of the most outspoken of the witnesses who gave evidence to the Hospital Commission.⁴⁵
- Surgeon Edward Le Blanc (1815–55), 9th Regiment, who was short-sighted and partly deaf, was shot by a French sentry on 17 March 1855. He failed to respond to a challenge and an enquiry concluded that the soldier was not to blame.⁴⁶ His grave was not found by Colborne and Brine but the tombstone was recorded in the IWGC 1929/30 survey (Figure 4: 35).
- Christopher McCartney (1818–55), 77th Regiment, was wounded during the battle of the Alma but he did not die until 11 April 1855 after six days illness with erysipelas. This raises the possibility that the two events are unrelated.⁴⁷ His tombstone was moved from the cemetery of the 2nd Brigade, Light Division to Cathcart's Hill (Figure 4: 39)
- Frederick Henty (1835–1855) and his brother George Alfred Henty (1832–1902) both attended Westminster School and served as clerks in the Purveyor's Department in the Crimea.⁴⁸ Frederick died of cholera on 22 June 1855 while George Alfred went on to become a celebrated author of adventure stories for children.⁴⁹
- Staff Surgeon Christopher Bakewell Bassano (1824–1856) was ordered to take charge of the troops in and around the Sevastopol docks on 25 October 1855 and died at Balaklava on 1 February 1856. His tombstone was moved from near the Castle Hospital to Cathcart's Hill (Figure 5: 6). A daguerreotype of him with his two children and his coatee and officer's epaulettes are preserved in the National Army Museum.⁵⁰
- Suicide was uncommon during the campaign⁵¹ and so the death of Staff Surgeon Nicholas O'Connor (1814–1856) was unusual when he took his life on 7 June 1856 while in a 'state of mental aberration.'⁵² Assistant Staff Surgeon David Grieg (1832–90) provided more details in a letter: 'I suppose to amuse himself in the long evenings he had taken to drinking rum and water, rather more of the former than the latter, took the DTs and cut his throat with one of his own instruments, leaving a wife and three children to the care of the government. Rather a poor way to go out of the world. Although a simple, good natured Irishman he was not a man one could admire.'⁵³ O'Connor was buried near the Castle hospital with a tombstone 'erected by his brother officers.'⁵⁴ It was later moved to Cathcart's Hill (Figure 4: 56)
- Mary Elizabeth Butler and Winifred Spry were Catholic sisters of mercy who were based in the General Hospital, Balaklava under the Reverend Mother Bridgeman (Figure 5). They were not under the control of Florence Nightingale as her authority did not extend to the Crimea until the spring 1856. Bridgeman was not prepared to accept this development and resigned and returned to England with her nurses. This was very much to the regret of General Codrington and Dr Hall. The tombstones of Butler and Spry were erected respectively by the Medical Staff Corps based in the hospital and the soldiers of the 88th Regiment.⁵⁵

Tablet to memory of General H.C. Seymour Marquis of Hertford General James Conolly

Number of squares
 VI. 1. - 14. X. 1. - 14.
 VII. 1. - 15. XI. 1. - 14.
 VIII. 1. - 16. XII. 1. - 11.
 IX. 1. - 20. XIII. 1. - 14.

Number of manuscript
 I. 1. - 21. VI. 1. - 22. XI. 1. - 20. XVII. 1. - 35.
 II. 1. - 21. XII. 1. - 22. XIII. 1. - 35.
 III. 1. - 16. VIII. 1. - 22. XIV. 1. - 20. XVIII. 1. - 35.
 IV. 1. - 17. IX. 1. - 21. XV. 1. - 26.
 V. 1. - 10. X. 1. - 20. XVI. 1. - 39.

Grid Columns (I to XVIII):

Left Section (Columns I-V):

Middle Section (Columns VI-IX):

Right Section (Columns X-XVIII):

Annotations:

- 37 → Column I, Row 1
- 70 → Column I, Row 2
- 55 → Column I, Row 3
- 59 → Column I, Row 4
- C → Column I, Row 5
- 4 → Column I, Row 6
- 12 → Column I, Row 7
- 7 → Column XVIII, Row 1
- 6 → Column XVIII, Row 2
- 25 → Column XVIII, Row 3
- 35 → Column XVIII, Row 4
- 56 → Column XVIII, Row 5
- 84 → Column XVIII, Row 6
- 57 → Column XVIII, Row 7
- 39 → Column XVIII, Row 8

Post-war developments

The Cathcart's Hill cemetery was enlarged during the 1880s and this made it possible to relocate the tombstones and memorials, though not the remains, from the cemeteries in the area occupied by the allies. An undated and unsigned plan on the enlarge cemetery, almost certainly prepared by a member of Royal Engineers, is reproduced in part in Figure 4. The original perimeter of the cemetery is outlined in red and the tombs and memorials are arranged in rows, designated I–XVIII. The location of the relevant tombstones or regimental memorials recorded in the IWGC 1929/30 survey are identified.⁵⁶

Turkey

Haidar Pasha cemetery

The cemetery is on a cliff on the Asian side of the Bosphorus in front of the Turkish Military Hospital that was used by the British Army (Figures 6 & 7). The earliest surviving monument is that of Lieutenant William Lear Macnish, 93rd Regiment, who was drowned in a flash flood on 19 May 1854,⁵⁷ and the latest was Veterinary Surgeon Alfred Henry Cherry (c.1824–1855), 1st Dragoons, who died on 7 March 1855 (See Figure 11: A). It was consecrated on 16 May 1855 by the Bishop of Gibraltar, the Rt Revd George Tomlinson (Figure 8). The Prince of Wales visited several countries in the Middle East during 1862 and his entourage included the photographer Francis Bedford.⁵⁸ They visited the Haidar Pasha cemetery and about forty surviving tombstones can be seen in a photograph taken 25 May;⁵⁹ and those of relevance to this essay are identified in Joseph Swain's engraving of his image⁶⁰ (Figures 9 & 10). The four following scenes of the cemetery were taken by the author in June 2012 (Figures 11–14) while photographs of the individual tombstones in the Appendix were in taken on several occasions.

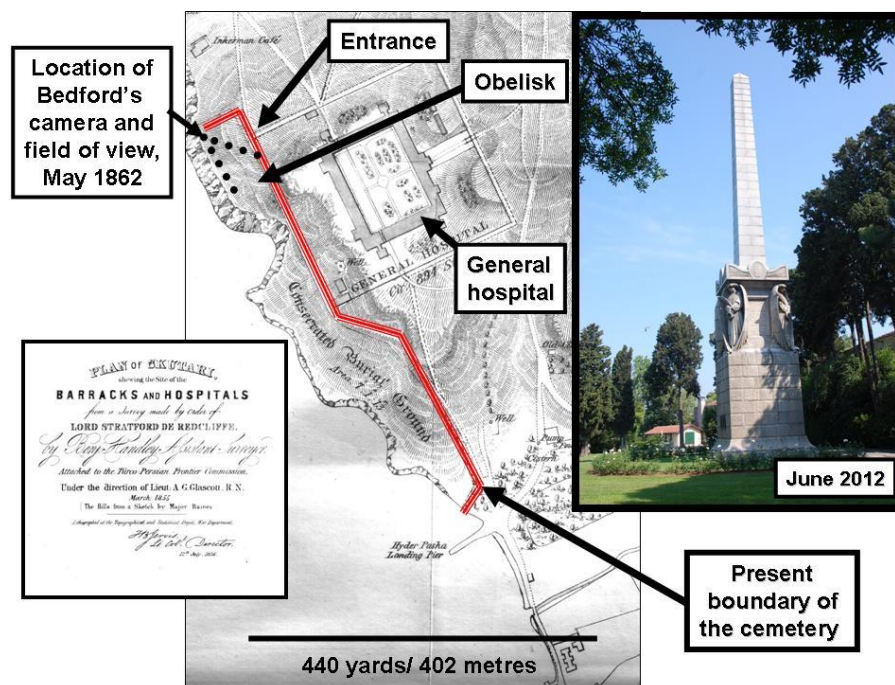


Figure 6: The location of the British cemetery at Haidar Pasha and Marochetti's obelisk erected in 1857
(Detail from a plan in Sayer, Captain [F.], *Despatches and Papers Relative to [...] the War with Russia*, (London, 1857), and a photograph by the author)

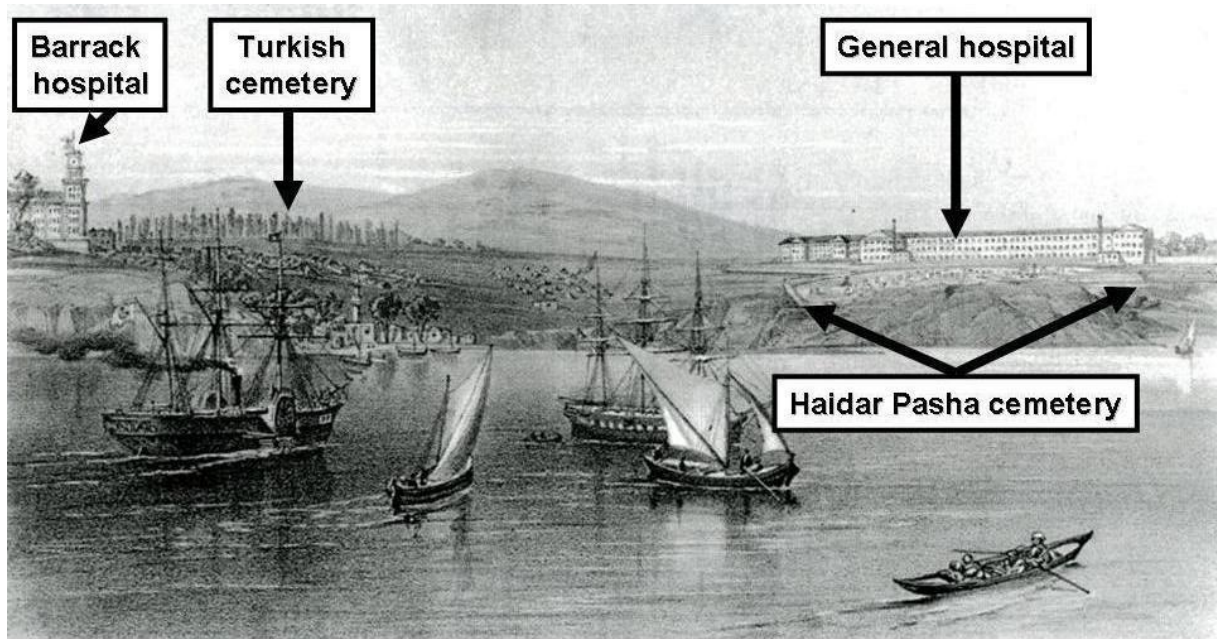


Figure 7: The Haidar Pasha cemetery from the Bosphorus 1856
(Colborne and Brine, following p. 52)



Figure 8: Consecration of the burial-ground at Scutari by the Bishop of Gibraltar
(*Illustrated London News*, 9 June 1855)



Figure 9: Photograph of the English cemetery at Haidar Pasha taken by Francis Bedford on 25 May 1862
(Royal Collection Trust/© King Charles III, 2023; RCIN 2861694)

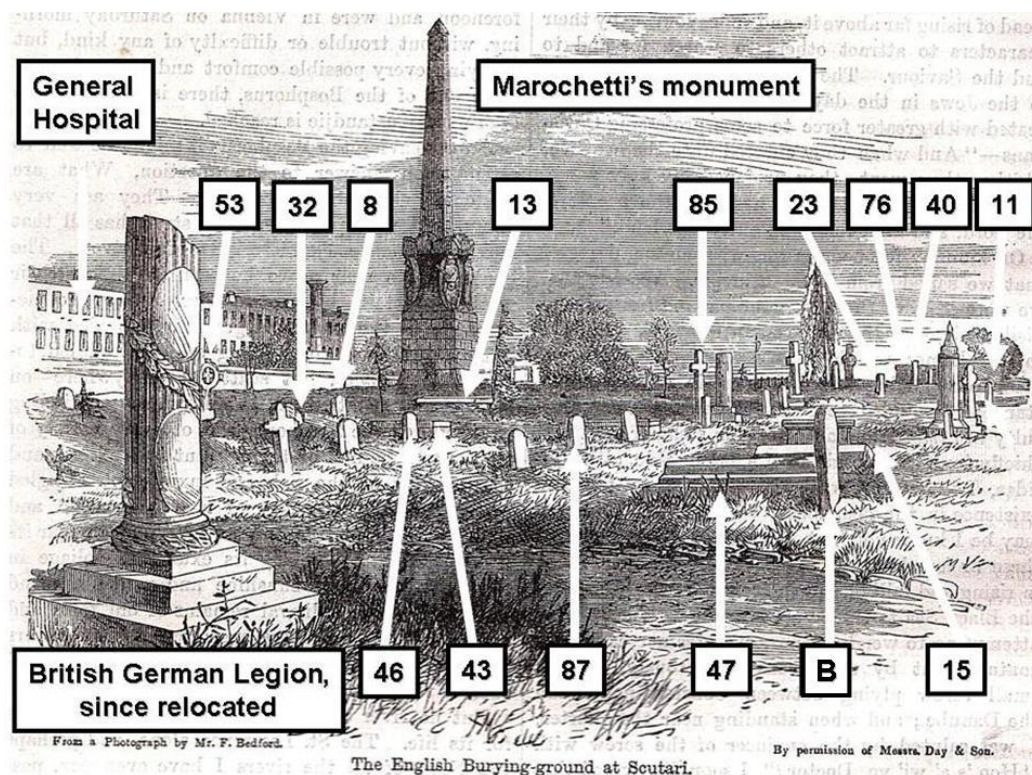


Figure 10: The English cemetery at Haidar Pasha engraved by Joseph Swain after a photograph by Francis Bedford. (*Good Words for 1866*, 273)

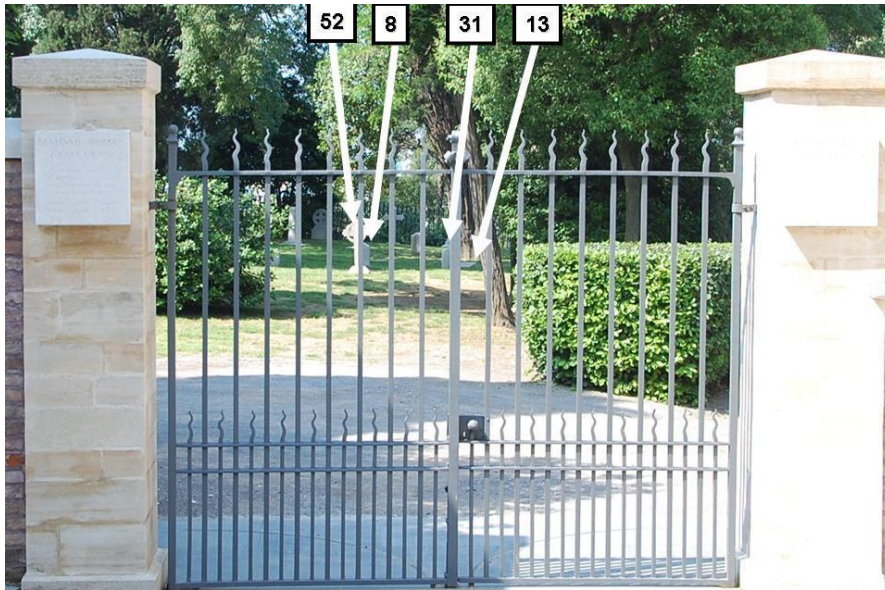


Figure 11: The entrance to the Haida Pasha cemetery
(Photograph by author)

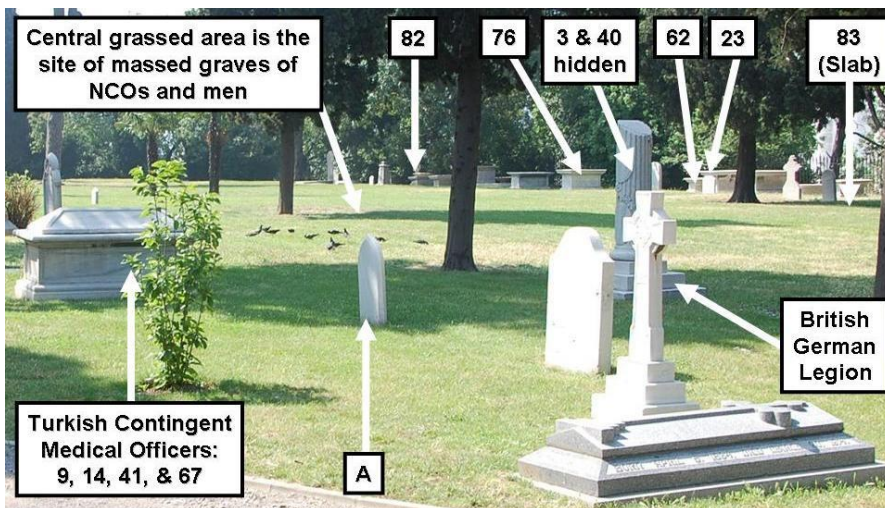


Figure 12: The Haidar Pasha cemetery looking south from the entrance
(Photograph by the author)

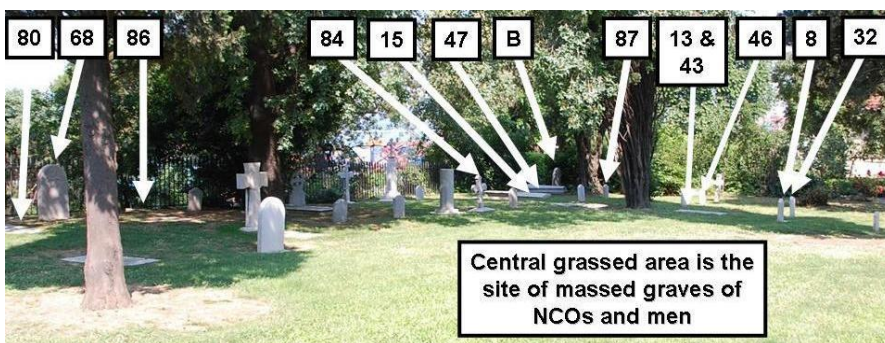


Figure 13: The Haidar Pasha cemetery looking towards where Francis Bedford took the photograph in Figure 9 (Photograph by the author)

Table 4 summarizes the causes of death of twenty-seven medical officers and support staff who died in the hospitals on the Bosphorus together with Martha Clough, a volunteer lady nurse, who died on the voyage across the Black Sea.

Table 4: Cause of death of twenty-eight individuals buried in the Haidar Pasha cemetery

Status	Cholera	Fever	Typhus	Dysentery	Disease	Total
Staff surgeons	5 ^A	6 ^B	1	-	-	12
Regimental surgeons	2	3 ^C	-	-	-	5
Civilian surgeon	-	1 ^D	-	-	-	1
Nurses	2	-	-	1	2 ^E	5
Support staff	4	1			-	5
Total	13	11	1	1	2	28

[Summarized from Table 1]

A and B: One with lung disease; C: One each with dysentery and lung disease; D: One with dysentery; and E: Includes Martha Clough, a lady nurse, who died during the voyage from the Crimea.

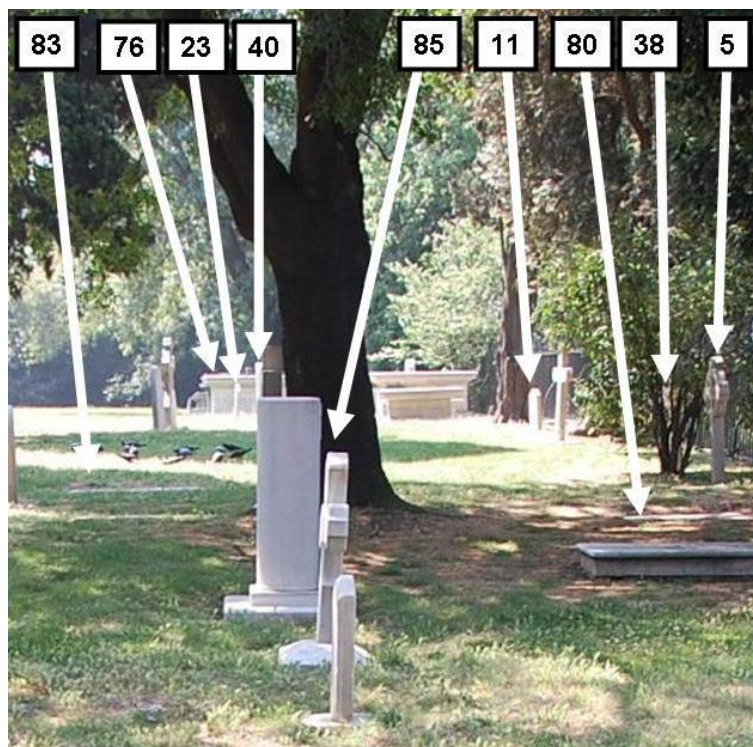


Figure 14: The Haidar Pasha cemetery further in advance of where Francis Bedford took the photograph in Figure 9 (Photograph by the author)

Individuals whose tombstones survive in the Haidar Pasha cemetery include:

- Lucas Ward (c.1787–1855) was a veteran of the Walcheren expedition and Peninsular War. He and his wife Jane both died of cholera and the inscription on their tomb reads: ‘Sacred to the memory of Lucas Ward Purveyor to the Forces who died at Scutari on Jan'y 1st 1855 after serving his country 46 years also Jane Ward wife of the above who died at the same place Jan'y 3rd 1855 This monument was erected by members of his Department as a tribute of esteem and respect for an old and faithful public officer’ (Figure 12: 82).⁶¹

- George Hume Reade (1793–1854) died of cholera on 28 November 1854. He served in the Peninsular campaigns of 1812–14, the American war, including the affair of Plattsburg, and Canada during the insurrection and was the principal apothecary at Scutari where he had a medical rank as a staff surgeon although he was not medically qualified. In Shepherd's opinion he was too old for the job and did not conduct his department efficiently.⁶² His tomb was erected by 'his afflicted wife and children.' (Figure 12: 62). Three of their sons served in the Army, viz. Lieutenant Jones Harper Reade (d.1895), 3rd Regiment, and Surgeon John By Cole Reade (1832–1914), Rifle Brigade, both served in the Crimea while Surgeon Herbert Taylor Reade (1828–1897), 61st Regiment, won the VC at Delhi during September 1857
- Henry Harvey Ludlow (1827–55) died of fever at Scutari on 4 April 1855 (Figure 14: 38). The obituary notices confirm that he had already enjoyed a promising career. Incidentally, an issue that affected peoples' judgment of the hospitals was their previous experience. For example, Assistant Surgeon Edward Masson Wrench (1833–1912), informed his father on 28 December 1854 that he had received two letters from Scutari. One from somebody who had not been to the Crimea and thought that it was uncomfortable and horrid and the other from Ludlow who had and thought it was a sort of Paradise.⁶³ Similarly, at the end of January Assistant Surgeon John James Scott (1829–64), 57th Regiment, who, like Ludlow was at Scutari on sick leave from the Crimea, thought the Barrack hospital was 'as comfortable as can be expected' and 'well supplied in with good rations and warm dress'.⁶⁴
- Staff Surgeon James Alexander Wishart (1820–55) died at Scutari of typhus on 25 May 1855. He did not land in the Crimea as he was sick but later served sometime on the hospital transports. He gave evidence to the Hospital Commission and denied the alleged shortage of lint and sheets at Scutari (Figure 13: 86).⁶⁵
- The German British Legion was stationed at Scutari but never served in the Crimea. Dr F. Keital was one of the casualties of a cholera epidemic that occurred in the locality during November 1855.⁶⁶ He is commemorated with other casualties on the Legion's memorial (Figures 9, 10, 12 & 17).
- There were connections between four pairs of individuals buried in the cemetery (Figure 15):
 1. The sailing transport *Europa* No. 92 provides the first example. The vessel caught fire shortly after sailing for the East with elements of the 6th Dragoon Guards. The casualties included the commanding officer Lieutenant Colonel Willoughby Moore, the husband of Mrs Moore (Figures 10, 11 & 15: 53),⁶⁷ and the veterinary surgeon, Richard Glengall Kelly. Mrs Moore later went to Turkey and became the matron at the Palace or Harem Hospital that was used principally for officers, while Dr Alexander McGrigor was a staff surgeon at the Barrack hospital at Scutari; and both died of disease. In her memoirs, Mrs, later Lady Amelia Hornby, wrote in letter dated 3 December 1855: 'Poor Mrs Moore was a woman of many sorrows: Her husband perished in a burning ship rather than leave his men; and she had lost her only child. [She] then felt that the only thing which could make her endure life cheerfully was to lessen the miseries of others. [...] Her sufferings during her illness were very severe but borne with the greatest fortitude and resignation. Many a poor fellow whom she had nursed and comforted, followed her to the grave.'⁶⁸

Dr Alexander McGrigor was one of the passengers who were rescued. He died of cholera on 16 November 1855 and Lady Alicia Blackwood provided a poignant account of his final hours: 'In the afternoon [he] was struck down. [...] He knew his own state too well, the grip of cholera was upon him, every stage of which he understood and spoke of; an hour or two and he would be gone! [...] He made his will [with] the help of a friend near; bade adieu to my husband [Revd Dr James Stevenson Blackwood] and his

sorrowing fellow-surgeons, and sank into the last stage of coma, till death released him' (Figures 10, 13, 15 & 17: 47).⁶⁹

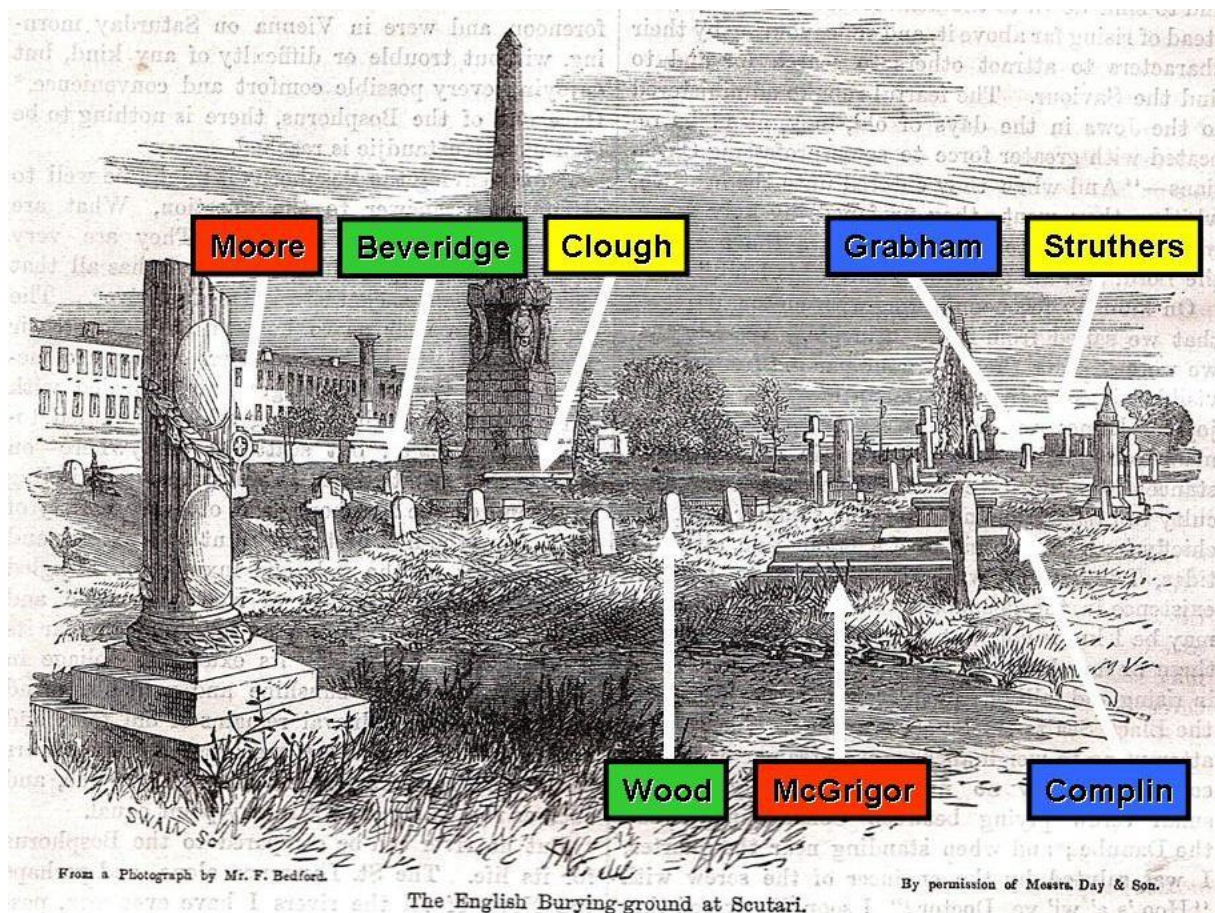


Figure 15: Location of the graves of four pairs of individuals who were in some way connected

2. Dr Henry William Wood and Dispenser John Martin Beveridge were buried on the same day with the 'infantry depot [furnishing] a party in accordance with the rank of the deceased' (Figures 10, 13 & 15: 87 & 8).⁷⁰ They died of cholera and the circumstances were described in the *Medical and Surgical History*: '[Dr Wood] had been on duty in the hospital up to 3 a.m. on the morning of the 17th [...] soon afterwards, 4 a.m., [he] was found lying on his bed, with his clothes on. [...] about ten minutes afterwards [...] he was now in the privy; but he did not complain [...] Shortly afterwards [he was found] lying on his bed suffering from cramps, and when Dr Webb⁷¹ called to see him he was pulseless, and becoming rapidly collapsed. [...] It appears the dispenser had made up some medicine for himself and Dr Wood, and [...] it is probable that both had been ailing previously, but as they never complained, and appeared in usual health at 3 a.m., their ailments can only have been slight.'⁷²

3. Dr Edward John Complin '[was] seized with Crimean fever. [He had] made some progress towards recovery, but was seized with dysentery at the General Hospital at Scutari, on his way back to Smyrna; [...] but this wish was denied him, poor young man!' (Figures 10, 13 & 15: 15) while Dr John Grabham died on of 'malignant fever' contracted in the General Hospital, Scutari (Figures 10, 12, 14 & 15: 23). They are commemorated on the same mural tablet installed in Southwark Cathedral by the Governors of St Thomas's hospital. The inscription reads: '[...] past house surgeons of this hospital who,

while ministering to the sick and the wounded of the British Army before Sebastopol, were stricken by disease and died at Scutari; the former February 16th 1855 in the 25th year of his age and latter October 29th 1855 in the 26th year of his age.' (Figure 16)

3. Alexander Struthers (1830–1855) (Figures 2, 12 & 15: 76) and Miss Martha Clough (d.1855), a lady volunteer nurse (Figures 13 & 15: 13), both benefited from Florence Nightingale's kindness, albeit posthumously in Clough's case. Alexander Struthers was a civilian surgeon who had been afflicted with fever, possibly typhoid, and died on 20 January 1855 after developing a parotid abscess followed by septicaemia. Nightingale had been extremely kind to him during his illness though it was not known whether she knew of the contents of the letters he sent home during the latter part of 1854 in which he was very critical of her and her nurses.⁷³ Clough went to the East in the first instance to visit the grave of her sweetheart Colonel the Hon. Lauderdale Maule who had died in Bulgaria.⁷⁴ His brother, Lord Panmure, was the Minister of War from February 1855. She went to the Crimea where she was invited to work in the hospital of the Highland Brigade, much to the chagrin of Miss Nightingale. She fell ill in the summer of 1855 and died on the steam transport *Orinoco* No. 218 while crossing the Black Sea, and was buried at Scutari. Nightingale supervised the funeral and organized for her effects to be returned home.⁷⁵

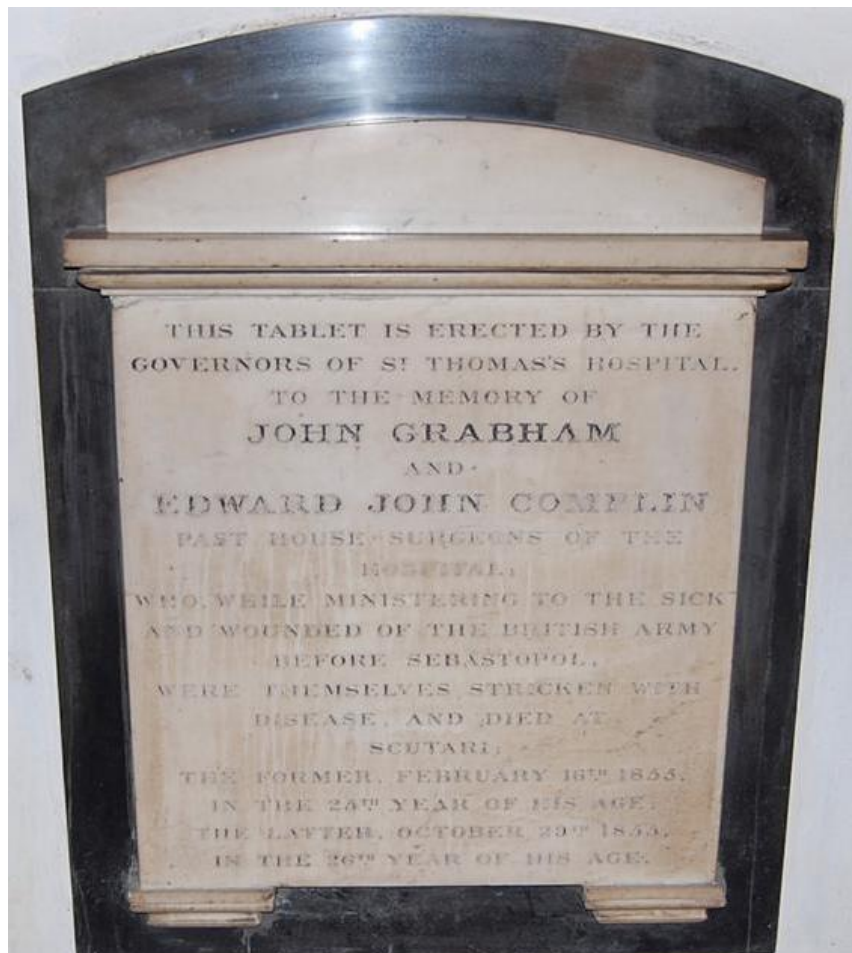


Figure 16: The memorial for Drs John Grabham and Edward John Complin in Southwark Cathedral (Photograph by the author)

Marochetti's Crimean War Memorial

In the summer of 1855 the government entered into discussions with the sculptor Baron Carlo Marochetti about the design for a memorial in the Haidar Pasha cemetery. The monument was erected in 1858 using masonry prepared in the British Isles (Figures 6, 9, 10, 15 & 17). The inscriptions on the plinth, which are in French, Italian, and Turkish on the other three panels reads: 'To the Memory of the Officers and Men of the British Army and Navy who in the War against Russia in 1854, 1855, and 1856, Died for their Country. This Monument was Raised by Queen Victoria and her People, 1857.' To mark the centenary of the start of the war a plaque was affixed below the main inscription. It was unveiled by the British Ambassador, Sir James Bowker, on 24 May 1954 and reads: 'To Florence Nightingale, whose work near the cemetery a century ago relieved much human suffering and laid the foundations for the nursing profession.'⁷⁶

The Prince and Princess of Wales visited the cemetery on 4 April 1869 and on this occasion the journalist William Howard Russell accompanied the Royal party; and it is clear he was not enamoured by Marochetti's monument: 'Admirers of the works of Marochetti will point to the fine expression and beauty of the four female figures at the angles of the quadrilateral which supports the simple obelisk above – a copy in petto of the Luxor column; but it must be admitted that the general effect of the work as a whole is rather paltry. The total cost, including transport, etc, was, we learn with wonder, £17,500, which is assuredly a good deal of money. There are eighty-six graves marked by tombstones or tablets, but the nameless dead lie in solemn rank and file under the sword from end to end of the place, with not a line to mark their resting-places *quia carent vate sacro* [because they lack a holy bard].'⁷⁷

Captain, later Major, John Francis Bourke, MC, RAMC⁷⁸

Captain Bourke was stationed Constantinople after the end of World War I and his paper on a the Haidar Pasha cemetery provides a fascinating description of the cemetery shortly before the Imperial (now Commonwealth) War Graves Commission assumed responsibility for its upkeep during the mid-1920s; and which continues to this day.⁷⁹ The charming pencil sketch of some of the monuments is included in the centre of Figure 17 together with photographs taken by the author during June 2012 or October 2013.

Kuleli and Büyükdere

A military barracks at Kuleli a few miles north of Scutari on the shore of the Bosphorus was used a hospital from early 1855 and later for convalescents. The graveyard, which has not survived, was not recorded by Colborne and Brine, but was included in the report of the Crimean War cemeteries prepared by Brigadier Adye and Colonel Gordon published in 1873.⁸⁰ However, of the five individuals in Table 1 (Nos 1, 24, 44, 71 & 78) only two (Nos 71 & 78) were listed in their report.

The Turkish contingent – which was in British pay – was located sometime in Büyükdere on the European side of the Bosphorus. Two medical officers and a dresser died of disease during 1855 (Table 1: 9, 14, 41 & 67). Their tomb was not recorded by Colborne and Brine so the monument illustrated in Figures 12 & 17 would have been installed a later date.

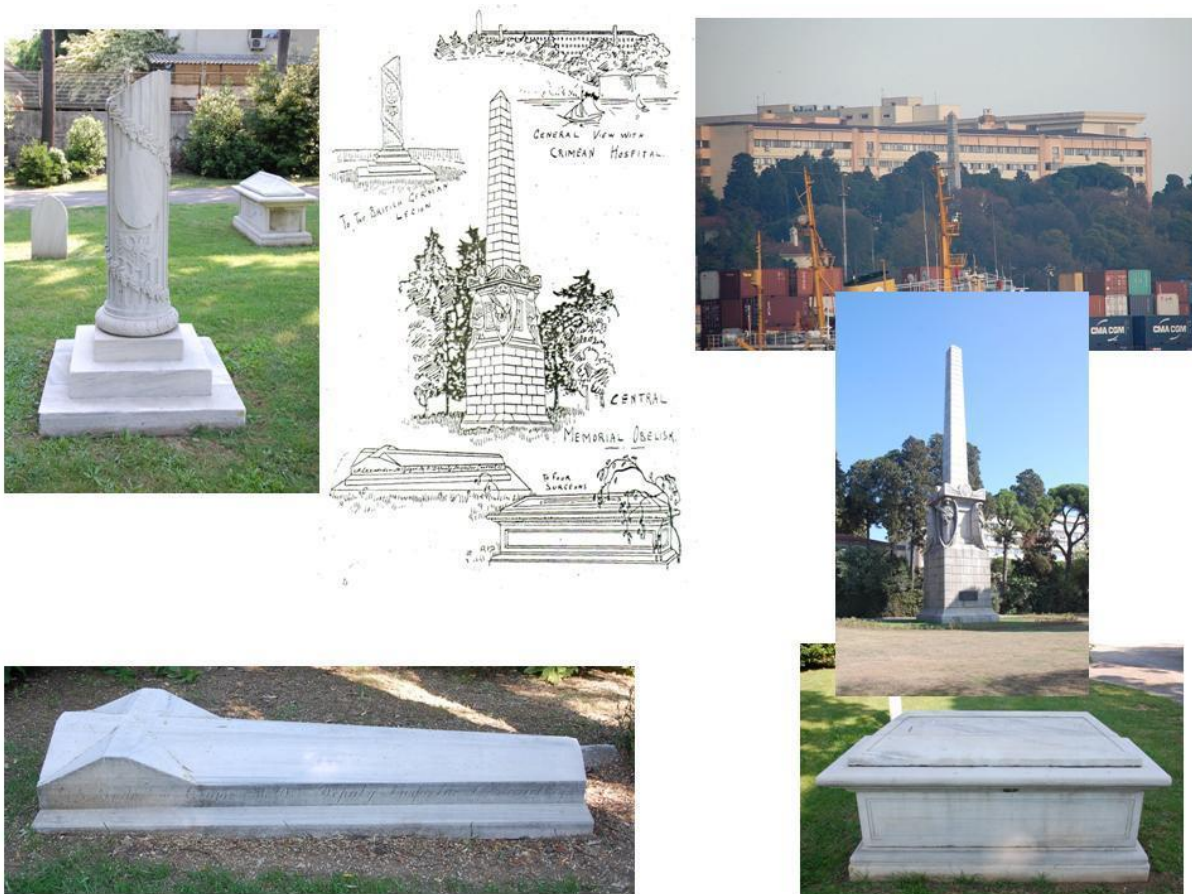


Figure 17: A sketch of memorials in the Haidar Pasha cemetery reproduced from Captain, later Major, Bourke's paper with photographs taken by the author in 2012 or 2013. Clockwise: The Turkish Military Hospital; Marochetti's obelisk; Medical Officers in the Turkish Contingent (Nos 9, 14, 41 & 67); Dr A. McGregor (No. 47); the German British Legion memorial (Figures 9, 10, 12 & 15)

Royal and Merchant Navy

The Royal Navy surgeons all died of disease. These comprised Surgeons Richard Percy Chapman who died on 14 June 1855 while serving ashore with the Naval Brigade; J. Corbett, HMS *Jean d'Arc*, who died of cholera on 1 December 1855; J. Douglas, HMS *London*; and Assistant Surgeon Terence H. Wall, HMS *Leopard*, who died in Constantinople on 16 December 1855 and was buried at Haidar Pasha (Figures 10 & 13: B). Surgeons H. Stupart, HMS *Niger*, and Edward Harris Derriman, Royal Marines, and Assistant Surgeon John Hitchens, HMS *Sphynx*, were interred in a cemetery in Therapia on the European side of the Bosphorus.⁸¹ The tombstones of Derriman and Hitchens, along with several others including that of Captain Edmund Mowbury Lyons, RN, the son of Admiral Lord Lyons, the commander of the Black Sea Fleet, were later relocated in the southern end of the Haidar Pasha cemetery, and where they can still be seen. The inscription on the modern memorial stone reads: 'In memory of the servicemen who died in the British Hospital Therapia during the Crimean War 1854–1855 & of dependent civilians who died during the period 1855–1868' (Figure 18). Finally two civilian ship surgeons: John Morgan Salter was drowned when *Prince* No. 107 sank during the storm of 14 November 1854 and William Leshley, of *Emue* No. 74, who died of typhus on 14 March 1855.⁸²

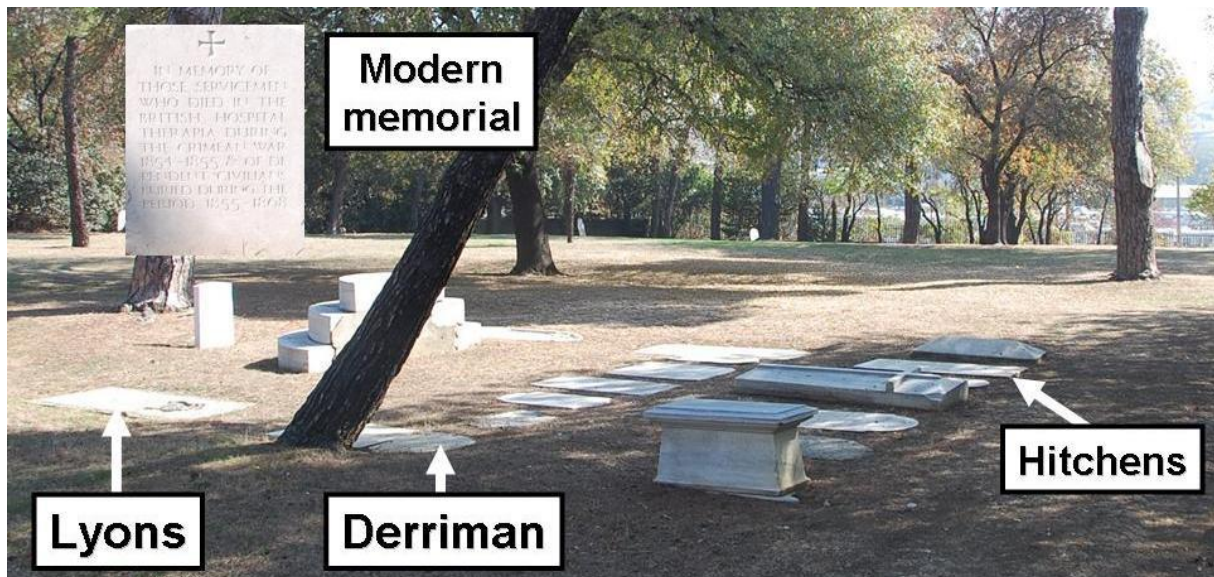


Figure 18: Tombstones relocated to the Haidar Pasha cemetery from Therapia.
(Photograph by the author, October 2013)

Malta

Malta had a large permanent and transient military presence during the war. However, no record has yet been found of the deaths of medical officers or support staff, though some dependents living there died, though only the tombstone of James William Holmes survives. For example:

- Henry Arthur, the two-year-old son of Surgeon Alfred Crocker (1817–88), 2nd Battalion, 1st Regiment, and Emily Frances, née Gough, was buried on 29 August 1855 by the Revd Henry Hare.⁸³
- James William, the eldest son of James Holmes (b.1820), Purveyor to the Forces, died on 30 October 1855, aged 8 years 10 months and was buried on 1 November. His gravestone can be seen in the Msida Bastion cemetery, Floriana (Section C. 65).⁸⁴
- Ferguson Alexander, the three-year-old son of the Revd Richard Bontein Howe (c.1816–1869), the chaplain at the Royal Navy hospital, and Louisa Caroline, née Keogh, died on 3 September 1855.⁸⁵
- Louisa Abigail, née Hawkes, who married Acting Assistant Surgeon (later MD, FRCS) Archibald Weir (1826–1894) in Kidderminster on 10 October 1855, died in Valetta on 27 April 1856 aged 25, after just over six months of marriage. She was buried on 29th by the Revd Henry Hare.⁸⁶

Misinformation in the medical press

A list of medical officers who died published in the *Medical Times and Gazette* included two examples of misinformation.⁸⁷ First, it was stated that a Dr Boothroyd, Grenadier Guards, died at Smyrna during March 1855. There is no record on any medical officer of this name in various official records but the medal roll of the 3rd Battalion, Grenadier Guards, recorded that No. 6607 Private Doctor Boothroyd was entitled to the Crimea campaign medal.⁸⁸ He died on 20 March 1855 at Smyrna of frostbite (*gelatio*).⁸⁹ Second, Assistant Surgeon Edward Wallis Campbell, Royal Horse Artillery, was reported to have died in the Crimea in April

1855. In the event, he died shortly after his appointment on 26 February and before he was due to leave for the Crimea. He was buried at St Luke's, Greenwich.⁹⁰

Acknowledgements

Over the years I have received assistance from many people to whom I owe my thanks. These include: Tony Margrave, particularly for additional details about several of the individuals, Douglas Austin, Maria Choules, Robert Dodd, Paolo Ferrelli, Andrew Fetherston, Glenn Fisher, Michael Greet, Peter Knox, Mike Hargreave Mawson, Iffet Özgönül, Colin Robins, Pete Starling, and Nathan Wismayer. I am also grateful the Trustees of the Rifles Wardrobe and Museum Trust, Salisbury and Major General Alan Hawley, RAMC, for permission to reproduce Major Arbuthnot's photograph and the sketch from Major Bourke's paper respectively.

Appendix: Tombstones of medical officers and support staff in the Haidar Pasha cemetery, Istanbul



Notes and references

- 1 Colborne, J. and Brine, F., *The Last of the Brave; or the Resting Place of our Fallen Heroes in the Crimea and Scutari*, (London: Ackermann, 1857). A second edition was published in 1858 with the title amended to *Memorials of the Brave*; ... The principal difference was the seventeen appendices based of data supplied by the War Office had been increased to twenty-one, including one for the Royal Navy. The index in the book is limited principally to officers; though there is a transcription of all the monuments included irrespective of rank or status.
- 2 These included Bulgaria and Eupatoria in the Crimea, and Büyükdere, Kuleli, Smyrna, Therapia, and Trezibond in Turkey.
- 3 For further details see Hinton, M., 'Was Captain Nolan unusual in having an unrecorded grave?', *Soldiers of the Queen* [Journal of the Victorian Military Society], No. 173 (2018–19), 14–16.
- 4 From a report on the Crimean cemeteries by George Jackson Eldridge, H.M. Consul, Kertch, dated November 1861; The National Archives (TNA): FO 65/1509.
- 5 For general reviews see Fisher, G., 'Resting places of fallen heroes', *The War Correspondent* [Journal of Crimean War Research Society], 27:4 (2010), 36–48; Robins, C., 'British memorial outside Sevastopol', *The War Correspondent*, 31:3 (2013), 11–4; and Malinovskaya, E., 'The British Crimean War cemeteries in Sevastopol. Sources and historiography', *Romanov History UK* [Journal of the Grand Duchess Elizabeth Romanov Society], No. 6 (2022), 26–37.
- 6 *Illustrated London News*, 22 May & 12 June 1869.
- 7 Later Major General 'Chinese' Gordon, who was killed at Khartoum on 26 Jan. 1885.
- 8 House of Commons Parliamentary Papers (HCPP) 1873 (C.719) XL.433: *Report on the Crimean Cemeteries*. The document includes an inventory of the monuments, and their condition, but nothing on the inscriptions. The map included with the report was dated 1872.
- 9 A copy of Anstey's report for the Under Secretary of State for War is in TNA: FO 65/1510.
- 10 *The Times*, 12 Mar. 1883.
- 11 General William Codrington to Sir Edward Thornton, British Ambassador to St Petersburg, 24 July 1883; TNA: FO 65/1511.
- 12 Conolly's brother, Captain John Charles Conolly, 23rd Regiment, was killed during the battle of the Alma and was buried on the battlefield with seven other officers of the regiment; and where a tombstone can still be seen (Colborne and Brine, op. cit., 28).
- 13 Harford's elder brother, Lieutenant, later Captain, Charles Joseph Harford, served in the Crimea with the 12th Lancers.
- 14 The Crimea is within the extensive Diocese of Gibraltar, now the Diocese of Europe.
- 15 The Consul General in Odessa, Gerald R. Perry, to the Earl of Granville, 23 May 1884; TNA: FO 65/1511. The ceremony was reported in *The Times* and *The Standard*, 31 May 1884, and other newspapers.
- 16 Commonwealth War Graves Commission: CWGC/1/1/11/11 (WG 1500/1/19/5 Pt. 1) - Pre-War Cemeteries - Cathcart's Hill Cemetery - Russian Documents and Spare Translations.
- 17 Khlebnokov was later: 'accused of spying for the U.K. because of his work as a caretaker and being paid a salary by a foreign country. Framed-up charges ended with execution by shooting in 1938,' Malinovskaya, op. cit., 30
- 18 Danchev, A. and Todman, D. (eds), *War Diaries 1939–1945. Field Marshal Lord Alanbrooke*. (London: Phoenix Press, 2002), 658–9.
- 19 CWGC/1/1/11/6 (WG 1500/1/19 Pt 4) - Pre-war Cemeteries - Cathcart's Hill.
- 20 Colt was killed on 8 September 1855 and interred in the cemetery of the 1st Brigade, Light Division; Colborne and Brine, op. cit., 1.
- 21 Hinton, M., 'Memorials to Royal Artillery personnel who died in the Crimea and Turkey, 1854–1856', *Journal of the Royal Artillery*, 150:1 (2021), 61–7.
- 22 The information of these individuals was gathered from a variety of sources including Colborne and Brine, op. cit., the Netley War memorial website, official government papers, archives and libraries, diaries, and obituary notices and books including particularly Shepherd, J., *The Crimean Doctors. A History of the Medical Services in the Crimean War* (Liverpool: University Press, 1991). Details of the diseases encountered during the Crimean campaign can be found in the official two volume report: HCPP 1857-58 [2434] XXXVIII.Pt.I.1 & XXXVIII.Pt.II.1: *Medical and Surgical History of the British Army which Served in Turkey and the Crimea during the War against Russia in the Years 1854-55-56*.
- 23 For details see Hinton, M., *Victory over Disease. Resolving the Medical Crisis in the Crimean War, 1854–1856*, (Warwick: Helion, 2019), Chapter 9.
- 24 For example, see Hinton, M., 'Beyond Florence: Nurses of the Crimean War', *Nursing History Now*, Spring (2019), 10–13.

25 Dressers were principally medical students recruited to assist in the hospitals though on some occasions
they were designated assistant surgeons; for example H. Harrison (Table 1: 25).

26 The Purveyor's duties included the provision of hospital equipment, rations for patients and staff,
cooking of meals, washing clothes, arrangements for funerals, and drawing up wills.

27 Cantlie, N., *A History of the Army Medical Department*, (Edinburgh: Churchill Livingstone, 1974), 2,
184–5.

28 See www.netley-military-cemetery.co.uk (Accessed 15 May 2021). The main hospital, with the
exception of the chapel, now a museum, was demolished in 1966.

29 For details of the cholera epidemics in 1854 and 1855 see Hinton, 2019, op. cit., 202–13.

30 This diagnostic category included common continued, remittent and intermittent fever and typhus in
the *Medical and Surgical History*. However, as Shepherd opined in his monograph, op. cit. – fever was
merely a symptom so labelling them on 'purely clinical observations' makes for a classification that is
'utterly confusing.' That being said it is probable that the majority of the deaths from fever were for
enteric, or typhoid, fever. See for example Bonnici, W., 'British Army Medical Services and the Malta
Garrison' at <maltaramc.com>; and particularly the section: 'Fever, morbidity and mortality 1816–
1909.' (Accessed: 15 Mar. 2023).

31 This low incidence is in distinction to NCOs and men many of whom died from diarrhoea (22.5% of
deaths from disease) or dysentery (14%). The comparable proportions for cholera, fevers, and typhus
were 27.5, 19.3 and 1.7 per cent respectively; see Hinton, 2019, op. cit., 197.

32 *The Times*, 24 Oct. and reproduced in the *Lancet*, 28 Oct. 1854. A summary of his exploits was
published in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Feb. 1855, 217.

33 *Medical Times and Gazette*, 1 Sep. 1855.

34 There is a memorial plaque to Lord Lister at the Strand campus of King's College London.

35 The biographical information on Lister's six colleagues is based in part on details available in Turner,
A.L., *Joseph, Baron Lister Centenary Volume 1827–1927*. (London: Oliver and Boyd, 1927) and
Shepherd, op. cit.

36 Turner, op cit., 176.

37 For a comprehensive biography see Watson, W.N.B., *Medical History*, 10 (1965), 166–76.

38 Beddoe, J., *Memories of Eighty Years*, (Bristol: J.W. Arrowsmith, 1910). For details of the hospital at
Renkioi see Silver, C., *Renkioi. Brunel's Forgotten Crimean War Hospital*, (Sevenoaks: Valonia
Press, 2007).

39 *The Times*, 3 Apr. 1862 & 20 July 1911.

40 *The Times*, 24 Jan. 1912.

41 An obituary for Kirk, with a photograph in old age, was published in *The Times*, 16 Jan. 1922.

42 Shepherd, op. cit., 246.

43 Hinton, M., 'Mining the archives; Casualties of the Crimean War Remembered', *Redcoats Review*
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54 Colborne and Brine, op. cit., 38.

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61 Colborne and Brine, op. cit., 55.

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64 Dawson, A., *Letters from the Light Brigade*, (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Military, 2014), 156

65 Shepherd, op. cit., 522.

66 Hinton, M., 'A short-lived cholera epidemic in Scutari during November 1855', *Soldiers of the Queen*, No. 171 (2018), 23–8.

67 Hinton, M., 'Mrs Charlotte Willoughby Moore: an officer's widow and a lady volunteer nurse', *Soldiers of the Queen*, No. 167 (2017), 2–8.

68 Hornby, Lady, *Constantinople during the Crimean War*, (London: Richard Bentley, 1863), 128. Emelia Bithynia Maceroni Hornby (d.1866) was the wife of Edmund Grimani Hornby (1825–96), a lawyer, who during the Crimean War was a commissioner sent by the British government to Turkey in connection with a loan made to the Turkish government.

69 Blackwood, Lady A., *Narrative of Personal Experiences and Impressions during a Residence on the Bosphorus throughout the Crimean War*, (London: Hatchard, 1881), 211–2.

70 District Order IV, 18 November 1855; TNA: WO 28/103.

71 Assistant Surgeon Stephen Massett Webb (1829–92).

72 *Medical and Surgical History*, op. cit., 2, 83.

73 Shepherd, op. cit., 281–3 & 361–2.

74 Maule's grave does not appear to have survived. He was commemorated at Panbride Church, Angus and on an obelisk in Dean Cemetery, Edinburgh: Colonel the Hon. Lauderdale Maule, Colonel James Ferguson, Captain Adam Maitland, Lieutenant F. A. Grant, Lieutenant F. J. Harrison, and Dr. E. J. Mackenzie; also 369 non-commissioned officers and men of the 79th Highlanders, who died in Bulgaria and the Crimea, or fell in action during the campaign of 1854–5.

75 Miss Clough was an unusual personality. See Gill, G., *Nightingales, The Story of Florence Nightingale and her Remarkable Family*, (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2004), 391–2; and McDonald, L. (ed.), *Florence Nightingale. The Crimean War*, (Waterloo, Ontario: Wilfred Laurier UP, 2010), 14: 233–4.

76 *The Times*, 25 May 1954.

77 W.H. Russell, *A Diary in the East during the Tour of the Prince and Princess of Wales*, 2nd Edition (London: George Routledge, 1869), 403–4. An appendix (pp. 633–43) provides a facsimile of a printed version of the inscriptions on the tombstones.

78 John Francis Bourke (b.1887) trained in Glasgow and was awarded the MC on 1 January 1917. He saw service in Salonika, Russia and Trans-Caspia (1915–21), Constantinople (1921–23), and India (1926–31 and 1934–39). He died at sea at Malta on 14 January 1941 as a consequence of enemy action.

79 Bourke, J.F., 'The medical Crimean graves at Scutari', *Journal of the Royal Army Medical Corps*, 41 (1923), 63–8. For a commentary, and a transcription of the original paper, see Hinton, M. 'The medical Crimean graves at Scutari': A reappraisal nearly a century on. *The War Correspondent*, 39:2 (2022), 15–23 plus a publisher's omission: *The War Correspondent*, 40:1 (2022), 61–2.

80 HCPP 1873 (C.719) XL.433: *Report on the Crimean Cemeteries*, 30.

81 Colborne and Brine, op. cit., Appendix 21, 66, and HCPP 1873 (C.719) XL.433, op. cit., 30.

82 Shepherd, op. cit., 248 & 330.

83 TNA: WO 156/113. No tombstone has yet been found. Crocker married, as his second wife, Mary Ann Delamain as St Paul's, Malta, on 16 Apr. 1857.

84 WO 156/113 and Cannon, J. (ed.), *The Msida Bastion Cemetery Malta*, (Hedgebury: Cannon Associates, 1990), 6.

85 *Malta Times*, 11 Sep. 1855. No tombstone has yet been found.

86 WO 156/113. No tombstone has yet been found.

87 *Medical Times and Gazette*, 1855, 1, 464.

88 TNA: TNA: WO 106/25.

89 *Armagh Guardian*, 20 Apr. 1855.

90 *Morning Chronicle and Manchester Times*, 3 & 7 Mar. 1855 respectively.